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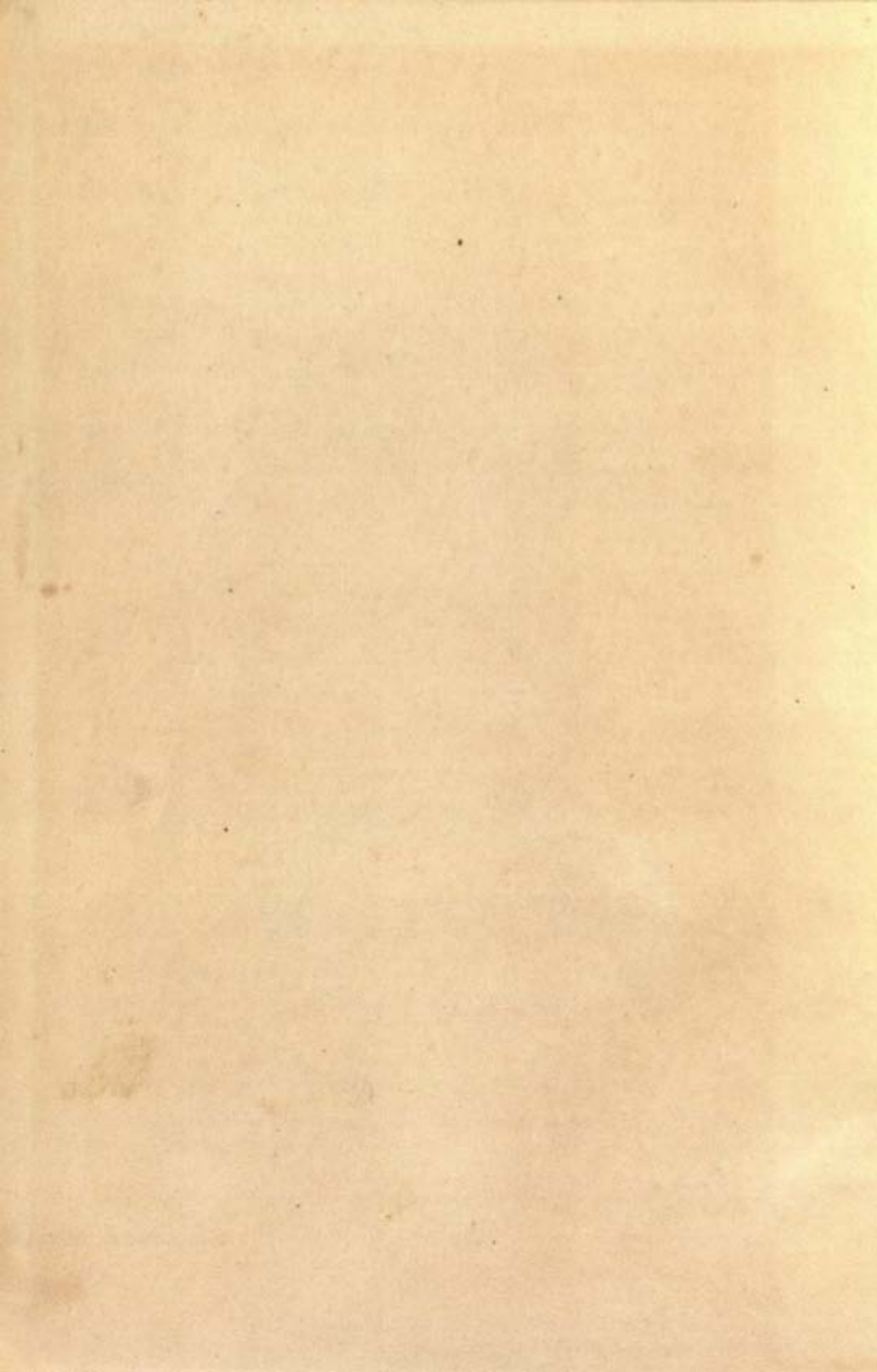
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A HISTORY OF PAINTING IN
NORTH ITALY



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Lucas photograph

Henry Walter Del. 11

The Tempest
Giorgione
Giovanelli Palace, Venice

A
HISTORY OF PAINTING
IN NORTH ITALY

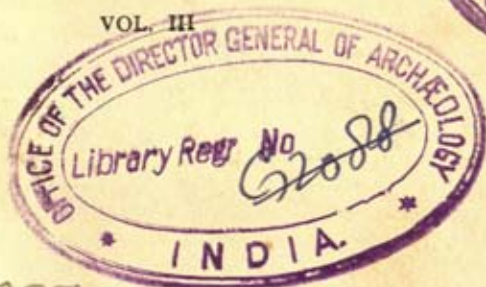
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CROWE AND G. B. CAVALCASELLE

EDITED BY TANCRED BORENIUS, PH.D. *and*

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NOTE

The editor's notes are marked with an asterisk.

PAINTING IN NORTH ITALY

VOL. III

CHAPTER I

GIORGIONE

THE grandest form of Venetian art in the sixteenth century—that which left indelible marks on the schools—we owe to Giorgione and Titian. It would be difficult to overrate the influence which each of these distinguished individuals exercised upon the painters of his time, nor is it possible to find two men who have remained more justly or more constantly in honour. Giorgione and Titian were born so nearly at the same time that they may be called contemporaries, but the growth and expansion of their talent were singularly different. Titian seems to have risen steadily but slowly to eminence; Giorgione, at a very early period, showed signs of precocious skill.¹ In the genius which he displayed, in the rapid development of his means, in his early death and subsequent fame Giorgione may be compared to Raphael. The measured steps by which Titian rose to the highest place amongst the craftsmen of his time remind us of Ghirlandaio.

Giorgione was born before 1477, Titian after 1480.² Both

¹ We are obliged to assume this, even if we reject the date usually accepted as that of Giorgione's birth.

² Vasari says Giorgione died in 1511, aged thirty-four; but Vasari often errs in statements of this kind, and it is probable that Giorgione was born earlier than 1477. Titian's birth is given by Vasari as 1480, by Ridolfi and others as 1477; but there are reasons for believing that Titian's life was shorter than modern annalists have thought. Dolce, who wrote in Titian's lifetime,

studied at Venice; both were pupils of Giovanni Bellini; but it is characteristic that when Titian left the Bellini he entered the atelier, and became the disciple of Giorgione.¹

Giorgione played the same part in Titian's life as Antonello played in the life of the Bellini. He gave an impulse so powerful and so lasting to the style of Titian that Titian, with his richly endowed pictorial constitution, was enabled first to equal, and then to surpass, Giorgione. Whether Titian's renown was ever as great as that of his short-lived rival is doubtful. It was the habit of Titian's friends to sneer at the man "who only dealt in portraits and half-lengths," but the taste which so gradually and so surely fell off from the older models of the religious class had learnt to prize the conversational pieces of which Giorgione was the inventor, and stood entranced alike before cabinet pictures in which landscapes of the sunniest tints gave freshness to figures of a miniature size, or the innocent recreation of music and song indulged by persons of the highest rank, which gave the painter occasion to charm by varied expression of face, rich diversity of dress, and the delicious gloom of palaces. Certain it is that, in the course of time, the combined enticements of high-born person, pompous dress,

says Titian was scarcely twenty years old when he painted the *Fondaco de' Tedeschi* (1508), and Vasari very nearly repeats the same story. (Cf. Vasari, iv. 99, vii. 428 *sq.*; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 274, and Dolce, *Dialogo*, *ub. sup.*, pp. 22, 64.) Ticozzi gives no proof of Titian's birth; Cadorin only quotes Ticozzi. (See Cadorin, *Dello Amore ai Veneziani di Tiziano Vecellio*, 4to, Venice, 1833, pp. 24, 76, and Ticozzi, *Vite dei Pittori Vecelli*, 8vo, Milan, 1817, note to p. 321.)

* The arguments for 1489 and 1477 as the date of Titian's birth have lately been set forth at length by Mr. Herbert Cook and Dr. Gronau; we cannot here enter upon a full discussion of the difficult question, but must refer the reader to the articles by the two above writers which are reprinted in Mr. Cook's *Giorgione*, pp. 123 *sqq.* It will be sufficient to note that the view that Titian was born about 1489 is confirmed by yet another passage in Vasari (iv. 459), where he speaks of Titian as being above seventy-six in 1566-7; and that the three contemporary statements concerning Titian's great age, which would put the date of the birth as far back as 1475-82, all occur in letters soliciting favours for Titian.—Giorgione, as we shall see, is mentioned as dead on Oct. 25, 1510.

¹ The tendency of modern criticism has been to doubt this, but only because the dates assigned to the birth of the two painters appeared to justify doubt. But the best and oldest authorities agree that Titian was the pupil of Giorgione. (Cf. Vasari, iv. 99, vii. 428, and Dolce, *Dialogo*, pp. 63, 64.)

and luscious colour became irrevocably connected with the man who first brought them into fashion; a host of imitators thronged to occupy a field which seemed so easy of access, and, towards the middle of the century, numerous productions, inspired in part from Giorgione, in part from Titian and Palma, were thrown upon the market. It became habitual to collect these productions in galleries and cabinets, the treasures of which were shown to the initiated by private favour or exhibited to public gaze at periods of festivity.¹ How frequently under these circumstances the great masters were confounded with the lesser ones only those can tell who study the catalogues of the seventeenth century and trace their contents to modern museums. It was not so much a mania as the knowledge that value was attached to the greatness of a name which caused the collectors to christen afresh the colossal impersonations of Pordenone, the semi-sensual figures of Pellegrino, the coloured subjects of del Piombo and Torbido, the rural scenes of Cariani, and the bright fables of Paris Bordone, the gay liveries of Lotto, the smart but homely compositions of Bonifazio, the sprightly and sometimes lascivious incidents of Schiavone, or the coarse but not unclever deceptions of Rocco Marconi, Pietro della Vecchia, and the later Friulans. By this device the public was first deceived, and in course of time connoisseurs learnt to confound the real with the unreal, the good with the bad, and one painter with the other.

It should not be forgotten, in forming an opinion as to the works of Giorgione, that he was born in a mainland city not far from the lagoons, that he received his education in Venice, and that he had no taint of any provincial style. He was born and spent his childhood in Castelfranco, one of the most beautiful spots that it is possible to conceive—a town on the plain at the foot of the Alps, a square fortress with high rectangular towers, the residence of Tuzio Costanzo, a *condottiere* of whom the Duke of Orleans had said that he was the best lance in Italy. The country for miles around was but half cultivated, half covered with primitive vegetation.

¹ Consult Sansovino, *Ven. Descrip., ub. sup.*, and Doglioni, *Delle Cose Notabili della Città di Venetia*, 12mo, Venice, 1592.

The stream which filled its ditches before running to the lagoons was fringed with stately wood. At no great distance lay Asolo, the seat of Catherine Cornaro, ex-queen of Cyprus, whose house was the scene of many a courtly revel, where Pietro Bembo, before he grew old enough to become a cardinal, composed his *Asolani*; farther north the grand and solemn Alps, bathed in mist at noon, but sparkling with gorgeous tints at morn or eventide.

Even now that time has had its way of the old worn dungeon, and thrown its mantle over many of its ruins, even now that the forest has been cleared, and the ploughshare furrows the ground, a picturesque tower still remains to cheer the view; there are trees and shrubs and hedges to attract the eye, and we can fancy that, before the villagers left the vast quadrangle of brick within which their habitations nestled to take up airier quarters outside the walls, the place was picturesque enough to stir the heart of Giorgione.

There seems reason for supposing that Giorgione was the first of the modern Venetians to follow the footsteps of Bellini, and give importance to landscapes. If we believe traditions which live to our day, there was no one like him at the close of the fifteenth century for producing park scenery, no one who came near him in the chastened elegance of the figures with which this scenery was enlivened. The country which he knew had not the rocky character, nor had it the giddy heights, of that which Titian found at Cadore. It had no dolomites to spread their jagged edges on the pure horizon: but it had its elms and cypresses, its vines and mulberries, its hazels and poplars, its charming undulations, wooded vales, farm buildings, and battlements; and in these there was a variety which all but defied repetition.

Giorgione was of the stock of the Barbarella, a family of standing and property in the country of Castelfranco; but being, it was said, the son of a country girl at Vedelago, and not subsequently legitimized, it was his fortune to know neither the paternal mansion nor a father's care. Nor is it likely that he would ever have been acknowledged but that in subsequent years the shame of his birth was covered by the celebrity of his genius, and the younger members of the family coveted

his remains, and enshrined his name in an epitaph.¹ It is stated that he was of distinguished presence and spirited character, kindly, and of good manners, adored by women, an admirable musician, and a welcome guest in the houses of the great.²

¹ Born at Castelfranco (Vasari, iv. 91 sq.) or Vedelago, near Castelfranco (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 121). But Dr. Luigi Tescari (*Per le Nozze Puppatti-Fabeni*, 8vo, Castelfranco, 1860, pp. 6 sqq.) reconciles the two statements by saying that Giorgione was of illegitimate birth, the son of one of the Barbarella by a peasant girl of Vedelago. He urges, in favour of this assertion, the silence of the baptismal registers. He proves the relationship of Giorgione with the Barbarella as follows: "His (Giorgione's) family, wishing in some manner to correct the defect of his birth and the carelessness of his parents, obtained that his remains should be brought home and placed in the old church of San Liberale, between the altar of St. Mark and St. John the Baptist." This is confirmed by Nadal Melchior, who, at p. 80 of "Repertorio di cose appartenenti a Castelfranco principiato a dì 1° Settembre dell' anno MDCCXV e terminato a dì 15 Marzo MDCCXVIII," MS. at Castelfranco, gives a copy of the epitaph placed over the tomb of the Barbarella, thus:

"Ob Perpetuum Laboris Ardai Monumentum In Hanc Fratris
Obtinendo Plebem Suscepti, Virtutisque Jacobi et Nicolai Seniorum,
ac Georgioni Summi Pictoris Memoriam Vetustate Collapsam Pietate
Restaurandam: Mathæus et Hercules Barbarella Fratres, sibi,
posterisque, Construi Fecerunt donec Veniat Dies. Anno Domini
MDCCXXXVIII Mense Augusti."

This epitaph perished when the old church was taken down to make place for the present one.

* There is reason to believe that the above epitaph has been incorrectly reported to us (to give an instance, Matteo Barbarella died in 1600 and Ercole in 1608). But even in the only version which is now available it does not explicitly state that Giorgione belonged to the Barbarella family. In contemporary records the artist is called Zorzo or Zorzi da Castelfranco; the Anonimo Morelliano, Pino (1548), Doni (1549), Vasari (1550 and 1568), Dolce (1557), Sansovino (1561), never couple Giorgione's name with that of Barbarella. It is only when we come to Ridolfi (1648) that we are told that the Barbarella family prided itself in having given birth to Giorgione; but Ridolfi also takes care to note that, according to others, Giorgione was born at Vedelago of one of the best families in those parts. Now Dr. Gronau has discovered that in 1460 one Johannes dictus Zorzonus de Vitellaco—in Italian, Giovanni detto Giorgione da Vedelago—figures among the citizens of Castelfranco. We thus find that Giorgione was not a particular sobriquet of the painter Giorgio, of Castelfranco, as Vasari would have us believe (iv. 92); and, bearing in mind the second tradition mentioned by Ridolfi, it is very natural to suppose that this Giovanni was the father of the painter Giorgione. Dr. Gronau suggests that the Barbarella family, in order to honour its great fellow-citizen, may have allowed his remains to be buried in the Barbarella family tomb, and that this may have given rise to the belief that Giorgione was himself a Barbarella. See Gronau, in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, ser. i. vol. vii. pp. 447 sqq.

² Vasari, iv. 92.

It is perhaps to his early intercourse with aristocratic company that he owed the peculiar breath of distinction which we find in all his impersonations, and that fine acquaintance with all that is subtle and delicate, as contra-distinguished from that which is mere glitter in the circles of the wealthy. When still very young he had the privilege of sittings from Gonzalvo of Cordova, the doges Agostino Barbarigo and Leonardo Loredano, and Queen Cornara; and it is to be presumed that these were but the chosen few out of a much larger and hardly less important body of patrons.¹

When Giorgione first entered the Venetian school is not stated, but the works attributed to his hand afford evidence of his presence at Venice at the time when Gentile and Giovanni Bellini won the race of fame against the Vivarini, when the mechanism of painting was altered by the use of oil medium, and the halo which surrounded Antonello began to pale. He had the luck and the skill to combine afresh the elements of the two styles cultivated by Antonello and the Bellini, and to form a new one uniting the charms of both. At first he laboured in the old field, and painted the familiar subjects of the Scriptures²; but he soon selected for study that form of art in which Bellini divested himself of religious elements, and he learnt the charms of genre.

Bellini, the father of that species of design which commingles fable and legend with natural scenery, produced on rare occasions gems of peculiar brilliancy in allegorical compositions, tragic legendary episodes, and bacchanals. It was perhaps with these that he first really captivated the soul of Giorgione. At some period, of which it has not been possible to fix the date, one of the chiefs of the Medici bought for the summer residence of Poggio Imperiale three small pictures, so similar in spirit and so equal in beauty that, when finally deposited at the Uffizi, they all bore the name of Giorgione. One of them, by Giovanni Bellini, was the model on which another, and a later, painter conceived his own.³ It is hard to divine the meaning of the

¹ Vasari, iv. 94 sq., and Ridolfi, *Le Marav.*, i. 126.

² Vasari, iv. 93.

³ These three pictures were not originally companion pieces. The Bellini came to Florence from Vienna in the eighteenth century by exchange (Ludwig, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxiii. 163); the two Giorgiones were already in 1692 at Poggio Imperiale (Gronau, in *Repertorium*, xxxi. 416).

GIORGIONE



Alinari photo.]

THE TRIAL OF MOSES.

[*Florence, Uffizi.*

allegory which Bellini has depicted. The Virgin, sitting on a terrace overlooking a lake, receives the homage of a kneeling female, attended to the right and left by standing figures whose identity is not ascertained. Behind an open balustrade, a couple of men apparently represent St. Joseph and St. Paul. An apple-tree in a vase is shaken by a naked boy, and children gather the fruit. In the hills behind the lake an ass ruminates, whilst a shepherd tends his flock; a centaur sports, and a hermit rests in his cave. The perfect arrangement of the scene is as grateful as the purity and selection of the forms, the grace of the movements, and the mildness of the faces. The colours are sweet and blended, and swim in the sunny haze of noon.¹

Compared with this, the companion piece, a legendary Ordeal of Moses, bears a stronger impress of youthful freshness, and shows less of the mellowness of maturity. Pharaoh sits on a throne inlaid with marbles and carved with reliefs. His court surrounds him. Two pages in front present the dishes in which fire and gold are placed. The infant Moses, supported by his mother, plays with the fire and surprises the bystanders. The background is a glade with tall trees, through the trunks and boughs of which the forest and distant hills appear. There is a high and courtly air in the graceful setting and proportion, as well as in the rich dress of the dramatis personæ. Distinct outline, solid surface, occasional embarrassment in movement, and somewhat angular drapery, are features which betray the hand of an artist younger and less skilled than Bellini, whilst the more attractive points appear to indicate an art as yet imperfectly expanded. But the broken ground crested with wood, the varied and tender leafing, the light spangles amidst the twigs, the

¹ Florence, Uffizi, No. 631. Small panel in oil with figures one-sixth of life-size, from Poggio Imperiale, much injured by abrasion and repaint, the sky new. [* Dr. Ludwig has shown that the subject of this picture is derived from a mediæval religious poem, *Le pèlerinage de l'âme*, by Guillaume de Deguileville. The railed-in terrace represents the earthly paradise, in the middle of which rises the mystic tree of the Canticus Canticum. The children playing with apples symbolize the souls comforted by Christ. The Virgin and Justice (the kneeling woman) are discussing the redemption of mankind, the saints—Paul, Peter, Sebastian, and Job—are the advocates and faithful friends of the souls. The donkey and the hermit (St. Paul) across the water typify the kind of life which leads to the least amount of pain in purgatory. See Ludwig, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxiii. 163 sqq.]

diverse shades of intensely bright foliage relieved upon each other, or thrown upon the radiant sky, the blue mountains from which the nearer slopes and towers are so cleverly parted—all this—if not so perfectly harmonious or in keeping so subtle as Bellini would have made it, is laid in with exquisite touch and minuteness of finish; and a clear, exhilarating sparkle suggests those delightful hours of the warmer climes when rain has cooled the air and filtered it.¹ It is to such pleasant allurements as these that Lomazzo refers with delight when writing of Giorgione. Though he merely generalizes, when speaking of the skill with which the master produced pastose light, reflections, and broken tints of flesh, he is careful in noting the cleverness with which he paints crystal water, trees, and animals, and all that appertains to nature in the open; and in this reference to the source of Giorgione's charm he merely echoes what Vasari says in more general terms.² Neither the spot nor the towers which are here so deliciously depicted are accurately to be traced, but they are such as to suggest the vicinity of Castelfranco, and such as a man of Giorgione's power might vary at his pleasure without doing serious violence to the reality. but if in respect of landscape, or in respect of pictorial feeling, the painter here shows himself unmistakably Bellinesque, his style is not without admixture of other elements. The glossy uniformity of flesh or rich depth of dress tints, the polish of surfaces impregnated with medium, incisive contours, and tenuous lining of detail, all point to influences foreign to Bellini; and though an effort is made to cover the comparative rawness of the handling by copious use of filmy glazes and light scumbles, there are still traces of a treatment which, in its mechanism, appears derived from Antonello da Messina.

As companion to the Ordeal, the Judgment of Solomon at the Uffizi exhibits the same predominance of landscape features and the same distribution of the principal actors. Solomon sits on a throne to the right, the dignitaries, mothers, children, and

¹ Florence, Uffizi, No. 621. Canvas, with small figures one-eighth of life-size, from Poggio Imperiale. The subject, as derived from rabbinical Bible sources, is explained in M. Unger's *Kritische Forschungen*, 8vo, Leipzig, 1865, p. 5.

² Lomazzo, *Trattato, ub. sup.*, pp. 228, 301, 434, 463, and especially 474; Vasari, vii. 427 sq., and iv. 92 sq.

GIORGIONE



Alinari photo.]

THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON.

[Florence, Uffizi.]

executioner before him. The screen of trees opening out at the sides shows the wooded undulations of country lined with saplings, bushes, towers, and habitations. There are more vividness of tone, more variety of ground and episode, and more richness of contrasts, yet not more gorgeous vegetation; and the country is the same, seen from a more interesting side. The figures alone are less ably wrought, and numerous repaints or modern alterations of costume deface the composition.¹

A later but not less beautiful example of the treatment which stamps the cabinet pictures at the Uffizi with an impress of originality is the Nativity which long adorned the Fesch Gallery, and since formed part of the London collection of Lord Allendale. Under a grotto to the right, overgrown with ivy and overhung with grasses, the Virgin kneels adoring the Babe, attended by St. Joseph, grey-bearded, self-communing, at rest behind a portion of rock and a remnant of hurdle. To the left two shepherds, who, in another part of the ground, are seen receiving the message of the angel; behind them, a distance in which the turrets, the trees, and hills peculiar to the neighbourhood of Castelfranco are seen. With the general character which distinguishes the Ordeal of Moses or the Judgment of Solomon, this landscape has more atmosphere, more luxuriance and richness of objects. A tall tree to the left of the bank, another to the left in the picture, vary the scene. At the foot of the latter a cabin shelters a peasant; there are rocks too, of a soft, worn, vague texture, with greenery sharply made out and delicately finished cropping from the fissures. Reeds, pebbles of transparent colour, are minutely made out. In the distance the bare hillside is yellow-lighted in the setting sun by the glow of coming evening. The square tower commands the houses around all steeped in vague atmosphere. A charming

¹ Florence, Uffizi, No. 630. Wood, small, like No. 621, from Poggio Imperiale. This panel has had repair and alteration, the third figure from the left side, a man in a hat, the head and arm of the executioner and the child in his grasp, the child on the ground, the drapery of the standing mother and the man in a hat to the right of her, the drapery of the man immediately to the right of both the foregoing and parts of two personages in the foreground to the right being all more or less repainted and spoiled; and it seems not doubtful that the hats are comparatively modern additions. The hands and the feet of the *dramatis personæ* are all more or less repainted.

contrast is produced by setting the deep-tinted shepherds in front of the warm, straw-coloured fields, whilst the Virgin and St. Joseph are thrown forward upon the gloomy shadow of the grotto. Humble life is depicted with astonishing realism, and yet without vulgarity. Exquisite harmony pervades the luscious and variegated toning which dazzles with the brilliance of Antonello's enamels, whilst the garments of the shepherds are in tatters, and their toes creep out of the ends of their broken shoes. Characteristic as the picture is in many parts of the teaching of Bellini, it also betrays some leaning to Palma in the rounded ease of the action generally, and in the plump, soft shapes of the Virgin and Joseph. The handling displays increase of power, better arrangement, greater breadth, more delicacy of glazing and blending, and larger effects of *chiaroscuro*.¹

A similar medley of the Bellinesque and Palmesque, with elegant grace and sparkling colours, is the Epiphany of Sir William Miles, of Leigh Court, where the Virgin, sitting to the left under cover of a penthouse, receives at a respectful distance the adoration of the kings, whose suite of horsemen halts to the right. It is a work of most picturesque beauty in distribution, colour, and costume, assigned traditionally to Giovanni Bellini, but equally entitled to rank amongst the creations of Giorgione as the gems of the Uffizi and Lord Allendale.² Whether we

¹ London, Piccadilly, Lord Allendale. Wood, 3 ft. 6 in., coinciding in subject and size with a piece assigned to Giorgione in the collection of James II. (see Bathoe's Catalogue). The figures are double the size of those at the Uffizi. In the grotto behind the Virgin we see the ox and the ass, and in the air above her five winged heads of cherubs. In the sky is the angel, who flies down to the shepherds in the middle ground. The panel is split horizontally, just above the Virgin and across the face of the bowing shepherd; the head of the Virgin is a little, but very little, rubbed down. For a part of this picture, there is a drawing representing the Virgin, St. Joseph, the Infant, and one shepherd kneeling, in the King's collection at Windsor (7½ in. long by 8 in.), under the name of Carpaccio. [* A contemporary copy of the above-mentioned painting belongs to the Imperial Gallery at Vienna (No. 23); another of later date is in the collection of Mr. Herbert Cook at Esher.]

² Leigh Court, near Bristol, Sir William Miles, Bart. Panel, 1 ft. high by 2 ft. 8½ in. The kings, with their suite, are in the middle; behind them two servants standing with horses. The head of the youth kneeling behind the two kings and the heads of two children farther back are retouched. [* This picture is now in the National Gallery (No. 1160).]

are justified in classing all these pictures amongst those which Vasari describes generically as Giorgione's compositions of "our Lady" is a question worthy of consideration. We may ask on what ground any one of them should be accepted as genuine, since there is nothing to support the nomenclature but tradition. Upon this point it would be vain to assert that debate is from henceforward to cease; but we may bear in mind that the style coincides with that which historians attribute to Giorgione; that most of the characteristics which predominate recur in canvases registered by the oldest authorities as those of Barbarella; and that the landscapes in every case resemble each other and recall the country of Castelfranco.¹

Foremost among the productions acknowledged by successive generations as true Giorgiones we should place an altarpiece of the Virgin and Child between St. Francis and St. Liberale in the church of Castelfranco. We saw that in the sixteenth century Castelfranco was the residence of Tuzio Costanzo, a captain of free companions, who had made his fortune in the wars and carried his fortune home. He lived there because it was the abode of his ancestors, but also because it was near Asolo, the palace of his liege lady, the Queen Cornara, whom he had followed from Cyprus. The trade successfully driven by Tuzio was actively pursued by his son; and Matteo Costanzo became the promising leader of fifty lances in the service of the Venetian republic. But fate, which had been kind to Tuzio, was unkind to Matteo, who died at Ravenna in 1504; and Tuzio caused the body of his son to be embalmed and buried in the

* ¹ The two Uffizi pictures are now commonly, and no doubt rightly, accepted as early works by Giorgione; they are closely allied to the Castelfranco altarpiece, though the latter painting belongs to a slightly more advanced stage of the artist's practice. Lord Allendale's Adoration, the National Gallery Epiphany, and a Holy Family, in the collection of Mr. Robert Benson, of London, are certainly by one hand; but they do not seem to satisfy the standard of quality set even by the earliest works unquestionably by Giorgione. They have been ascribed to Catena, who, however, does not show the freedom of movement and markedly pictorial effects apparent in these paintings; it has also been suggested that they may be by some, at present, anonymous artist—"the Master of the Allendale Adoration." The tendency constantly to break up the planes in the draperies, the snub-nosed types, the shape of the fingers, and finally the design of the landscape in the Allendale Adoration might perhaps justify us in suggesting that Cariani, that eclectic and versatile artist, is the author of these three pictures.

family chapel.¹ It is said that, in memory of the melancholy event, Giorgione was employed to paint an altarpiece and frescoes on the chapel walls; but we may hesitate to believe that the decoration of the Costanzo chapel should have been postponed to the time determined by the premature end of Tuzio's son, whose burial in the sacred precinct presupposed its earlier completion. That, in the course of centuries, the church in which Giorgione laboured should have been razed only makes the question of dates the more obscure; for the altarpiece which hangs in the choir of the new church bears no inscription of any kind, and is only ascribed to Giorgione by the concurrent testimony of history and local annals; but the style in which it is executed seems that of Giorgione's youth, and it is not without apparent connection, especially in the handling and landscape, with that of the smaller and more picturesquely treated compositions to which our attention was previously drawn. Had Giorgione been asked merely to produce an altarpiece, he might have composed and finished it in his atelier at Venice. The decoration of the Costanzo chapel with frescoes necessarily took him to Castelfranco. Some say that the saints of the altarpiece were likenesses of his brother and himself; others that the warrior saint was a portrait of Matteo Costanzo. On the back of the panel were once these lines:

"Vieni o Cecilia,
Vieni t' affretta,
Il tuo t' aspetta
Giorgio . . ."

and modern critics naturally found in the words a proof of the

¹ Tuzio Costanzo led a hundred and sixty lances under Francesco Gonzaga, generalissimo of the league, in which the Venetians took a part (1495), against Charles VIII. of France (see Malipiero, "Annali Veneti" anno 1495, in *Archivio Stor. Ital.*, tom. vii. parte i. p. 359; also Francesco Sansovino, *Case Illustri d'Italia*; Melchiori, MS., *ub. sup.*; and Tescari, *Per Nozze Puppatti-Fabeni*. See also Ridolfi, *Le Marav.*, i. 123). An inscription on the slab of Matteo Costanzo's tomb, still preserved in the outer wall of the church and within the precincts of the cemetery of Castelfranco, runs in capitals as follows: "Matheo Costantio Cyprio Egregia corporis forma insigni animi Virtute Immatura Morte sublato ob bene Gestam Militiam Tutius Pater Mutij Filius Charissimo Filio Pientissimè Posuit MDIII Mensis Augusti."

painter's fondness for the fair sex.¹ It is not beyond the limits of probability that he should have made love to a female model, and there is no reason for doubting that he first sketched his figures from life, because in Giorgione, as in all the Venetians of this age, there is nothing ethereal or ideal in impersonation; but there are other grounds for believing that Giorgione consulted nature, the most important of which is the existence of the original painting in oil for St. Liberale in our National Gallery.

This manly and spirited study, so skilful and so simple in its beauty that it passed for a Raphael, is probably taken from Tuzio's son; and the faithful reproduction of the same armour in a stone effigy of Matteo Costanzo, still preserved in the cemetery of Castelfranco, is one of the proofs adduced by many to show that St. Liberale is Matteo's portrait. It is a bare-headed full-length, in silvered armour, with crisp, luxuriant locks, resting a hand on the staff of a banner, the sword-arm pendant, and the sword belted on; a masterly imitation of the reality, of grand freedom in pose and winning softness in colour, marvellously faithful in the rendering of glitter and reflections, but not without damaging repaints. It differs from the St. Liberale of Castelfranco principally in this, that the head is bare and the right hand idle.²

The altarpiece itself is arranged with intentional symmetry and an uncommon attention to the balanced distribution of light and shade, the centre of vision being purposely high and the

¹ Tescari, *Per Nozze*, *ub. sup.*, p. 9; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 123; Selvatico, *Storia estetico-critica*, i. 526.

² London, National Gallery. Wood, 1 ft. 3½ in. high by 10½ in., once belonging to Mr. Mariette and to Benjamin West. Samuel Rogers bequeathed it to the nation. The background is dark; there is a dark brown curtain in the upper corner to the right. The face and hair are spotted and renewed, and a piece of the armour near the right hand is retouched. [* This beautiful picture has been unduly neglected in recent criticism; also, in view of the fact that Crowe and Cavalcaselle accept it as a work by Giorgione, the question as to its author deserves reconsideration. It is, however, difficult to believe that this can be a study for the Castelfranco altarpiece, as it is much darker in tone than the authentic early pictures by Giorgione.]

A funeral stone, removed from the old church to the wall of the cemetery at Castelfranco, represents Matteo Costanzo clad in armour like that of St. Liberale, and like that of the figure above described. A helmet, resembling that on the saint's head at Castelfranco, lies at the feet of the image.

perspective scientifically correct. The room in which the Virgin holds her state is confined by a stone screen, in front of which a double plinth, equal in height to the stature of the foreground saints, projects. On the lower step of the plinth is a round with the scutcheon of the Costanzi. From the foot of the throne a striped carpet falls, overlaid by a green-flowered damask rug. The high and narrow back of the seat sparkles with red and gold embroidery. The deep shadows projected by the figures are relieved by an equal surface of light subdued as with a warm, tempering veil. A cloudless sky, merging at the horizon into pallid straw, sheds a mild light on a landscape of lake and slopes with trees and towers and huts composed on similar lines to those we have so frequently noticed, but so quiet and serene as to recall the pure vistas of Raphael's earlier period. The whole piece displays an exquisite feeling for colour, for graceful attitude, tender form, and kindly expression. Looking down from her elevated seat with a glance abstracted from sublunary concerns, the Virgin sits with her left hand on the arm of her throne, her right supporting the Infant, all but naked, on her lap. The white cloth resting on her head, the green tunic which falls from her bosom without the fastening of a girdle, the red mantle hanging on the right shoulder and brought round to cover the knees and feet, all these draperies of soft and simple fall, and with very tender breaks and massive shadows, form a fine chord of tone, of line, and chiaroscuro. The Child, half-sitting, half-recumbent, turning his face and glance toward St. Liberale, rests on a white cloth, unheeded by his mother, unheeded by the saints below. St. Liberale, with the helmet on his head, the dagger at his hip, and the gloves in his hand, stands passive and almost feminine in features, his right foot raised at the heel by a slight projection of the chequered floor. St. Francis, to the right, pointing to the scar in his side and showing the wounds on his hands, the rope round his waist, the cowl thrown off, the feet bare, and one of them also resting on the projecting edge of the floor. The attitudes are studiously graceful, the extremities well drawn, the draperies appropriately cast; the flesh is clear, and, where free from repaints, finished with broad rounded modelling strengthened by glazes and finishing touches, the lights of sunny warmth, the half-tones of

GIORGIONE



Allinari photo.]

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS.

[Castelfranco.

cool sweetness, the darks transparent, the rich vestment tints here and there of dazzling polish, the armour brilliant.¹

An opinion very generally held, and not unfrequently expressed, assigns to Giorgione a marked influence on the later period of Giovanni Bellini's pictorial career. The Madonna of Castelfranco, executed before 1504, precedes Bellini's masterpiece, the Madonna and Saints of San Zaccaria at Venice, and combines in a high degree the qualities which we are wont to call Giorgionesque. In the later form of Giorgione's art, such as we find it in the concert at the Pitti, Giorgione attains to much greater freedom of treatment than at Castelfranco, but then he had seen Bellini in the later phase of his style, and followed the master then as he had followed him before. That his manner at the period of the Castelfranco altarpiece should bear the stamp of the sixteenth century, and embody some of the freedom of the moderns is natural, yet there is much in that altarpiece to remind us of the early relations in which the two masters stood, and it is inevitable that we should compare the St. Francis of Castelfranco with its earlier counterpart in Bellini's Madonna of San Giobbe. Here, as elsewhere, we trace some lingering reminiscence of Antonello in the polish of the surfaces, the clean finish of the outlines, and the force of certain shades of dress.²

¹ Castelfranco, church. Wood, m. 2 high by 1.45, the figures above half life-size. This picture was restored on several occasions by Pietro Vecchia, Melchiori, Antonio Medi, Ridolfo Manzoni of Castelfranco, and Amiano Balzafori of Naples. G. G. Lorenzi went so far as to paint a beard to St. Liberale, which was taken off again by Paolo Fabris of Venice, who seems indeed to have removed many of the oldest repaints. The surface is, however, more or less rubbed down, and in some spots—as in the darker parts of the face and outlines of St. Liberale, in the forehead and hair of the Virgin, in the hands of St. Francis, and in bits of landscape—there are clear traces of retouching. The arms of Costanzo, which we cannot describe in the terms of heraldry, are: a lion rampant on green, above a red band; and beneath the latter, six bones on a yellow field. In the landscape, to the left, there are trees, a square tower and houses intercepting the view of a lake, and to the right, the lake, distant hills, a castle and a Roman temple peering out of a grove. Nearer the spectator are some saplings, and two small figures put in with surface touches. There is a copy of the St. Liberale at Castelfranco in Stafford House; the distance is a landscape.

² Bellini's altarpiece of San Giobbe, now No. 38 at the Venice Academy, comprises a figure of St. Francis, which is the same as that of Castelfranco reversed.

Modern Castelfranco lives upon the traditions of Giorgione,¹ and the local cicerone proudly shows the dwelling in which he was born, which antiquarians may look at with distrust, and the house in which, during his visits, he habitually resided. The house stands on the square to the left of the parish church, and though it was internally redistributed to suit the wants of modern occupants, still contains remnants of interesting frescoes. In contact with the ceiling of what once was a large hall are friezes with medallions, heads of emperors and philosophers, Gorgons, skulls, sand-glasses, masks, and tablets with Latin mottoes, helmets, scutcheons, and shields, brackets with books, easels, brushes, compasses and rulers, astronomical instruments, and emblems of the seasons, cymbals, viols, and harps. Though merely washed in with distemper on a smoothly tinted ground, and relieved by solid lights and cross-hatched shadows, they are treated freely, boldly, and certainly in a Giorgionesque spirit. Of similar relics which we might expect to find in the residence of the Costanzi—so long a leading family at Castelfranco—there is little sign. The decay of the race is reflected in the squalor of the mansion; and, as we look at Tuzio's arms painted—perhaps by Giorgione—on the outer wall, we see the children of artisans playing in all the rooms of the old *condottiere*.²

¹ Castelfranco, in the house of Dr. Luigi Tescari. A canvas, oil, with the Virgin and Child, is held to be the original study for the same group in Giorgione's altarpiece. It is much below Giorgione's powers, and is a modern copy from the altarpiece in the spirit of Pietro della Vecchia. In the same place a canvas is preserved (m. 0.38 high by 0.35), representing a half-length of a female, three-quarters to the left, in gala dress, bare neck, black bodice, and greenish slashed silk sleeves with white puffs. Her right hand rests on a book; distance dark brown. This canvas used to belong to the Castelfranco family of Almerigo de Castellis, and justifies to some slight extent the name which it bears. The colour is somewhat abraded and changed by new varnishes. There is a breath of the Bellinesque in the execution, and a faithful reproduction of nature. [* The Tescari collection was dispersed about 1885. In the printed catalogue of this gallery, dating from 1870, the two above-mentioned pictures are entered as Nos. 329 and 341.]

² Castelfranco. The "house of Giorgione," at no great distance from the Costanzo mansion, is quite modern. The house containing the friezes described in the text is now called Casa Pellizzari, and the paintings, with the exception of a medallion with the profile of an emperor, removed into the Casa Tescari, and others carried away by the restorer Lorenzi, are on the wall of the first floor. The Giorgionesque spirit is apparent not only in the execution but in the subjects, and we shall see that Giorgione was fond of representing in his

Reverting to Venice and Giorgione's practice there, we find him now exclusively occupied with profane subjects; and in the Chaldean Sages of the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, or the so-called Family of Giorgione at the Manfrini Palace we resume acquaintance with that form of art in which landscape is treated as of equal, if not superior, importance to figures.

Both these pictures were celebrated at Venice in the early part of the sixteenth century, the first in the collection of Taddeo Contarini (1525), the second (1530) in the house of Gabriel Vendramin at Santa Fosca. The first really represents a company of astronomers watching the heavens in the shadow of a glade. The sun is setting, and still shows a portion of his disc behind a neighbouring hill, throwing into shade the village church and mill, but casting long, clear sweeps of rays upon slope and path. Right and left, the gloom of evening—here, on a precipitous bank with hanging withes and weeds thrown clear upon the sky; there, on a knoll with underwood, gnarled roots, and trunks of trees. The mass of light concentrated round a couple of small grey clouds filters through the glade. A slender sapling waves its scattered leaves with ruddy force against the firmament. The vegetation varies between fresh and verdant greens or yellows and withered duns or faded autumn brown and orange—a masterly combination of contrasts recalling the Allendale Nativity. Here, too, we have plump form, soft blending, pure drawing, and spare impast in flesh bathed in vapour and made transparent by delicate glazes; here are rich and dazzling tints of dress relieved in bright and sombre, or sombre and bright, with melodious harmony. On the knoll to the right the sitting figure with his back to us is a young astronomer, with a species of quadrant in his hand, looking up at the luminary, his white

pictures such turbaned astrologers and sibyls as we find here (see *postea*, Vienna and Marostica). Other decorative frescoes are assigned to Giorgione at Castelfranco, which bear the test of examination less than those of the Casa Pellizzari (see Melchiori and Dr. Tescari's pamphlet, *ub. sup.*), e.g. Casa Bovolini to the left of the Treviso gate as you enter it (Via Bastia, No. 570) is covered in front with hunts and feats of Hercules—the Death of Antæus and the Victory over the Lion; but these are poor designs, in the style of the worst that have been noticed at Treviso and Spilimberg. The Costanzo mansion is in the Vicolo del Paradiso, the family arms high up in the gable within the courtyard.

shirt and yellow vest balanced in scale by a green mantle. The standing personage next him wears a turban, the white cloth of which is rolled round a red fez, a watered purple cape, a white waistband, in which his thumb is stuck, and a caftan of cinnabar. He has just called the attention of his neighbour, who turns as he steps down the knoll—a portly, bearded man with a ruby-coloured hood and amber mantle, holding an astrolabe and a pair of compasses. We may give undivided admiration to Giorgione for his spirited and easy reproduction of instant motion, the lightness of his touch, and the subtle feeling which he evinces for colour. His art is that of Bellini, regenerated and instinct with new life.¹

The second picture, at the Manfrini Palace, admirable in the same respects, is of equal value as a proof of Giorgione's constant appeal to nature. The landscape, which recalls earlier ones, and very clearly reminds us of the neighbourhood of Castelfranco, seems at one moment a pretext for the figures, whilst these at other moments look like a filling for the landscape. There may be some deeper meaning in the scene than strikes us at a superficial glance. The man in tights and slashes leaning to the left on his staff, the scantily clad mother giving the breast to the child on the right, the beautiful quiet of a delicious vale, in which the air, the trees, the hills and banks, and the buildings, towers, and bridge, lie basking in sunshine, may be emblems of the sweets of repose, whilst the cloud which lowers in the sky and the lightning which darts from under its darkened edge foreshadows strife. Be the secret of

¹ Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 16. Canvas, 3 ft. 10 in. high by 4 ft. 5½ in.; said to have been finished by Sebastian del Piombo, of which there is no trace. Some duskiness of intonation is due to time and varnish. The picture is described in the Anonimo, ed. Morelli, *ub. sup.*, p. 64. Cf. also Albrecht Krafft's *Critical Catalogue*, Vienna, 1854, and Waagen, *Vornehmste Kunstdenkmäler in Wien*, pp. 46, 47. [* Prof. Wickhoff (in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xvi. 35 *sqq.*) thinks this painting represents the aged king Evander and his youthful son Pallas showing Æneas the site of the future capital (cf. *Æn.*, viii. 306-348). According to Dr. Ludwig, it probably illustrates an incident in the romance *Merlin*, published in Paris in 1498: Merlin visiting his old wise friend Blaise shortly before his own death (see Sirén, in *Ord och Bild*, xii. 476). Again, Dr. Schaeffer (in *Monatshefte*, iii. 340 *sqq.*) interprets the subject as the young Marcus Aurelius in the company of two philosophers. The latter subject was certainly not untried by sixteenth-century artists; and, moreover, the Anonimo described the picture under discussion as "La tela . . . delli tre filosofi."]]

GIORGIONE



Hanfstäengl photo.

III. 18]

THE THREE PHILOSOPHERS.

[Vienna, Imperial Gallery.

the picture what it may, it certainly exemplifies in the most striking manner the faithfulness with which real objects can be reproduced, and the art which gives interest to a simple agglomeration of common objects. None of Giorgione's pieces is more clever in diversity of handling, none more skilful in varying tone according to distance. There is a very clear definition of things and exquisite lightness of touch near the foreground. The air swims with modulations of density over every part of the background. The trick of getting rich and luscious surface from bright glazes over neutral preparations is very fully and happily attested in parts which have lost their patina by abrasion. These parts show that Giorgione was quite an adept in the intricate details, not only of pictorial practice in general, but of pictorial practice at Venice; but they also show that he was an accomplished dissembler of his means, for, artful as his method really is, it looks almost elementary in its simplicity. It has been said that the man is intended for Giorgione, and the woman for his wife. Without disputing this fanciful theory, we may observe that there are marks of faded charm in the latter and martial strength in the former. Both are beautifully placed in the surrounding scenery.¹

Related to these pictures in the mechanism of their painting, but improved in treatment, and, above all, differing from them in scantling and lines, we have the Judgment of Solomon at Kingston Lacy, an unfinished composition which descended to the Grimani-Calergi family at Venice, but, having been seen and admired by Lord Byron in the Marescalchi Gallery

¹ Venice, Manfrini Palace. Canvas, m. 0.83 high by 0.74. The mechanism of the cold preparation, with its warm glazes, is to be detected in the half-abrasion of the man's ruby-coloured vest. The whole surface of the picture has been rubbed down more or less, and has lost the finishing film. The flesh especially was injured in the process; but besides, there are retouches and daubs in the hair and forehead of the man and in the forehead of the female, and the spot of dark water in the foreground is blackened by restoring. The canvas is described by the Anonimo (*ib. sup.*, p. 80) in the house of Gabriel Vendramin (1530). It is reproduced in woodcut in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, No. 11, 1866, with text by H. Reinhart. [* This picture is now in the collection of Prince Giovanelli at Venice. According to the interpretation of Prof. Wickhoff (in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xvi. 39 sq.) it represents a scene from Statius's *Thebais* (iv. 730 sqq.): King Adrastus, who during a torrential heat has gone in search of a spring, finds in a wood Queen Hypsipyle, nursing Opheltes. The Anonimo, however, describes this picture simply as "El Paesetto in tela con la tempesta, con la cingana e soldato."]

at Bologna, was purchased at his suggestion by one of the ancestors of the Bankes. Solomon here does not sit under the tree of justice, but holds his state in a palace. His mien, gesture, and dress are those of a Roman judge; his seat is a throne. To the left a kneeling youth bends forward and smiles, and a guard in orange tunic rests on his shield as the real mother runs forward with prayerful eagerness, and a stooping soldier stares at the bashful girl who follows, whilst a woman stricken in years looks wistfully at the incident. To the right an aged spectator leans on his staff near the king; the false mother makes a movement of assent, and a busy bystander points energetically at the executioner, whose action is indicated by the movement of his arms, to which the sword and child are not as yet given. The earliest notices in Venetian authors tell of this unfinished executioner, but the picture has since undergone scaling and repainting, by which several bits and some heads have been seriously injured and the background was savagely flayed. We still admire the action and regular arrangement of the personages, who are most ingeniously marshalled in a semi-circle, the full and fleshy, but spacious, heads of the men outlined with great simplicity, the delicate shape or tasteful dress of the females and the breadth and fitness of the drapery. There is striking evidence throughout that Giorgione studied classic statuary and nature, and corrected the infirmities of the one by judicious selection from the other. The large distribution of the coloured surfaces, the grateful parsimony of impast, the clever gradation of tints and balance of chiaroscuro produce character and charm. It would seem as if Giorgione had prepared the grounds on a pale, clear scale, returning upon them with coloured transparents, then strengthening lights and darks at the close, covering the transitions with delicate cool greys of a greenish tinge and rubbing the shadows with purple glazes. The tints are all more or less reflected in each other, and harmonized without violent contrasts.¹ In thus bringing Bellinesque art to

¹ England, Kingston Lacy. Canvas, 6 ft. 10 in. high by 10 ft. 5 in.; exhibited in 1869 at Burlington House. This picture is described by Ridolfi (*Marac.*, i. 130). The present condition is this: The background is flayed, and the semi-dome of the niche daubed with yellow. Repainted more or less are the head of Solomon,

perfection, Giorgione produces, even now, an impression of novelty which well deserves the name of modern, and it is no doubt this novelty which induced Vasari to remark that Giorgione imitated the veiled blending and deep, soft shadow of Leonardo. There is not the slightest doubt that Giorgione might have seen da Vinci in the early part of the sixteenth century, when, driven from Milan by the hostility of the French, he visited Venice and brought with him the portrait of Isabella Gonzaga. Leonardo was at Venice for a short time in 1500, and Giorgione might have learnt from the great and imperishable master the supreme gift of elegant selection, the technical methods of breaking and blending tones, and pure finished contours.¹ It is equally certain that Giorgione now no longer betrays any leaning to the metallic finish of Antonello da Messina. But it is quite possible that his style was gradually altered by the simple process of natural expansion, and that he owed the progress which he displayed to the study of his Venetian contemporaries and of the antique.

It is hardly rash to suppose that the rarity of Giorgione's pictures is due to his constant employment as a decorative painter. He was much more frequently engaged on mural designs than Titian; and, in the short span of his life, he produced almost as much as Pordenone. But there is no city in the whole of the Italian peninsula more entirely denuded of frescoes than Venice, and it is a telling proof of the perishable nature of this class of works that Vasari, who saw many of them in 1544, lamented, even then, their premature decay. Hardly foreseeing the fate which awaited his labours, Giorgione covered the Soranzo Palace on the Piazza di San Polo with finished

the flesh parts of the armed soldier to the left, the leg of the man kneeling to the left of the throne, and the executioner. Some spots are scaling away. Cf. Waagen, *Treasures*, Supplement, pp. 377, 378; but his statement that the canvas was left unfinished by the painter before his death is scarcely borne out by the style. It was never finished, but it may have been left so at an earlier date than 1511. [* Mr. Roger E. Fry (in *The Burlington Magazine*, xvi. 6 *sqq.*) has shown that this picture, in principles of composition, colouring, and types agrees so perfectly with the late work of Catena that we must consider him as the author of the painting now under discussion.]

¹ See the letter of Lorenzo da Pavia to the Marchioness of Mantua, dated Mar. 13, 1500, with our notes in *The Academy* for February 1870—a letter which proves Leonardo's presence at Venice during the year in question.

compositions and fanciful figures in oil and fresco without securing for them the durable texture that resists the action of time and air. As a sign of his calling, he drew some spirited designs on the front of his own house on the Campo di San Silvestro. In various parts of the palace of Andrea Loredano (Grimani-Calergi-Berry) at Sant' Ermagora he painted scutcheons with supporters, heads of lions simulating stone, and allegories of the virtues, and amongst these a Fortitude in female dress, grasping the handle of an axe, and resting her foot on the fragment of a pillar—a noble impersonation—known to us by Zanetti's print—commingling statuesque classicism and the flesh and blood of real life. On the Casa Flangini at Santa Maria Giobenico he left a series of monochrome friezes and half-lengths of Bacchus, Venus, Mars, and Mercury, and on three or four houses besides a variety of ornaments of the same kind.¹

But the most celebrated of all his creations of this sort was the decoration of the mart of the Germans, or Fondaco de' Tedeschi, rebuilt in 1506 on designs attributed to Fra Giocondo. We are unhappily without information as to the manner in which Giorgione obtained the patronage required for so important a commission. It is only surprising that he should have been able to set aside such old and experienced masters as Giovanni Bellini and Carpaccio; and we must needs suppose that the cleverness he displayed in the palace of Andrea Loredano, or the friendship of the Doge Lorenzo, whose likeness he took, established his claim to public employment.² Between 1506 and the summer of 1507 he finished the front of the Fondaco facing the grand canal, dividing the upper spaces into niches with representations of isolated individualities, the lower ones into compartments imitating colonnades enlivened by men on horseback, and the bands between the stories by friezes containing trophies, nudes,

¹ Cf. Vasari, iv. 95; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 124, 127, 200; Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. di San Polo, p. 5; Sest. di C. R., pp. 8, 60; Sest. di San Marco, pp. 83, 84, 86, 87; Boschini, *Carta del Navegar pitoresco*, pp. 307, 308; and Zanetti (Antonio), *Varie pitture a fresco de' principali maestri Veneziani*, fol., Venice, 1760, p. vi.

² Vasari tells us (iv. 95), and in this he is confirmed by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 127) that Giorgione painted the likeness of the Doge Leonardo Loredano. The palace of Andrea Loredano is that which afterwards passed to the Grimani-Calergi, and was later possessed by the Duchess of Berry (*Guida di Venezia*, by Zanotto, note to p. 358).

and monochrome heads. The truncated corners of the building were particularly noted for their filling of "geometers measuring the globe."

Vasari was delighted with Giorgione's clever execution, and particularly admired the vivid brightness of the colouring, but he considered that there should have been more unity of thought and more narrative power in the complex of the design; and there is apparent ground for believing that his opinion was shared at the time in influential quarters. Yet, in making appeal to the judgment of his guild, Giorgione successfully vindicated his right to a large and generous payment, and Carpaccio, who was chosen by Bellini, with Lazzaro Bastiani and Vittore di Matteo to value his frescoes, gave an award for one hundred and fifty ducats.¹

It is said that whilst Giorgione was still at work on the Canal Grande, Titian was chosen to carry out a rival decoration on the second front of the Fondaco looking towards the Merceria. At the close of his efforts there was some divergence of opinion as to which of the two artists had displayed the highest power, and it is added that some persons congratulated Giorgione on the completion of frescoes which they supposed to be his, thereby mortally offending him in his pride as an artist.²

But the truth appears to be that Giorgione's aristocratic patrons were highly satisfied with his success, for, whilst the question of his remuneration for the Fondaco remained in

¹ Venice, Fondaco de' Tedeschi. The Fondaco, now Post Office, was burnt in 1504, and ordered by the Venetian senate, in a decree of June 19, 1505, to be rebuilt on the model of Girolamo Tedesco, a model said to have been made from the plans of Fra Giocondo. The building was erected in 1506. After the completion of Giorgione's frescoes on the front facing the canal, differences broke out as to the price to be paid for them, and in respect of these differences the following documents have been found and made public: Venice, November 8, 1508, order of the "Signoria" that justice be done to "Mistro Zorzi da Chastelfrancho" for having painted the "Fondego de tedeschi. Venice, December 11, 1508, valuation of Lazzaro Bastian, Vettor Scarpaza, and Ser Vettor de Matio, appointed by Ser Zuan Bellin, by which M^o. Zorzi's frescoes are declared to be worth 150 ducats. Same day, consent of "Messer Zorzi" to accept 130 ducats. These documents were published by the Ab. G. Cadorin in Gualandi's *Memorie*, ser. iii. pp. 90, 91, 92. Consult also Vasari, iv. 95 *sqq.*; vii. 428 *sqq.*; Sansovino, *Ven. Descr.*, ed. Mart., p. 366; Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. di San Marco, p. 109; and Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 127.

² Dolce, *Dialogo*, pp. 63, 64; Vasari, vii. 430 *sq.*; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 200.

suspense, he received an order for a large canvas in the audience-chamber of the council, and the advances made to him for that purpose in the summer of 1507 and in January of 1508 show that the work he had undertaken was of the highest consequence.¹

Vasari, on his part, gave a practical contradiction to the story of Giorgione's enemies by confounding the works of both painters in a common reproof; and though it is not to be denied that Titian, with a larger fund of talent and greater weight of metal, rose to a higher eminence than Giorgione, it is not to be forgotten that Giorgione might have done more had he lived longer and enjoyed Vecelli's chances.²

One of Giorgione's frescoes on the Fondaco exists—a head, torso, and part of the arms, of a female with something of the semblance of a coloured statue in a niche. Zanetti's engraving proves that it was in a mutilated state as early as the close of last century. Two other bits—a male and a female in scanty drapery and fine, free attitudes—are all that Zanetti adds to his collection. He praises the warmth, originality, and breadth of treatment conspicuous in these pieces; but he assigns to Titian a calmer, grander, and higher power. He admires in Giorgione the quickness and resolution with which action is rendered, the artifice with which light and shade are broken, blended, and distributed; in Titian, the firmness and strength of the half-tones, the simplicity of contrasts, the tenderness of the flesh tints, and the moderation which avoids Giorgione's fire whilst it abstains from darkness of shadow and excessive redness of skin. In this dispassionate judgment of the comparative merits of the two great Venetians there is every reason to concur.³

That Vecelli at some period of his life frankly followed Giorgione in the mechanism of his painting is apparent from

¹ As to this, the documents of August 14, 1507, and January 24, 1508, were published by Ab. G. Cadorin in Gualandi's *Memorie*, ser. iii. pp. 88, 89. The subject of the picture is not given; but it may be the Judgment of Solomon, of which see *antea*. Ridolfi supposes (*Marav.*, i. 137) that Giorgione began the canvas of Frederick kissing the foot of the Pope, in the Sala del Gran Consiglio; but this supposition requires confirmation.

² Vasari, iv. 95 *sq.*

³ Zanetti (Antonio), *Varie Pitture*, *ub. sup.*, pp. vi., vii.

Vasari, who says he had seen a portrait of a gentleman of the Barbarigo family which, but for the name on the ground, he would have given to Giorgione. On a previous occasion the same acute critic was deceived by the conformity of style which both craftsmen displayed, and ascribed to Giorgione the Christ carrying his Cross at San Rocco of Venice, which he afterwards thought fit to restore to Titian.¹ Now that we look at the picture with the full consciousness of these contradictions, we are still left in doubt whether we have before us the work of the master or that of his pupil. Christ, majestically prominent in concentrated light and proportion, carries his cross, and turns towards the spectator with a matchless serenity of glance and expression in his countenance. In the gloom behind, a guard appears following the procession. In front, a half-naked executioner encouraged by an old man at his side, threatens the Saviour and holds the rope. Two peculiarities characterize the piece, the charm of high art and the gift of miracles. The veneration due to these causes did not save the canvas from the profanation of cleaners who bared many parts of it to the preparation; but, injured as it is, we still discern on the surface a technical treatment akin to that of Giorgione. We discern Giorgione's type and subtle naturalism, his grand balance of chiaroscuro and illuminating power, his spare impast, his nice selection of tints, his broken tones and blended transitions. We may be loth to rob Giorgione of this creation, yet it may be possible to admit that Titian acquired the manner of Giorgione so perfectly as to deceive us.²

One picture which has not its equal in any period of Giorgione's practice gives a just measure of his skill, and explains his celebrity. This is the "Concert" of the Pitti which Leopold of Tuscany bought in the seventeenth century from Paolo del Sera. In one of the simplest arrangements of half-

¹ Vasari, iv. 97 and vii. 437. But see also other authorities who ascribe the picture to Titian, e.g. Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 203; Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. di San Polo, p. 49; Sansovino, *Ven. Deser.*, pp. 195, 288.

² Venice, San Rocco. Canvas, busts large as life. The surface is flayed and in some parts even the preparation is washed away. The head of the executioner is in profile, a grey cloth falls from his shoulder. The long hair of the Saviour falls on his white shirt. A copy of this, No. 197 in the Gallery of Parma, seems done by a late Bolognese.

lengths which it is possible to conceive, movement, gesture, and expression tell an entire tale. A monk of the order of the Augustinians sits at a harpsichord, with his fingers on the keys. The chord he strikes is true, for the two bystanders hear its vibration with silent complacency. It is probably that which they hoped to hear, for the monk turns half triumphantly to ask, "Is it not so?" His face and glance, the play of his features, are all inquiry; the bald, bare-headed clerk behind touches the shoulder of the monk, grasps the handle of his viol, and assents. To the left, a younger man in long hair and plumed hat gives token of pleasure and acquiescence. The motive thought and purpose of the story are concentrated in the player at the harpsichord; on him the light is thrown—a clear, sparkling, but subdued light, such as we seek within the walls of Italian palaces. His hood and cowl are black, his frock a shade of black; and the delicate opal of his aristocratic but muscular hand is relieved on a furred sleeve interposed to prevent a violent contrast. Outside the focus of the highest light stands (or stood, the surface being flayed) the youth and the clerk with his viol. There are life in the lips and nostrils, variety in the complexion, age, and make of each individually. No simpler yet no more effective picture than this is to be found amongst the masterpieces of the sixteenth century. The subtlety with which the tones are broken is extreme, but the soberness of the general intonation is magical. Warm and spacious lights, strong shadows, delicate reflections, gay varieties of tints, yield a perfect harmony. Parsimonious impast and slight glazes are not incompatible with velvet surface and tender atmosphere. How fresh and clean are the extremities, and with what masterly ease they are done at the finish! What sleight of hand in the furs, what pearly delicacy in the lawn of the white sleeves!¹

¹ Florence, Pitti, No. 185. Canvas, m. 1'08 l. by 1'22; described by Ridolfi as belonging to Paolo del Sera (*Mar.*, i. 126, 127), was afterwards seen by Boschini (*Carta del Navegar*, p. 346) in the Gallery of Leopold of Austria. It has been enlarged at top, by the addition of a bit of feather to the hat of the youth on the left, and a piece of dark ground. Here and there the painting is thrown out of focus by the rubbing off of glazes, as in the face and yellow vest of the youth to the left. The black capes of the two other figures are retouched and injured, and the whole picture is a little dimmed by varnishes. An old



Alinari photo.

THE CONCERT.

[Florence, Palazzo Pitti.]

It is no wonder that Giorgione should have been placed by his contemporaries in the ranks of the very best painters after exhibiting pictures of such power as the Concert; and we should hesitate to deny that, during the short period which elapsed between the completion of the Fondaco and his death, he did not produce much that deserved equal commendation; but it is unfortunately true that none of the canvases or panels which bear his name are at all comparable to the Concert; and we shall be forced reluctantly to conclude either that time and restoring have deprived his works of their genuine character, or that we only possess copies and adaptations from lost originals or—at the worst—that he did not execute what we are fond of attributing to him.

Let us compare the Concert at the Louvre with the Concert at the Pitti. There is no doubt a very great charm in the warmth and tinted colouring of the figures and landscape at the Louvre; but what can be more more striking than the diversity of treatment and feeling which the two compositions betray? In the one, perfect drawing, aristocratic form, same impast, and subtle modulations; in the other, slovenly design, fluid substance, and uniform thickness of texture, plump, seductive, but un-aristocratic shape. Are these divergences in any way to be reconciled with the theory of a common origin? We think not. The subject is simple enough in description. A scantily clad woman stands under a tree and pours water out of a vase. Under the shade another woman, naked, with a male listener at

copy in the Palazzo Doria at Rome (No. 410) tells how the original at the Pitti once was. [• Morelli (*Die Galerien zu München und Dresden*, p. 277) was the first to suggest that this picture might be an early work by Titian. Most recent critics agree that this is indeed the case; and such is also the view of the editor. There can be no question that this painting is in a marked degree Giorgionesque; but it is even more intimately related to the style of Titian and on some points differs from that of Giorgione. Thus, the feeling of the scene is more dramatic—as in Titian—than lyric—as in Giorgione. The modelling of the faces of the two monks is unlike Giorgione, but very like Titian (compare, for instance, *L'homme au gant* in the Louvre). The flatly modelled and squarely shaped hands of the player closely resemble, *e.g.* the hand of the Donor in Titian's Baptism of Christ in the Capitol Gallery. The movement of the head of the same figure recalls that of St. Anthony in one of Titian's frescoes in the Santo at Padua; and the type of the monk to the right occurs again in the Glorification of St. Mark in the Salute at Venice.]

her side, sits with her back to the spectator hearing the melody played by a man cross-legged on the sward. A shepherd with his lambs paces the neighbouring glade. The principal attraction here, in addition to richness of colour, is the paradise in which the party sits—a paradise in which the air is balmy and the landscape ever green; where life is a pastime, and music the only labour; where groves are interspersed with meadows and fountains, where nymphs sit playfully on the grass or drink at cool springs. The dress of the nymphs, if they have any, is meant to enhance, not to conceal their charms. The shepherds are clad in the parti-coloured tights and plumes and slashes of the sixteenth century. There is no conscious indelicacy, yet we stand on the verge of the lascivious. We cannot say that Giorgione would not have painted such a scene; but, as far as we know, he would have treated it with more nobleness of sentiment, without defects of form or neglect of nature's finesses, without the pasty surface and sombre glow of tone which here is all-pervading; he would have given more brightness and variety to his landscape. We shall see that in the *Madonna with the Donor* and attendant Saints at the Louvre we have to deal, not with Giorgione, but with Pellegrino da San Daniele. The Concert suggests, more than any other name, that of an imitator of del Piombo.¹

Let us compare, again, with the genuine Giorgiones the picture which so many writers—old and new—have extolled as one of his most undoubted works—the *Christ Entombed*, in the Monte di Pietà at Treviso. If in all the canvases which

¹ Paris, Louvre, No. 1136. Canvas, m. 1·10 high by 1·38, figures half life-size. The picture is said to have been in the collection of Charles I. of England. It was sold to Louis XIV. by Jabach. [* It will be seen that the authors base their argument that this painting is not by Giorgione, in great part, on the fact that it does not resemble the Concert in the Pitti Gallery. As it has been pointed out (*antea*, p. 26, n. 1), there are, however, strong reasons for thinking that Giorgione is not the author of the latter painting. In the opinion of the editor—which is shared by the majority of the critics of the present day—it is still possible to say of the Louvre Concert, in spite of the thick coats of old varnish which at present disfigure it, that it resembles, both in spirit and technique, the work of Giorgione. With the Dresden Venus, for instance, it has many points of contact.] For No. 1135, the *Holy Family with a Donor*, see *postea* in Pellegrino da San Daniele.



Alinari photo.

III. 28a]

THE CONCERT.

[Louvre.



Allard photo.

PIETÀ.

[Trevi, Monte di Pietà.]

we have examined the commendable features were quiet movement, just proportion, and gentle shape, here we are bound to admire the colossal torso and herculean limbs of a giant, the muscular strength and fleshy growth of angels aping juvenile athletes, and a tendency to depict strong action or equally strong foreshortening. In the dashing fresco which Pordenone finished in the Duomo of Treviso—the ceiling of the Broccardi chapel, in which the Eternal floats with seraphs in the clouds—we observe the same neglect of drawing, the same display of flesh and muscle, similar contractions of extremities. It was the habit of that master, especially after he had been at Mantua, to solve difficult problems of perspective. It was his way to choose models from amongst the humble classes; and here we have a Christ excessively foreshortened, and faithfully copied from a dissecting-table. We cannot even assume that all parts of the Entombment are worthy of Pordenone. The angel supporting the left arm of the Saviour is feebler than the rest, the two cherubs feebler still, and there is as clear a lack of unity in the setting as of homogeneity in the parts. Something, indeed, in the principal figure and landscape recalls Sebastian del Piombo. The general tone is clear and bright, the modelling large, the touch bold, and the pencil-stroke free and fluid. But these qualities are counterbalanced by vulgarity of type, puffy swell of limb, and defective drawing; and these are defects unusual in the common run of works assigned to the master of Castelfranco.¹

That Giorgione was often confounded with Pordenone is evident in the handsome composition of Herodias with the Head of the Baptist in the Doria Palace at Rome.² In England fanciful subject, sumptuous dress, and bright colour led to

¹ Treviso, Monte di Pietà. Canvas, figures large as life. The picture has been frequently restored; and in the last operation of the kind was cleared of not a few excrescences in the shape of paint and varnish. Still there are some repaints remaining, and much that is rubbed down. The earliest writer who connected this work with the name of Giorgione is Boschini (*Carta del Navegar Pitoresco*, p. 36). He was followed by numerous writers up to the present day. A landscape reminiscent of that here depicted is in the background of Sebastian del Piombo's Descent from the Cross (No. 18) in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. At Treviso is also shown a small repetition called an original sketch of the principal group of the Entombment. It is a modern copy on copper.

* ² See *postea*, in Pordenone.

similar mistakes; and as early as the reign of Charles I. the rich but unfortunately restored canvas at Buckingham Palace representing a gentleman supporting the form of a fainting lady was called after Giorgione. There is no denying the charm of the noble features of the young and fair-haired man who supports the drooping lady on his breast and listens to the beating of her heart. The beauty of the scene is enhanced by the costly dress and delicate nurture of the actors, the whiteness and fineness of the linen, the gloss of the emerald and ruby silks, and, where the surface is preserved, the golden glow of complexions cleverly thrown into light and shade, the brilliance of sparkling tints, and the crispness of the touch. But this is the sort of charm which Pordenone, and after him Paris Bordone, was fond of producing; and this London picture, if it be not by Giorgione, is a bright specimen of grand Venetian art. We may suppose that in its conception the painter adhered closely to nature, and gave to the figures the significance of portraits; and the incident might have been derived from the novels of Bandello without prejudice to this mode of treatment. At all events, the subject pleased, and was more than once repeated.¹

Let us now contrast the landscapes of which we admired so many varieties with that which enjoys so great a reputation in the museum of Dresden, under the name of the Meeting of Jacob and Rachel. We shall not complain that the actors in this rural scene should appear in the wooded sweeps of the Bergamasque country, or dressed in the coarse and tattered garb of mountain peasants; we shall not deny the beauties of scenic picturesqueness and swimming atmosphere which here abound; but we may feel some surprise that the peachy tints and woolly touch of a disciple of Palma should not only be taken for original Giorgionesque, but be assigned to the same hand as

¹ Buckingham Palace. Canvas, 2 ft. 5 in. high by 2 ft. 1 in., with the crown and initials of Charles I. at the back, and catalogued in Bathoe's Catalogue (1757) of James II.'s collection. The flesh parts and the background, including the face of the man in rear, is largely retouched, the hand on the lady's shoulder new. The replica at one time in the collection of King William II. at the Hague, and previously in private hands at Pesaro (Vasari, annot., iv. 104, n. 1), is inferior to the Buckingham Palace piece, and that of the Buonarroti collection at Florence, is much repainted and mutilated, and probably an old copy.

the deep-toned Concert at the Louvre, or the colossal figures of the Treviso Entombment.¹

We turn to another and a simpler theme, the representation of a sibyl, of which so many varieties are given to Giorgione. Early in the seventeenth century Andrea Vendramin, whose studio was known to many connoisseurs, reproduced one of these sibyls under Giorgione's name, and Ridolfi described another in private hands at Venice. Both descriptions point to a canvas belonging to Signor Sorio, of Marostica, in the province of Vicenza—a canvas in which a pensive female with bare neck and bosom is placed in meditation, with her right arm and hand on an open folio, her drooping hair partly woven into the folds of a yellowish veil, her red tunic falling from her shoulder, and a green shawl thrown across her breast. There is something in the poetry of attitude and thought in this sentimental apparition that chimes in with our ideal of Giorgione; but the film of superposed colour which hides the mechanism of the treatment gives us no clue to anything more. In a replica at Pavia a mirror takes the place of the Sibylline book, and reflects, amongst other things, the shape of an old woman spinning; but here we see the cold calculation of an artist arranging a worn subject into a new form rather than the fire and spirit of an original creator; and if the painter be really Giorgione, it is Giorgione sinking to a lower level. Another replica with the mirror in the Pinakothek at Munich is still brilliant with deep and luscious vestment tints, but cold and smooth as ice in the flesh from pouncing and washing; and though much in the technical treatment recalls the Giorgionesque, the broad and masculine head and shoulders are in the spirit of Pordenone.²

¹ Dresden Museum, No. 192. Canvas, from the Casa Malipiero at Venice (vide Dresden Catalogue), 5 ft. 1 in. high by 8 ft. 8 in.; inscribed on a stone: "G. B. F.," which probably means Giovanni Busi (Cariani of Bergamo) fecit. See *postea*, in Cariani.

² (1) Marostica, Signor Sorio. Canvas bust, life-size, with very little of its old patina left except on a fragment of the wrist of the right hand, and the brow above the left eye; ground dark. See the engraving in Rosini, iv. 169. (2) Pavia, San Francesco di Paola (Communal school of painting having belonged to Signor Redemagni and the Spilimbergs of Spilimberg). Canvas, same size as the foregoing, but with a piece added to the top. In the looking-glass, besides the old woman, a money-bag and some pieces of gold and silver are seen reflected. The dress is

A favourite episode, of which the first thought and execution may have originated in Giorgione, is the Knight attended by a page, who laces his armour, of which four or five replicas exist. One at the Imperial Gallery in Vienna displays barely so much of the master's style as Andrea Schiavone or della Vecchia could assimilate; a second, by the same hand, is in the Casa Alfieri at Turin; a third, at Castle Howard, is attributable to a careful Fleming; and a fourth, but larger and more modern, at Stuttgart, seems but a copy.¹

The Tempest in the Venice Academy—that spacious, animated, but inky canvas, in which the large and impulsive handling of an advanced sixteenth-century craftsman is apparent under layers of more recent deposit—was never touched by Giorgione, or, if it was, underwent such complete transformation as to appear—in part at least—by Paris Bordone; nor can we reconcile the calm and refined individuality of the painter of the Pitti Concert with the wildness of this stormy sea, the fantastic agility of the imps in the rigging of the labouring galley, or the muscular mould of the brawny fisher nudes straining at the

peach red, a bit of the bosom and forehead and nose, and the shadow of the neck are injured and partly restored, and the left hand is abraded. (3) Munich, Pinakothek, No. 1110. Canvas, 2 ft. 11½ in. high by 2 ft. 6 in. Here the dress is of a glazed green. But this, the flesh, and other parts are much repainted, and the restorer has added a collar of pearls to the objects in the looking-glass. The names of Titian and Palma have been suggested for this piece, but they are not fitter than that of Giorgione. Consult Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 130, who describes a sibyl like that of Marostica in the hands of one Signor G. B. Sanuto, at Venice.

¹ (1) Vienna Imperial Gallery (not shown, No. 245, Catalogue of 1884). Small busts on panel, 7 in. high by 1 ft. 6 in. The man in armour is turned to the left, and bends his face downwards to look at the hands of the page, who ties the laces. The cap on the page's head is red, his sleeve bright green. (2) Turin, Casa Alfieri di Sustegno. Replica of the above. (3) Castle Howard. Replica of the foregoing, very careful, from the Orleans collection. (4) Stuttgart Gallery, No. 460. Wood, 2 ft. 5½ in. high by 2 ft. 1 in. This enlarged copy is all repainted.

All these may be derived from one and the same piece by Giorgione, the resting-place of which we cannot discover. We are the more disposed to think that this is so, because the late Dr. Waagen describes a fifth replica (*Die vornehmsten Kunstdenkmäler in Wien*, p. 45), in possession of Count Redern, in Berlin, signed by George Pencz, and the large size of this replica presupposes the existence of an original equally large.

* The picture by Pencz is now in the collection of the late Herr von Kauffmann, of Berlin.

row-locks before the saints in the distant bark have quelled the fury of the waves.¹

We come nearer to the feeling of the time and to the suggestiveness of the manner of Giorgione in the canvas at the Imperial Gallery of Vienna, a Youth threatened by the Dagger of a Soldier. We might ask, Is this an illustration of the Venetian custom of executing justice without warning by the hand of an official bravo? The culprit seems to have been caught in the midst of a revel; his brow is bound with vine-leaves, the light is on his face and form. The soldier is still in shadow, and issues, as it were, from the gloom to grasp the collar of the victim, whom he waits to despatch with the stiletto at his back. The meaning is conveyed, directly and indirectly, by action, by expression, and a very dramatic contrast of light and shade; but pictorial power here lags behind pictorial intention. The movements are too artful to be natural. The weapon in the left hand may be correct, but is artistically awkward. The gasp and tremor of the youth, the resolution of the soldier, are stogy. The glitter of the latter's breastplate, the white shirt and blue vest of his antagonist, the greens of the vine-leaves, the dusky warmth and blended vapour on the skin, have a scenic glow; but where is the exquisite soberness of Giorgione, his spare colour, his firm and correct touch? In the fat and fusion of the impast, in the naturalism of the features

¹ Venice Academy, No. 516. Canvas, m. 3.50 high by 4.05, from the school of San Marco, ascribed by Vasari (v. 245) to Palma Vecchio; by Zanetti (*Pitt. Ven.*) to Giorgione. But see the précis of opinions in Vasari, v. 246, n. 1. There are pieces of new cloth in the left-hand lower corner and in the bark containing the body of St. Mark. There is much to recall Paris Bordone in the man at the helm of this bark (Zanotto, *Pinac. Ven.*, fasc. xi.). The rest is more modern; but the best-preserved bit is the distance to the left. [* Parts of this picture no doubt reveal the style of Paris Bordone, and we know it was restored in 1733 by Giuseppe Zanchi; but the editor agrees with Sir Claude Phillips (in *The Burlington Magazine*, x. 245 sqq.) that in certain passages—such as the demons in the boat in the foreground, or the landscape background to the left—one finds the characteristics of Palma Vecchio's style. Vasari, as we have seen, ascribes the painting under discussion to the latter artist. It would therefore seem that we may assume that this is a work by Palma, subsequently restored by Bordone and Zanchi. Bordone, it may be added, executed for the Scuola di San Marco a painting of another incident in the legend from which the subject of this picture is taken. Bordone's work also now hangs in the Venice Academy (No. 320).]

and imperfection of the extremities, we detect a modern art derived from the school of Palma Vecchio, the hand of a painter whose style leads up to that of Cariani.¹

A more charming combination of Palmesque and Titianesque features than this of the Belvedere is the Madonna with Saints in the Museum of Madrid, where the Child on the Virgin's lap plays with the flowers held up by a lovely maiden, and a saint in armour unfurls the banner of his Order. We shall not easily find a Venetian work of the good school more attractive for freshness and blending or tender richness of tints, or one in which a more winning Titianesque grace adorns the Madonna. That the female with the flowers should be a counterpart of Palma's Violante in the Imperial Gallery of Vienna is perhaps a mere coincidence. The same subject at Blenheim, with a variety in the individuality of the saints (the female receives a palm-branch from the child) more surely suggests the authorship of Palma Vecchio.²

We may glance, in conclusion, at the Horoscope in the Manfrini Palace at Venice, a picture not only admitted into the complex of Giorgione's genuine productions, but acknowledged as the earliest of its class in North Italy. A man in

¹ Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 207. Half-lengths, canvas, 2 ft. 4 in. high by 1 ft. 2 in. Boschini (*Navegar pit.*, pp. 38, 39) describes the original in the Gallery of Leopold of Tuscany and a copy by Varottari at "San Boldo in Cà Grimani" (Venice). Is this one of the two, or a third? Waagen leans to the belief that the Vienna canvas is genuine! (*Vornehmste Denkmäler, ub. sup.*, p. 33). There is much retouching in the head and right hand of the man in armour. The hand of the man to the left is injured. The head, hair, vine-leaves, and dress not without abrasion and casual repaints. The background is renewed. [* This picture is now officially ascribed to Cariani. A replica of it is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Ionides collection, No. 97).]

² (1) Madrid Museum, No. 236. Wood, 3 ft. 1 in. high by 4 ft. 1 in. (Spanish). This panel, though it has a look of Palma, might be a juvenile effort of Titian. Green curtains at the corners give richness and harmony to the whole; there is a horizontal split through the hand of the saint in armour and the white-and-yellow sleeve of the female. [* The authors later ascribed this picture without hesitation to Titian (*The Life and Times of Titian*, i. 110 *sq.*). It is certainly his work, and is now also catalogued as such at Madrid.] (2) The Violante of Palma is No. 137 in the Imperial Gallery in Vienna. A replica or old copy from the Madrid Madonna is (3) No. 632 at Hampton Court, with a slight variety in the movement of the Infant Christ. Wood; a careful but feeble work, with some Titianesque character and light, rosy tones. (4) Blenheim. Canvas, mounted on wood, injured by a split; but see *postea*, Palma Vecchio.

oriental dress sits at a table with a brass disc and compass in his hand. He is not surrounded with the usual paraphernalia of a necromancer—no crocodiles hanging from the ceiling, no bats nor babies preserved in spirits. He sits in a ruin with an armless Venus in a niche. Behind him the mother, seated on the ground, playing with the child; close by, the father, in a standing attitude, in front of the landscape. Here, again, is a fanciful subject treated in the so-called Giorgionesque fashion, but without the power or subtlety of Giorgione, especially without his melody of tone, purity of drawing, or development of form. Something paltry in the shape of the figures, something monotonous in the tints, a brown and empty uniformity in the flesh—all this indicates a second-rate Venetian. The freshness rubbed off the panel diminishes its effectiveness, yet it still looks as if it might have been produced by Girolamo Pennacchi.¹

Finally, a Knight of Malta at the Uffizi in splendid dress, with spotless chemisette and jewelled collar, the varied blacks of his silk garments damasked in minute patterns, a chaplet of large beads in his hand, presents himself at the first view with all the prestige of a grand Venetian. His thick brown hair and beard are finely adumbrated against the gloom of the background. A warm southern complexion is relieved by deep shadows. But on close inspection the charm is evanescent. There are veils of stippled colour in the face and hands, there is no transparence in the darker parts. We conclude that Giorgione's work was altered by late retouching, or the painter is a skilful imitator of Giorgione's manner.²

It would be most desirable to trace some of the more celebrated of Giorgione's solitary figures and portraits to which there are references in the oldest historians; and in isolated instances it may be possible to find canvases which very nearly

¹ Venice, Manfrini Palace. Wood, m. 1.35 broad by 0.92 (cf. the opinion of Kugler, *Handbook*, p. 434, and Quandt's *Lanzi*). In the distance are warriors under a tree. [* This picture is now in the Dresden Gallery, No. 186.] In the Onigo collection at Treviso there are two portraits assigned to Giorgione; but see *postea* in Girolamo di Piermaria Pennacchi.

² Florence, Uffizi, No. 622. Canvas; bust life-size. Otto Mündler (in Burckhardt's *Cicerone*, iii. 976) assigned it to Della Vecchia.

approach to the required standard; but, at the best, such canvases are only to be taken as specimens of the Giorgionesque without proof of their absolute genuineness.

We might desire, for instance, to attribute to Giorgione with authority the portraits in one frame at the Berlin Museum, where two men of middle age in black sit gravely at a table, one fronting the spectator and listening, the other in profile reading a letter—a canvas which has suffered irreparable injury, but worthy of Giorgione and even of Titian in the grandeur and dignity of its impersonations.¹ Still higher in the scale we might be inclined to place the bust of a bare-headed man in long black hair, in the Gallery of Rovigo—a grave and powerfully wrought creation which, perhaps more than any other, approximates to the true style of Giorgione.² We might add the Christ carrying his Cross, in the Loschi collection at Vicenza, in which the early cento of Antonello and the Bellinesque is to be found in connection with high finish and realistic detail, and an interesting bust portrait in the Ajata mansion at Crespano.³

¹ Berlin Museum, No. 152. Canvas, 2 ft. 10 in. high by 3 ft. 3½ in., from the Solty collection. The surface is unfortunately repainted after flaying, and hence the difficulty of holding a strong opinion. Both men wear black projecting caps. Through a window a landscape is seen. Can this be "Giovanni Borgherini and his master" of whom Vasari speaks? (iv. 94).

² Rovigo, Galleria Comunale, No. 11. Small panel, 7½ in. high by 6½. Bust of a man in a white shirt and vest, bare-headed, with long hair, showing one hand at the lower edge of the picture. There are some retouching and consequent opacity in the hair and flesh-shadows. (Originally in Casa Muttoni, at Rovigo. See Bartoli (Fr.), *Pitture, &c., della Città di Rovigo*, Venice, 1793, p. 217.)

³ (1) Vicenza, Casa Loschi [* now Boston, collection of Mrs. Gardner]. Wood, m. 0.52 high by 0.40. Christ, three-fourths to the left, bearded, with long locks falling to his shoulders, carries his cross. We should note the precision and finish of the hairs of the beard, the thorns in the crown, the veining on the wood of the cross. The handling is minute, finished, and resolute. The mask is noble and elevated, and grief grandly expressed. The colours are strong and rich, with warmth and transparency in shadow, and delicate transitions nicely blended, the drapery white, with ornaments on the hems, clever and Bellinesque. The preservation is good, and but a small spot on the forehead shows a stain. This fine panel, which deserves the name of Giorgione, is the original of that preserved in the Gallery of Rovigo (see *antea*, i. 270) as a Leonardo, as well as of a copy formerly in possession of a dealer at Padua. [* The editor has no clue to the present owner of the last-named painting. Versions of the same composition may now be found in the collections of Count Lanckoronski, of Vienna, Count Pourtales,

GIORGIONE



Hanfstäengl photo.]

[Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN.

GIORGIONE



Hanfstäengl photo.

[St. Petersburg, Hermitage.]

JUDITH.



Hanfstängl photo.

III. 36c]

VENUS.

[Dresden Gallery.

It would probably be fatal to the interest which attaches to the life of a man so remarkable as Giorgione if we should attempt to follow the ghost of his name through the numerous galleries which boast of possessing pictures from his hand. The utmost that we require is a list of such pictures at the close of the master's history, classified according to the predominant character of each piece. It was not without lamentable consequences that numerous painters of different schools should have been made to contribute to the nimbus of Giorgione. In the absence of any challenge as to the genuineness of productions fathered upon him, the most erroneous impressions of his style and character gained currency, until it became habitual to assert with openness akin to truth that he was a marvellous colourist, but no draughtsman; that he was the father of the biblical novel or the creator of sacred pieces in which profane and poetic feeling

of Berlin, the late Sir William Farrer, of London, and in the Stuttgart Gallery (No. 459).] (2) Crespano, Ajata collection, No. 16. Wood, m. 0·37 high by 0·26. Bust of a bareheaded man in a rich brown-and-yellow dress, and a medallion with a griffin hanging from his neck. This picture, which is not free from retouching, requires fresh study. On a superficial examination it seemed not unlike an original of Giorgione's early time—a pleasing face, sweetly coloured, and with detail touched minutely and delicately. Most spotted by retouching is the hair and beard.

* We have still to mention a few pictures which, since the authors wrote their account of Giorgione's life and work, have been identified as being by him. An early work is the bust of a young man in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (No. 12A); the attribution to Giorgione is warranted not less by the profoundly poetical conception than by the colouring, drawing, and modelling. Also by Giorgione is the full-length of Judith standing in a landscape, with the head of Holophernes at her feet, in the Hermitage Gallery (No. 112). The figure of Judith is closely allied to that of the Virgin in the Castelfranco altarpiece, and the colouring is also very reminiscent of that picture; but the Judith is probably slightly later in date. Another work by Giorgione which is reminiscent of the Castelfranco picture, though it is separated from it by a greater length of time than the Judith, is the Madonna between SS. Francis and Roch in the Prado at Madrid (No. 288). One of Giorgione's last works is the supremely beautiful Sleeping Venus in the Dresden Gallery (No. 185), seen in 1525 by the Anonimo (p. 66) in the house of Girolamo Marcello at Venice. Originally there was a Cupid at the feet of the goddess; according to the Anonimo the former figure and the landscape were finished by Titian. This picture became the model for a countless number of works of the Venetian school. The bust of a young man in the Budapest Gallery (No. 140) is probably also by Giorgione, and the portrait of a lady in the Borghese Gallery at Rome (No. 143), as well as the Apollo and Daphne in the Seminario at Venice, comes in any case very close to Giorgione. Cf. Morelli, *Die Galerien zu München und Dresden*, pp. 270 sqq.; *Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfilii*, pp. 323 sq.

overweighted sentiment ; that he was a man of sensual habits, transfusing sensuality into his pictorial types.¹

It is probably true that he was fond of gallantry, for Ridolfi, who rejects the covert hint thrown out by Vasari that he perished from sickness engendered by excesses, admits that he died of a broken heart because he was robbed of his mistress by his disciple, Luzzi ; but it is folly to set up a high standard of morality as regards the fair sex for men of the artistic profession in the sixteenth century, and there is not a whit more to be said against Giorgione than was said with truth of Raphael.²

The death of Giorgione "of plague" in 1511 is registered with absolute uniformity by all—even the oldest—authorities. His remains were taken to Castelfranco in 1638 and buried in the church of San Liberale.³

Vasari relates an anecdote of Giorgione, which he dates at the time of Verrochio's residence in Venice (1488). He says that a question arose between him and certain sculptors as to the preference to be given to sculpture or drawing ; the sculptors urging the facility with which the same statue could be seen from all sides by simply going round it, Giorgione maintaining that it was quite possible to show all sides of a figure on one picture without moving. As an illustration of his meaning, Giorgione is said to have painted the back view of a nude on the bank of a limpid stream, which reflected the other side of his person, whilst the flanks were seen in a mirror and breastplate.⁴

¹ Selvatico, *Storia Estetico-Critica*, i. 526 ; Jacob Burckhardt's *Cicerone*, 2nd ed., by Dr. A. von Zahn, 8vo, Leipzig, 1869, iii. 974-5.

² Vasari, iv. 99 ; Ridolfi, *Le Marav.*, i. 137. But Dolce, *Dialogo*, p. 60, only says that Giorgione died of plague "con non poco danno della pittura."

³ See the foregoing note, and consult Melchiori's MS., *ub. sup.*, and Dr. Tescari's *Per Nozze*. [* We now know that Giorgione died in 1510, probably in September or October. On October 25, 1510, Isabella d'Este wrote to her agent Albano in Venice asking him to obtain for her a painting, "de una nocte" (presumably a Nativity) which, she had been informed, was the property of the deceased "Zorzo da Castelfranco." Albano, in his reply, dated November 8, 1510, stated that "the said Zorzo died many days ago of the plague," and that there was no picture of the kind mentioned by Isabella among his property ; but that Taddeo Contarini and Vittorio Beccaro both possessed pictures of that subject by Giorgione. (Luzio, in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, ser. i. vol. i. p. 47). See also *antea*, p. 5, n. 1.

⁴ Paolo Pino says the figure was a St. George in armour between two mirrors. See his *Dialogo*, p. 27 verso.

This practical solution of a problem which occupied the minds of casuists in the sixteenth century is only interesting to us because it tells us of a masterpiece, of which no trace has been preserved. The list of works at the head of which this may be placed would probably be found to comprise many that had no claim to originality, but also many that it would be most desirable to possess. We note the following :

Venice, collection of the Patriarch Grimani. A large head of a man with a red cap with fur lappets in his hand, and a boy with fleecy hair.

Faenza, Casa Castel Bolognese. A portrait.

Florence, Casa Borgherini. Portrait of Giovanni Borgherini and his tutor.

Florence, Casa Anton de Nobili. A Captain in armour, said to be the likeness of an officer who visited Venice when Gonzalvo Ferrante (da Cordova) came to pay his respects to the Doge Agostino Barbarigo ; a portrait of Gonzalvo himself (Vasari, iv. 93 sqq.).

Venice, Casa M. A. Pasqualino. Bust of a boy holding an arrow and St. James with the pilgrim's staff.

Venice, Casa G. Vendramin. The Dead Christ supported on his tomb by an Angel.

Venice, Casa Zen. A Nude in a landscape, of which the drawing with pen was in the collection of Michiel Contarini.

Venice, Casa Jeronimo Marcello. St. Jerome reading. Portrait of M. Jeronimo armed, showing his back and turning his head, the original of a later picture in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, No. 206, and a nude Venus in a landscape with Cupid—landscape and Cupid finished by Titian.¹

Venice, Casa M. Z. A. Venier. A Soldier armed to the waist.

Venice, Casa Zuane Ram. Bust of a boy holding a dart, a shepherd boy with a piece of fruit.

Venice, Casa Odoni. St. Jerome in the desert by moonlight.

Venice, Casa Taddeo Contarini. Æneas and Anchises in Hades, and the Birth of Paris.² (Anon., ed. Morelli, pp. 56, 63, 65, 66, 73, 78, 79, 80, 85.)

Venice, collection of Niccolò Renier. A Virgin and Child, and Samson watched by two men as he wails over the loss of his locks. (Sansovino, *Ven. Descr.*, p. 377.)

*¹ This is the painting now in the Dresden Gallery (see *antea*, p. 36, n. 3).

*² The Birth of Paris was formerly in the collection of the Archduke Leopold William at Brussels, and is engraved by Th. van Kessel in Teniers's *Theatrum pictorium* (1660). A copy of a small part of it (comprising two figures of shepherds) is now in the Budapest Gallery (No. 195).

Venice, Casa Malipiero. Half-length St. Jerome reading in a book.

Venice, Senator Gussoni. Virgin, Child, St. Jerome, and other saints.

Venice, Casa Vidman. Birth of Adonis, Venus and Adonis, and Death of Adonis, parts of a *cassone*, twelve pieces with the story of Psyche; picture called "Il vecchio castratore."

Venice, Signor Niccola Crasso. Portrait of Luigi Crasso with his spectacles in his hand. (Cicogna, *Iscriz. Ven.*, iv. 163, corrects, we think properly, Luigi, for which he suggests Niccola who was Giorgione's contemporary.) A naked Woman, and near her a shepherd playing the flageolet.

Venice, Palazzo Domenico Ruzzini. An armed Captain.

Venice, Signor Camillo Lucarno. A portrait.

Venice, Signor Gozi. A portrait.

Scuola de' Sartori. Virgin and Child, St. Barbara, St. Joseph, and a patron.

Venice, Signor Francesco Bergonzio. Portrait of a lady. Pictures in the palaces Girolamo Cavazza, de Tassis, Ottavio Fabri, and Girolamo Contarini.

Verona, Muselli collection. Portrait of a man in a fanciful cap, half velvet, half brocade, and a pelisse with wolf-fur lining, holding a book in both hands; in the architectural background a headless statue, a portrait of Laura.

Verona, Dr. Curtioni. Christ, the Apostles, and a woman possessed of a devil with her mother. A portrait. Achilles receiving arrows from Paris; Amor in a landscape.

Verona, Casa dal Pozzo. Portrait of Giorgione.

Verona, Conte Rizardi. Portrait of a man, half-length.

Antwerp, Van Vert collection. Head of Polyphemus in a large hat casting a broad shadow on his face. Portrait of a commander in antique dress and red cap. A youth in armour with copious hair. One of Casa Fugger with a wolf-skin pelisse, half-length, nude, in thought, with his form reflected in a breast-plate. (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 126-7; ii. 149; Dal Pozzo, *Pitt. Veron.*, pp. 303, 308; Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi*, pp. 189, 190, 198; Boschini, *Carta del Navegar*, p. 308, and *Le Ricche Minere*, Sest. di C. R., pp. 15, 16; Sansovino, *Ven. Descr.*, pp. 374, 376, 377, 394, and 415.)

Rome, Prince Aldobrandini. St. Sebastian.

Rome, collection of Queen Christine. Full-length of Pico della Mirandola as a boy with sword and dagger and cap with white feather.

Modena, Prince Cesare Ignazio d'Este. Portrait of a man in a hat which throws his head half into shadow (1685). Portrait of a man, one hand on his hip, the other holding his gloves.

Modena, Studio Coccapani (1640). Portrait of Giorgione. A landscape (Campori, *Raccolta, ub. sup.*, pp. 147, 149, 310, 312, 347).

London, collection of Charles I., Ashmolean Museum Catalogue. Man's head in a black cap and cloak (bust).¹ A woman with her left breast naked, her right breast covered with part of her smock. Actæon.² Mary, Christ, St. Catherine, and St. Joseph.³

London, collection of James II. A man with the head of John the Baptist. Giorgione's picture, with several statues about him (Lotto). A woman, half-length, holding her apron with one hand, the other upon a bird. A man with a shock dog and a music-book before him. A man to the waist in black with a two-handed sword. A man to the waist in a black-and-pink doublet. A man with a letter in his hand.⁴ A woman in red sleeves, with a chain about her neck. A man with a red girdle, his hand upon his breast.⁵ A man with a hawk on his fist. A man in black cap with a book in both hands. A man in a cardinal's cap, a white book in one hand. A family of ten figures (B. Licinio). Four figures to the waist singing (? Titian of the National Gallery).⁶ A man's head with a black habit with his hair behind his ears.⁷

Amongst the disciples of Giorgione, there is none more Bellinesque in his early period than Sebastian del Piombo, who, for this reason, might be mentioned in connection with pictures assigned to Giorgione, but suggestive of another and more modern Bellinesque. In this class :

*Ex-Northwick collection.*⁸ Wood, 2 ft. 6 in. high by 3 ft., the Woman taken in Adultery, perhaps the same as that described in the palace of the Pesari at Venice (Sansovino, *Ven. Descr.*, p. 376). To the left, the Saviour in profile with the officer and

* ¹ This is the picture, No. 128 at Hampton Court, mentioned *postea*, p. 57. Law, *The Royal Gallery of Hampton Court*, p. 39.

* ² Now Hampton Court, No. 136 (Bonifazio?). Law, *ub. sup.*, p. 27.

* ³ Possibly now Hampton Court, No. 466 (see *postea*, p. 142, n. 1). Law, *ub. sup.*, p. 47.

* ⁴ Now Hampton Court, No. 906. Law, *ub. sup.*, p. 208.

* ⁵ Now Hampton Court, No. 30. Law, *ub. sup.*, pp. 33 sq.

* ⁶ Or rather the picture No. 554 at Hampton Court. Law, *ub. sup.*, p. 55, and *antea*, i. 185, n. 1.

* ⁷ Now Hampton Court, No. 486 (Lotto). Law, *ub. sup.*, p. 44.

* ⁸ Now Chantilly, Musée Condé, No. 34.

a turbaned female; to the right, the adulteress with her hands joined in prayer, escorted by an armed and helmeted guard. These are half-lengths, consisting chiefly of portraits outlined with conscious power, though not without occasional Bellinesque dryness. We miss the elevated spirit of Giorgione in the studied rendering and large working size of the hands of all the personages, but especially in the unideal shapes of the Saviour and adulteress, both of which are lacking in appropriate movement or select form. The dresses are picturesquely variegated and cunningly wrought, but tinted in deep and solid shades—the helmet and armour very clever. The flesh is swept in with a large brush abundantly furnished and copiously impregnated with vehicle, and bears a warm fused and enamelled surface. There is more chiaroscuro than vivid brightness of prism, and the general tone of the whole piece is a sombre leaden red. The painter, whoever he is, differs in type from Giorgione, and has many features in common with del Piombo.

Palma is the true painter of some so-called Giorgiones—whilst others are merely of the Palmesque school.

Berlin Museum, No. 174. A portrait.

Munich, Pinakothek, No. 1107. A portrait.

Blenheim. Virgin and Child, a Female and St. Liberale; half-lengths.

Brunswick Gallery, No. 453. Adam and Eve. These are Palmas (see *postea*).

London, Mr. Barker. Half-length of a female in a yellow turban holding the handle of a guitar. In the landscape, a page accompanies a man on horseback. The varnishy thickness of the impast and washy clearness of the flesh and a certain rawness are characteristic in followers of Palma.¹

Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 205. Canvas, 2 ft. 9½ in. high by 2 ft. 1½ in. St. John the Evangelist, half-length, with the eagle behind him, was placed very high when seen by the authors, but seemed more like a Palmesque school picture than anything else.²

Cariani and Lotto amongst the Bergamasques are those who most frequently produced pictures subsequently honoured with the name of Giorgione. We had occasion to notice some celebrated compositions in which the treatment of Cariani

*¹ This picture was subsequently in the collection of the late Mr. Charles Butler (Mr. Berenson, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, i. 117 sq.).

*² It is now officially ascribed to Cariani.

appears. There are others suggestive of a similar origin, others again redolent of the style of Lotto or his school.

Ex-Gallery of Count Schönborn at Pommersfelden, No. 570. Two ladies, attended by a gentleman in the background.

Glasgow Museum, No. 370. Canvas, with full-lengths, under life-size, of Christ, the Woman taken in Adultery and spectators and soldiers. The first of these is certainly, the second probably, by Cariani. The latter answers the description of one in the collection of Queen Christine (Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi*, 8vo, Modena, 1870, p. 348) there assigned to Giorgione. It is a replica or copy of Cariani's similar picture in the Carrara collection at Bergamo (No. 126).

Hampton Court, No. 469. Wood, small. The Virgin sits on the ground, with the Infant on her knee, attended by three angels and St. Joseph in a hilly landscape. In front, to the right, two shepherds kneel, whilst a third, standing, plays an instrument. The surface is a little rubbed and stippled over, but the treatment reminds us still of Cariani. Of the same school probably, but not excluding the name of Lotto, is No. 116 at Hampton Court: bust of a man, bareheaded, with long hair and beard in a black dress cut out square at the breast and showing the white shirt. This portrait, shorn of some colour and reduced to a brown rawness, is called, "Giorgione, by himself."

In the Holford collection in London, is a portrait (knee-piece, wood, life-size) of a woman in parti-coloured green, and yellow dress, seated in an arm-chair, holding a drawing, in which Lucretia is represented with the dagger. On the red table-cloth before the figure is a motto: "*Nec ulla impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet.*" This picture once belonged to Sir Thomas Carnegie, and was exhibited in 1854 at the British Institution. It displays the well-known smorpha and affectation of Lotto.

The counterpart, of feebler execution, in the Liechtenstein collection at Vienna, is an old copy.

Another phase of Lotto's practice, the Titianesque, seems illustrated in a half-length of Francesco Contarini (No. 508, canvas, 2 ft. 6½ in. high by 2 ft. 2 in.) in the gallery of Stuttgart.

Of the school, and perhaps an injured copy from an original Lotto, is a Knight with his left hand on a crown pointing to the Virgin appearing in the distant sky (canvas stretched on panel, life-size, half-length) in the collection of Count Tadini at Lovere.

In the feeling of the school of Lotto is likewise an injured half-length of a sickly man in front of a grove of trees and distance of hills, playing a guitar (No. 18, canvas, life-size) in the Manzoni Gallery at Pat, between Belluno and Feltre.

Repaints in the black cap, or black silk of the right sleeve, and in the fingers of the left hand and in the trees deprive this picture of some value.

We saw Pellegrino's Madonna with Saints at the Louvre presented to us as a Giorgione. We shall see the same confusion arise as to his Judith in the collection of Saltocchio, near Lucca, and his Christ at the Limbus in the Palazzo Reale at Venice. Many pictures of the Friulan school had a similar fortune, and amongst them many that recall the discipline of Pellegrino and Pordenone, and such artists as Morto, Calderara, Grassi, Secante, and Bernardino Licinio.

London, Royal Academy. A young and comely female stands, all but life-size, at the edge of a stone well, a white chemise hardly covers her shoulder and arm, a green skirt looped up to the knee leaves the leg and sandaled foot bare. There is something coquettish in the way in which water is poured listlessly from an ewer in her hand into a basin. The extremities are ill-drawn and lame, the drapery angular and broken; but the colours are artfully contrasted, and a pretty play of lines is made up out of the blue hills, the streaky horizontal clouds, and a warm brown wall on the foreground. Light and shade are equally balanced, but the absence of broken toning and delicate transitions in the flesh, as well as a liquid washiness of touch, produce an impression of emptiness. The treatment recalls that of Pellegrino, Cariani, and their schools.

Vienna, Imperial Gallery (not shown, No. 241, Catalogue of 1884). Portrait of a man, bust, full face of red complexion in a large black hat with his hand on a book relieved on a light landscape, reminiscent of Pellegrino and Morto da Feltre. (Wood, 1 ft. 7 in. high by 1 ft. 3 in.)

Hampton Court, No. 45. Bust of a man in a black cap enlarged and repainted, but still presenting features like those of the school of Pellegrino.

Milan Ambrosiana, Sala E, No. 43. St. Joseph holds the Child, to whom the Virgin offers some fruit. The young Baptist and the angel and Tobias complete the composition (canvas, figures under life-size). This picture, catalogued as Giorgione, but also assigned to Romanino (Mündler, in Burckhardt's *Cicerone*, p. 998), is by a modern who studied many of his predecessors. The St. Joseph is in the fashion of Pordenone, the Madonna has the round fullness of Palma Vecchio; but the painter, probably Calderara, is a coarse imitator.¹

*¹ This picture is now officially ascribed to Bonifazio.

London, Marquess of Lansdowne. Two women in a landscape listen to a youth crowned with laurel who plays a guitar under a tree. (Wood, figures under life-size.) The author of this picture, who is not Giorgione, had a delicate feeling for tasteful selection of colours; but his style betrays the decline of the schools. His handling and drawing are both loose; his touch is large, his pencil-stroke sweeping and substantial; but his forms are poor and his drapery feeble. He is a painter *di Macchia*, as the Venetians express it, but the *Macchia* is not always in its proper place; in this pleasant and careless art we may perhaps recognize the hand of the Friulan Grassi.¹

Cobham Hall, Lord Darnley. Caesar enthroned receives the head of Pompey. (Wood, 8 ft. 9 in. long by 2 ft. 4 in.) This picture, with its suite of figures, is of sombre tone, with large divisions of light and shade, and decided contrasts of vestment tints. It is a spirited decorative work, with something of Pordenone and a breath of Florentine feeling that might suggest the hand of Morto da Feltre. But the treatment is very like that of Lord Lansdowne's panel above described; and the painter may again be Grassi.

By the same hand, but catalogued as Mantegna, is the following:

Ex-Northwick collection, No. 98.² (Wood, 4 ft. 9 in. long by 2 ft. 4 in.) A Triumph. Caesar (?) on a car, is preceded by a guard, accompanied by captives and followed by soldiers carrying trophies. It is to be observed that the height of the two fragments now described is the same, and they probably formed part of some *cassone*.

Rome, Palazzo Colonna. Giacomo Sciarra, with the baton of command (knee-piece, wood, life-size). The dull tone and modern execution here point to some Friulan of feeble powers, such as Sebastian Secante.

We shall class amongst the works of Bernardino Licinio the following:

St. Petersburg, Leuchtenberg collection. Herodias's Daughter receiving the Head of the Baptist.

Brescia, Duomo Vecchio. The Adoration of the Shepherds.

Brescia furnished a large contingent to the army of Giorgionesque imitators, amongst whom we note not only those craftsmen

*¹ Sir Claude Phillips (in *The Daily Telegraph*, Oct. 6, 1909, p. 12) has pointed out the close connection which exists between this picture and certain recently identified early works by Palma—e.g. the Two Nymphs at Frankfort and the Nymphs with a Shepherd in the Phillips collection.

*² Now Richmond, collection of Sir Frederick Cook.

who, like Romanino, Moretto, and Savoldo, kept clear of the old Mantegnesque, and clung to the pure Venetian feeling, but Calisto da Lodi, a later disciple of the Brescian school.

In the Scarpa collection at La Motta in Friuli (No. 72, life-size busts), a pleasing canvas, perhaps the same that was in the gallery of the Savelli at Rome in 1650 (Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi*, p. 162), contains a lady in rich variegated dress accompanying the song of a cavalier in hat and plume, with the chords of a guitar. The youth of the couple and its gay apparel almost compensate for the loss of bloom and colour which the picture has undergone. The unavoidable conclusion to which we come, after a certain amount of observation, is that the person who executed the piece was imbued with the principles which distinguish Romanino. But we might also fancy that Savoldo, a painter of growing importance in the history of Brescian art, and one of the earliest Brescians settled at Venice, could have produced such a work, especially if he lived so far back as to allow of his studying Giorgione and the first period of Titian at the fountain-head.¹ There are several compositions in English and continental galleries which challenge similar criticism; amongst others these:

Florence, Pitti, No. 147. Canvas, busts. A nymph pursued by a grimacing satyr. The only traces of the original surface here are to be found in the forehead, breast, and shoulder of the nymph or the brow of the satyr, the rest being more or less daubed over. There is more of the Titianesque in the treatment than at La Motta, but the spirit and handling suggest a follower of Titian and Giorgione.²

Alnwick Castle. A group of three, viz. a man bareheaded in a blue vest with peach-red sleeves and a brown mantle over his right shoulder, his gloved left hand on his haunch, turns towards a female in a red turban, a low dress and chemisette, whose movement reminds us of the so-called Mistress of Titian at the Louvre. To the right is a man in a hat with a white plume. This picture was in the Manfrini collection, and then belonged to Mr. Barker. It is dimmed by time and old varnish; but it also displays the character of the schools of Titian and Giorgione; hence the question, whether the painter should not be sought

*¹ The Scarpa collection was sold by auction at Milan in November 1895. The above-mentioned picture is reproduced in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. ii. vol. i. p. 416.

*² This picture is now officially catalogued as a work by Dosso Dossi to whom it was first ascribed by Prof. A. Venturi (*Repertorium*, viii. 12 sq.). See also Gronau, *ibid.*, xxxi. 433.

amongst such imitators as we have named, or be found in Rocco Marconi.

St. Petersburg, Leuchtenberg Gallery. No. 70. Virgin and Child in front of a rose-bush. We shall see cause to assign this Madonna to Moretto, yet see Waagen (*Ermitage, ub. sup.*, p. 325). No. 22. Adoration of the Kings will be found amongst the works of Savoldo or his school.

Rome, Gallery of the Capitol. No. 14. Canvas, life-size. Half-length of a lady seated in a dark room, through an opening of which (right) a landscape with trees and towers is seen. The monster at her side indicates the intention of the painter to represent a lady as St. Margaret. The dress is cut square at the bosom, and the sleeves are puffed. This is a gloomy, injured picture in a high position treated in the fashion of Savoldo, as we judge particularly from the left hand and landscape, which are the only parts in some sort of preservation. No. 186. Half-length of a monk, is a dusky and poor performance certainly not by Giorgione.¹ No. 176. Half-length of a man in silk attire holding a crossbow, in a fine but late Venetian likeness. No. 80. Holy Family, not Giorgione.²

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, No. 138. Canvas. Adoration of the Shepherds, in the realism and boldness of the figures very like Savoldo; very dashing in treatment, the colour full of vehicle and copiously laid on, the surface not free from injury.³

Hampton Court, No. 74. Gaston de Foix is a copy of Savoldo's original at the Louvre.

Gosford House, Longniddry, the Earl of Wemyss. Small panel originally in Casa Litta, at Milan. The Virgin looks over the Child whom she has just wakened by raising the fold of her mantle on which he was reposing. In rear, to the left, St. Joseph and two figures of saints, and the stable with the ox and ass. To the right a landscape, and on the wall at the Virgin's shoulder the words "Georgius Barbarelli." The same composition with a slight variety, but of larger size, in the Tosi collection at Brescia bears the name of Calisto da Lodi, and Lord Wemyss's little picture is probably by Calisto, being coloured after the fashion of the disciples of Romanino. The signature is clearly modern.

Bergamo Gallery. There are three or four portraits here

*¹ The two last-mentioned pictures are now officially ascribed to the Venetian school in general.

*² No. 176 is undoubtedly by Lotto and No. 80 by Dosso Dossi as is now also officially admitted.

*³ Now labelled "Venetian school."

assigned to Giorgione. Lochis Gallery, No. 157. Bust of a man in a black cap and blue coat, in a stormy grey sky; his hand is on a dagger. The dull red tone of the flesh and the resolute treatment generally point to a pupil of Romanino and individually to Calisto da Lodi. No. 164 in the same collection: a bust of a bearded man in a black cap, with a flower in his hand, is the counterpart of a similar portrait (No. 510) in the Stuttgart Museum assigned to Gentile Bellini,¹ and is probably by the Cremonese Altobello Melone. The other "Giorgiones" here call for no further remark.

In the Gattamelata and his Squire at the Uffizi we had evidence of the facility with which the stone-carved cleanness of the Veronese was mistaken for the finish of Giorgione (ii. 218). There is some excuse for substituting Giorgione for Torbido, as is done here; that is, for substituting the pupil for the master. There is none for the more frequent confusion which gives a false impress to the works of Bonifazio.

Florence, Pitti, No. 161. The Finding of Moses. This small oblong, with its indisputable charm of colour and execution, is a recognized Bonifazio.

Milan, Brera, No. 144. Moses presented to the daughter of Pharaoh, once in the archbishop's palace at Milan (Lanzi, *History of Painting*, ii. 135), is also admitted to be one of Bonifazio's jewels.

Rovigo, Communal Gallery, No. 22. (Canvas, under life-size.) The Flagellation; Christ, bound to a pillar in a court, is beaten with rods by two executioners before several guards and bystanders. The shields of the former bear the colours of the Contarini family. This picture, noticed in Antonio Maria Zanetti's edition of Boschini's *Ricche Minere*, 8vo, Venice 1733, as in the choir of San Stae at Venice, was bequeathed by one of the Contarini to Dr. Pellegrini and was bought at the sale of his effects by Count Casilini, who left it (1833) to the Gallery of Rovigo. (See the catalogue of the Rovigo collection.) There are reminiscences in this picture of del Piombo and Palma Vecchio, and there is more firmness in the drawing and modelling than are usual in Bonifazio; yet it is not unlikely that Bonifazio is the painter. The colours are vivid, but a little sombre and raw, and the shadows are very deep. This dusky look may be due in part to the effects of time.

Dresden Museum, No. 210. Wood. 3 ft. 8 in. by 5 ft. 3½ in. Adoration of the Shepherds, from the Casa Pisani at Venice, where it was assigned to Palma Vecchio. Here again we are

* 1 Now to the school of Cremona, about 1500.

reminded of Bonifazio, the figures being full of life and the colour vivid and warm.¹

Amongst the moderns whose compositions take the name of Giorgione, Andrea Schiavone, Rocco Marconi, and della Vecchia are conspicuous.—Especially interesting in connection with these is the frequent repetition of one subject, a bust of a man in a hat with a flageolet in his hand, of which one example is registered in the Catalogue of James II.'s collection (Bathoe's Catalogue of 1758). Though none of the extant replicas can be admitted as genuine Giorgiones, they may have been all derived from an original that has been lost.

Edinburgh, National Gallery, No. 69. Canvas, life-size, bust, three quarters to the left. A large hat with a feather casts a broad shadow over forehead and eyes, on a finger of the hand holding the flageolet is a ring; a fur pelisse covers the shoulder. This is a fine specimen of della Vecchia, of whom Boschini his contemporary (*Ricche Minere*, Preface) says that his Giorgionesque imitations were surprising.²

Naples Museum, Room XIII., No. 2. Canvas; so-called portrait of Antonello, Prince of Salerno, replica of the foregoing in the manner of della Vecchia.

Bowood, seat of Lord Lansdowne. Copy of the immediately foregoing. On a card behind the canvas: "This picture was given by Charles III. (Naples, 1734) to his son Don Gabriel before leaving Naples. Purchased in Madrid by Mr. Coesveldt."

Milan, Brera, No. 354. M. 0.55 in. by 0.43. Replica of the foregoing under the name of Lomazzo.

Padua, Casa Maldura. Fifth replica of the above.³

Modena. In the seventeenth century there was a sixth replica in an oval form in the collection of Cesar and Louis d'Este, Princes of Foresto. (Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi*, p. 421.)

Hampton Court, No. 257. Young man bareheaded in a white shirt and blue mantle, with a flageolet in his hand. This canvas bust is entirely repainted.

Treviso, Casa Perazzolo. Christ carrying his Cross. Canvas, with thirteen full-lengths, including soldiers, executioners, and St. Veronica with the cloth, one of della Vecchia's loose and unsatisfactory imitations of Giorgione. We may ask is this the

*¹ Now labelled "Workshop of Bonifazio Veronese."

*² Now officially ascribed to the school of Giorgione.

*³ The Maldura collection is now dispersed.

original or a copy of an original described by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 136), in the Muselli Gallery at Verona.¹

Ex Northwick collection, No. 482. Wood, bust portrait of a man turned to the right, his head to the left at three quarters in a red cap, and brownish dress. By della Vecchia.

Rome, Borghese Gallery, No. 181. Wood, life-size. Saul bearded and bareheaded, in armour with the sword and head of Goliath on a stone parapet before him; behind him David in the dress of a sixteenth-century page and in hat and feather. The unattractive appearance of this panel may be due to its bad state of preservation (the colour seems burnt and retouched). The flesh is brown and opaque in shadow. In the best-preserved parts (armour, head of Goliath, and hands of Saul) one sees the hand of a painter like Pietro della Vecchia.² Repetitions equally poor, if not poorer, are the following:

Stuttgart Museum, No. 454. Wood, 3 ft. 1 in. high by 2 ft. 6 in.³

Vienna, Imperial Gallery (not shown, No. 546, Catalogue of 1884). Wood, 5 ft. 4 in. high by 3 ft. 5 in. But here the picture is catalogued as della Vecchia.

One of these three may be that described by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 130) in possession of "Signori Leoni di S. Lorenzo." But there is another version of the story at Madrid, *e.g.*:

Madrid Museum, formerly No. 780. Canvas, 3 ft. 5 in. high by 3 ft. 9 in. David, leaning over, holds the head of Goliath and his sword on a stone parapet. He is watched with admiration from behind by Saul in armour. This is not a genuine Giorgione, but of the decline of the Venetian School. The composition and design are almost identical with a drawing of a picture once in the collection of Andrea Vendramin (*De Picturis in Museis, ub. sup.*); but in the drawing there is one figure more, and this points to a canvas described by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 130) but now missing.

Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 21. Wood, 2 ft. high by 2 ft. 3½ in. Bust of David with the head of Goliath. This is a late copy, perhaps after an original noted by Vasari (iv. 93 sq.).

*¹ The picture seen by the authors at Treviso is now in the Casa Belloni-Algarotti at Padua.

*² This painting is now officially ascribed to Dosso Dossi, in accordance with the opinion of Morelli (*Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfilii*, p. 278); and indeed both the colouring and the types seem to justify this attribution. It has been suggested that the subject is not Saul and David, but a scene from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, viz. Astolfo with the head of the giant Orrile (see von Schlosser, in the *Berlin Jahrbuch*, xxi. 269).

*³ In the current catalogue ascribed to Dosso Dossi.

Glasgow Gallery, No. 88. Wood, three quarters of life-size. Virgin and Child enthroned, with three angels playing viols at her feet. At her sides, St. Peter, St. John the Baptist, St. Sebastian, and another saint, from the Solly collection. The vulgar shape and defective drawing, the raw colour and cold grey shadows of this devotional "Giorgione" suggest the name of some Venetian painter of the sixteenth century whose bold and neglectful ease is akin to that of Rocco Marconi. The distant landscape is not without Titianesque character and almost reminds us of that by Domenico Mancini in the cathedral of Lendinara, of which a word later. (Cf. Kugler's *Handbook*, and Waagen's *Treasures*, iii. 289, and Supplement, p. 460, who unaccountably accept the authorship of Giorgione.)¹

*Glasgow, J. Graham Gilbert, Esq., York Hill.*² Small panel in which two men are represented in a landscape playing violoncellos on the sward. This spirited sketch displays the technical freedom and rapidity of Rocco Marconi, or Andrea Schiavone.

Vienna, Imperial Gallery (not shown, No. 238, Cat. of 1884). Wood, 1 ft. 10 in. high by 1 ft. 6 in. The Resurrection—graceful and richly tinted in Andrea Schiavone's Titianesque and Giorgionesque style.

London, Holford Gallery. Canvas busts under life-size. A woman at a table with a purse in her grasp and the fingers of her left hand on a lion's head, turns round to look at a soldier in armour. Through an opening to the right the sky is seen. The movements are instantaneous and resolute, the colours substantial and well moistened with vehicle. We are reminded of Campagnola and Andrea Schiavone.

Sir Humphrey de Trafford, Bart., No. 207, at Manchester. The Woman of Samaria with the Saviour at the well; to the left St. Peter and another saint; distance, landscape. The treatment is that of a man following Palma Vecchio and Bonifazio, recalling Rocco Marconi and A. Schiavone. The colours are warm but copious, and rapidly touched on.

Venice, Seminario. Wood, small figures. Daphne, flying from Apollo, is turned into a laurel. The leaves are seen growing from her fingers as Apollo, with an arrow in one hand, grasps at her with the other. The scene is a landscape, in the distance of which Daphne receives the arrows of Cupid, and near the foreground to the left Cupid plies his bow. It is a pity that this

*¹ Now officially ascribed to the school of Bellini.

*² Now Glasgow Gallery, No. 175.

little piece should be so damaged by repainting that much of the form is lost. The painter is probably Andrea Schiavone.¹

Padua, Casa Giustiniani Cavalli. A series of panels representing the Muses, assigned to Giorgione here, are not by Giorgione. They belonged to the Barbarigo Palace at Venice, and are probably those mentioned by Waagen, as works of Giorgione, in the *Kunstblatt* (1846, No. 2). Cf. also Kugler's *Handbook*, p. 434.²

London. Mrs. Butler Johnstone, ex-Munro collection. Holy Family. Virgin, Child, St. Joseph, and the young Baptist. Wood, apparently by Schiavone. The Virgin and Child with St. Joseph in a landscape, canvas, 1 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. in this collection is neither by Titian, whose name it bears, nor by Giorgione, to whom Waagen (*Treasures*, ii. 133) assigns it, but by a more modern hand, perhaps Francesco Beccaruzzi or Lodovico Fiumicelli.³

Other pictures attributed to Giorgione may be grouped as follows :

Milan, Brera, No. 433. Wood, m. 1.82 high by 0.95. St. Sebastian, life-size, originally in church of the Santissima Annunziata at Cremona (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 135) by one of the Dossi.⁴

Florence, Pitti, No. 380. Wood, m. 0.72 high by 0.55. Half-length of St. John the Baptist, and in a distant landscape the Baptism of Christ. Much injured, and in the spirit of the Dossi.⁵

Rome, Galleria Corsini, Room IX., No. 30. Canvas, round, of a man and woman (busts) with nimbus. Much injured and daubed over, without any decided character, but not Giorgione.⁶

Castle Howard. Two female heads, one of which is in part mutilated, a fragment ascribed by Waagen (*Treasures*, iii. 325), to Giorgione. This is so injured as to preclude an opinion. It is not unlike a Giovanni Bellini of the last manner (1515).

Vienna, Imperial Gallery (not shown, No. 242, Cat. of 1884). A man tuning an instrument. Giorgionesque after the

*¹ Morelli (*Die Galerien zu München und Dresden*, p. 282), claimed this picture for Giorgione; and the editor also thinks it must be by an earlier artist than Schiavone, whose style of painting is more superficial and piquant than that which we find here. Considering, moreover, how Giorgionesque the types and forms are, it would seem not improbable that this is indeed a work by Giorgione.

*² Present whereabouts unknown.

*³ Both now untraceable.

*⁴ Now officially ascribed to Dosso Dossi.

*⁵ Now officially ascribed to Dosso Dossi.

*⁶ Not shown in the Palazzo Corsini.

fashion of Domenico Mancini. No. 206. Canvas, bust, 2 ft. 4 in. high by 2 ft. A soldier in armour, seen to the waist, a laurel crown on his head, a partisan at his shoulders. His back is to the spectator, and he turns his head so as to show its profile. This production of a feeble artist of the rise of the seventeenth century has been supposed to represent Gonzalvo of Cordova. It has no claim to be accepted as a Giorgione, though apparently so called of old in the Bonduri collection at Verona—(see Dal Pozzo, *Pitt. Veron.*, *ub. sup.*, p. 289, and annot. Vasari, iv. 94).¹ No. 394. Canvas, 2 ft. 1 in. high by 2 ft. 11 in. The Magdalen at Christ's feet in the house of the Pharisee. This small composition is too poor even for Polidoro Lanzani.²

Dresden Museum, No. 221. Wood, 1 ft. 10 in. high by 2 ft. 5 in. A man in a wide toque presses to his breast a young woman; through an opening a landscape is seen. This dry, hard specimen of Brescian art has no right to the name of Giorgione.³ We shall find its counterpart in the Scarpa collection at La Motta, signed by Mancini, and one of these seems to have been in the Canonici collection at Modena in 1632 (see Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi*, p. 115).

Hanover, Provinzialmuseum, No. 280. The Declaration. Half-length of a man in profile "putting the question" to a sentimental young lady in a green dress, who holds a guitar. On the shore of a distant sea, on which vessels are floating, Cupid shoots his arrows. This is a pleasant composition, very carefully wrought, but without power in the rendering of form, and without vividness of colour. The surface is smooth, enamelled, and of thick, oily impast. We shall see work of this kind on the front of a house at Feltre, and the painter is perhaps Domenico Capriolo of Treviso, whose style approximates in some measure to that which distinguishes the Horoscope in the Manfrini Palace.⁴

Frankfort, Stædel Museum, No. 41. Arched panel representing St. Maurice in armour. This is a German or Flemish panel of which the replica at the Imperial Gallery in Vienna, No. 702, is called St. William, by John Hemessen. Another replica used to be in the Hampton Court Gallery, under the name of Giorgione, and seems painted by a Ferrarese.⁵

Brunswick Gallery. Formerly No. 226, not now shown. Canvas, 3 ft. 5 in. high by 4 ft. 4 in. A Concert, the same

*¹ Now officially ascribed to Cariani.

*² In the current catalogue ascribed to Polidoro Lanzani.

*³ It is now labelled "Unknown Venetian Master."

*⁴ The Hanover picture is now catalogued as a copy after Palma Vecchio.

*⁵ The Hampton Court painting is a fine original by Dosso Dossi, of which there exist several copies in addition to the pictures at Frankfort and Vienna mentioned by the authors.

composition, minus two figures, which hangs as a Titian (No. 3) in the National Gallery, but less cleverly executed. Neither canvas is genuine. That of Brunswick is by a late Venetian.

London, National Gallery, No. 41. Canvas, 3 ft. 4½ in. high by 4 ft. 9½ in. Death of Peter Martyr, from the collection of Queen Christine. This is a Titianesque composition adapted by a Venetian or Ferrarese artist of a modern time. We note the sombre colour, harsh vestment tints, and neglected touch as quite out of character for Giorgione.¹

London, Lord Ashburton, Bath House. Canvas, life-size busts. Herodias's Daughter, followed by an aged woman, carries the head of the Baptist on a plate. This composition has been assigned to Titian and to Giorgione without being the work of either. It is a picture of Pordenone's school, and might be assigned to Bernardino Licinio or Beccaruzzi of Conegliano. The figures are of pleasant middle stature, but the colours are dulled in parts by restoring. Two half-lengths in one frame, a canvas in the same collection, suggests the name of Varotari.² They are the counterparts of similar ones in the Ajata collection at Crespano, catalogued as by Frangipani.

Dulwich Gallery, No. 84. Wood, life-size, a Musical Party. The surface is dimmed by repaints; but, judging of the author from the movement and shape of the figures, we might class him in the schools of Lotto or Savoldo.

London, Holford Gallery. Herodias's Daughter carrying the head of the Baptist; wood, busts; behind her a female, in front an armed guard. This reminds us of the same subject at Bath House, but is very feeble.

Heron Court, the Earl of Malmesbury. Small canvas. Paris sits on the sword with his dog and flock. To the right the three goddesses, and Mercury in the air. This is a Bolognese picture in the style of Mola, and not to be confounded with the Judgment of Paris, described as Giorgione's by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 130), of which there is a drawing in the catalogue of Andrea Vendramin (*De Picturis in Museis, &c., ub. sup.*).³

*¹ In the current catalogue ascribed to Cariani.

*² The Ashburton collection no longer exists, but previous to its dispersal the Daughter of Herodias perished in a fire at Bath House.

*³ The picture which Ridolfi mentions is stated by him to belong to the "Signori Leoni da San Lorenzo," and not to Andrea Vendramin, whose collection probably still existed when Ridolfi wrote. A painting now in the Palazzo Albrizio at Venice is apparently identical with that mentioned by Ridolfi; this picture—which is surely not by Giorgione—shows the same composition as Lord Malmesbury's painting. Other versions of it belong to the Dresden Gallery (No. 187) and M. S. Larpent of Christiania. See Larpent, *Le Jugement de Paris attribué au Giorgione*.

*London, Mr. Barker.*¹ The Three Ages. This composition, of which the original by Titian is in the Ellesmere collection, has been often copied. There is a version of it in the Doria Palace, another, by Sassoferrato, in the Borghese Gallery at Rome. Mr. Barker's copy is at the best by Polidoro Lanzani or Lodovico Fiumicelli. That Giorgione once painted the subject is stated by Sansovino, who describes it in the Renier collection at Venice (*Ven. Desc.*, p. 377); but his description tallies with that of the Titian of Lord Ellesmere. Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 127, 128) registers the same subject by Giorgione in the hand of "Signor Cassinelli of Genoa."

London, Miss Rogers. A Knight and a Female, No. 294 at Manchester, is of the Bolognese school.²

London, Mr. Bennett. Virgin and Child, with St. Anthony and St. Catherine in a landscape; see *postea*, Domenico Mancini.

Hampton Court. No. 1086. A small panel with a naked female on the foreground to the left and a hunt in the distance. This is not by Giorgione, but, from such parts as remain un-restored, by a follower of Paris Bordone. No. 773. Canvas, a gentleman in armour and a lady with an instrument. This is a modern imitation after the fashion of Honthorst.

Ex-Northwick collection. No. 898. Cupid takes the hand of a young girl to wound it with his arrow; distance, landscape. This small canvas, with figures under half life-size, is a graceful bit in the style of Varotari. No. 82. Two men in armour, one in front bareheaded, one in rear with a helmet, is of the Bolognese school of the seventeenth century.

Oxford, Christchurch Hall. Small panel, with a representation of Pan, a satyr playing the pipes, and two other figures. Too much injured to admit of an opinion.

Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow. Small canvas, with Atalanta on the lap of Hippomenes, who holds one of the apples. Cupid runs by with his dart, and in the distance is the race. Another episode to the right further characterizes the subject. This is a sketchy, empty, rosy-coloured composition which recalls Lattanzio Gambara, Beccaruzzi, and others of their class.³

Edinburgh, National Gallery, No. 96. A young man, with a girl leaning on his shoulder. Half-lengths in the manner of Della Vecchia.⁴

*¹ Now in the collection of the late Sir William Farrer at Sandhurst Lodge.

*² Present whereabouts unknown.

*³ New National Gallery, No. 1123.

*⁴ Now officially ascribed to Della Vecchia.

The following portraits are all ascribed to Giorgione without being genuine :

Venice, Manfrini Palace, No. 50. Canvas, 59 in. high by 79 in. Bust of a man bareheaded, in a black pelisse with a fur collar. A large piece added to the lower right-hand corner of this portrait, and the rest much repainted, make it difficult to judge of this work, which looks as if it might once have been an original Giorgione.¹

Venice, Academy, No. 472, catalogue of 1867. Canvas portrait of a man (bust), unworthy of the name of Giorgione and unworthy of a place in the gallery.

Crespano, Ajata collection. Half-length of a bearded man, three-quarters to the right, much injured and doubtful.

Forlì Gallery. Portrait of "the Duke of Valentina." See Rondinelli, ii. 304.

Modena Gallery, No. 123. A young woman in white, with one hand on her bosom (not seen). This canvas, measuring m. 0.84 high by 0.61, was taken away with him in 1859 by the Duke.²

Florence, Uffizi, No. 356. Portrait of Giorgione by himself. A poor bust in the style of Beccaruzzi.

Florence, Pitti, No. 222. Portrait of a lady (bust), Bissolo, i. 295.

Rome, Palazzo Doria, formerly Sala Grande, No. 27. Canvas bust in a black cap. This is a careful, pleasing portrait, much damaged by rubbing down and retouching, the green ground best preserved ; a picture of conscientious finish, but without the high qualities of Giorgione.

Rome, Palazzo Corsini, Room 9, No. 61. Canvas, half-length, under life-size, of a man in a dark dress and cap, with a glove in his right hand. A green curtain hangs to the left. The surface is abraded, but the treatment still betrays a follower of del Piombo.³

Dresden, Museum, No. 219. Bust of a man, in white shirt and black silk vest, with a glove in his right hand. Canvas, green ground. This likeness, which is not free from new stippling, is Palmesque, and may be by Paris Bordone.⁴

*¹ Now untraceable.

*² The picture under notice was subsequently returned to the Modena Gallery ; it is the work of some follower of Giorgione. Replicas of it are to be found in the Budapest Gallery (No. 170) and in the collection of Mr. Q. Shaw in Boston.

*³ This picture is not now shown in the Palazzo Corsini.

*⁴ Now labelled "Unknown Venetian Master."

Berlin, Museum, No. 156. Bust of a Venetian in black dress and cap. In the upper right-hand corner of the canvas (2 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. high by 2 ft. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.) is a bas-relief in the antique fashion; injured, and by a follower of the manner of Titian and Pordenone, perhaps Zelotti.¹

London, Mr. Barker. Portrait of a female in a yellow turban, with red and yellow sleeves, holding the handle of a guitar. In the landscape background a man on horseback is accompanied by a page. Wood, half-length. The washy clear tone and fat impast betray the hand of a follower of Palma Vecchio or Cariani.²

Hampton Court. No. 905. Canvas, full-length, standing near a column, with a nimbus round his head, and a palm-leaf in his hand. On the column, "Giorgio Barbarelli, A.D. MDIII. f. s. xx."³ The signature is false, the canvas restored yet dirty, and the hand is that of a follower of the school of Titian. No. 128. Canvas bust of "Giorgione by himself." A handsome front face, bearded, and with long hair. The dress, of black stuff, is cut out square in front. There are many repaints, which conceal the original handling, and make an opinion hazardous.

Longford Castle, seat of Lord Radnor, No. 85. Canvas, life-size, knee-piece of a female in gala dress, with puff sleeves, and a looking-glass in her right hand. She stands in an interior. A genuine Paris Bordone, with an illegible date, which Waagen (who correctly names the painter) read as "MDXXXX."

Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow, No. 124. Bust of Alexander Oliverius. (See *postea* in Santa Croce.) Bust of a man in a large hat, ill drawn and carelessly painted in the style of the schools of Pellegrino and Morto da Feltre.

* ¹ Now officially ascribed to Paris Bordone.

* ² Cf. *antea*, p. 42.

* ³ The above signature disappeared when the picture was cleaned some time ago.

CHAPTER II

PAINTERS OF FRIULI¹

FRIULI, long under the sway of the patriarchs of Aquileia, fell into the power of Venice in 1420, and was subsequently governed by lieutenants of that Republic. Its beautiful valleys were repeatedly fought for by the Imperialists, frequently invaded by Hungarians and Turks. Its people—hardy, warlike, and deeply religious—led a turbulent life amidst the struggles of bishops, fendal barons, and foreign invaders. For years Friuli oscillated between German and Italian feeling in the expansion of its art; and it was not till the close of the fifteenth century that the models of Venice were finally accepted.² At the time

¹ We shall have occasion to quote important records, extracted from the notarial archives of Udine—a repository rich in documents of all kinds. We are indebted for these records in every instance to Dr. Vincenzo Joppi of Udine, well known as the author of several valuable contributions to Italian historical literature. [* Many of the above documents, as well as others relating to the history of art in Friuli, and discovered by the late Dr. Joppi, are now published in *Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla R. Deputazione veneta di storia patria*, vols. v., xi., xii., and Supplement to vol. xii.]

² The following is a list of semi-Giottesque and Transalpine pictures chiefly in Cadore:

(1) Vigo di Pieve, church of Sant' Orsola. Frescoes—scenes from the life of the patron saints, and from that of the Virgin, a Crucifixion above the altar; outside, a St. Christopher, early Giottesque. (2) San Vito, by Chiapuzza, in Cadore, church of San Florian. Triptych—Virgin, Child SS. Florian and John the Baptist; SS. Catherine and Mary Magdalen; on the closed shutters, SS. John Evangelist and another; figures one-quarter of life-size, rude, of the close of the fifteenth century. (3) Pieve di Cadore. Duomo, sacristy and Fabricieria, various panels. 1°. SS. Andrew and Lawrence, covers of a carved shrine, tempera, with fleshless figures of the same period as the above, but German in style. 2°. SS. Michael and Catherine, with the Circumcision on the obverse. 3°. Two bishops, with the Nativity on the obverse, deformed figures after the fashion of Jerom Bosch. 4°. St. Bartholomew and another with the Annunciation at the back. 5°. SS. Francis and John Evangelist, and the Adoration of the Magi, all temperas,

of the Vivarini and Bellini, the contest was still undecided, and many of the hill masters clung to old customs and timeworn systems of handling. When the change took place, it was sudden and surprising. With almost supernatural rapidity, men who sauntered in the worn paths of the guilds were found starting into new ones; without any of the training of the parent-school, or any of the tentativeness which marks Venetian efforts, they adapted themselves to modern fashions; and, where artists of genius like Pellegrino and Pordenone arose, they created originals scenting at once of the rude force inherent in the primitive mountaineer and of the ease of the more civilised lowlander.

In the period of semi-barbarism, tradition found its safest haunt in Belluno, where, between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Simone da Cusighe, and the family of Cesa practised with little more talents than Margaritone or Neri di Bicci in a previous age.¹ At the opening of the sixteenth, Antonio da

with figures one-quarter of life-size, once forming the cover of the high altar. There are records of a painter at Pieve di Cadore—Zaccaria—who produced an altarpiece for the high church in 1430. (*Conni sui pittori Cadorini*, by Dottore Zecchinelli; manuscript notes to *Elogio di Oncaldo Varetoni*, edited by the Abbate Cadarin, 8vo, Venice, 1828, p. 42; and Ticozzi, *Storia dei letterati, &c., del dipartimento della Piave*, 4to, Belluno, 1813, p. 39.)

¹ The following are notices of Simone and the Cesas.

Simone da Cusighe is not known as Simone dal Peron, both Cusighe and Peron being names of villages near Belluno. He finished on June 20, 1397, the altarpiece of the high altar in the Duomo of Belluno, for which he received 440 lire. He was present *ex-officio* at the opening of the great relic shrine in the Duomo on June 17, 1400. He died before 1416, being mentioned as "quondam" in a record of that year. (Records of Belluno favoured by Signor D. Francesco Pellegrini, professor in the Liceo of that city. See also Miari, *Dizionario, ub. sup.*, p. 61, and Ticozzi, *ub. sup.*, pp. 2, 3.) (1) Belluno, Baptistery, previously in San Martino; altarpiece in thirteen compartments. Lower course, four scenes from the life of the Baptist, entirely painted or repainted in the seventeenth century. Above; centre, St. Martin sharing his Cloak, and, at the sides, a double course of eight panels with episodes from St. Martin's legend. (2) Belluno, Casa Pagani. [* Now Venice Academy, No. 18.] Virgin of Mercy between a double course of eight panels representing incidents of the life of St. Bartholomew, inscribed: "An. MCCCCLXXXII ind. III die XX Augusti actum fuit h. opus onesto viro domino P^{ro} Xforo capellano S. Bartolomei. Simon fecit." This piece was originally in the church of Salce. (3) Same collection. St. Anthony the abbot, enthroned, between SS. Joatas, Gotardo, Bartholomew, and Anthony; inscribed: "Simon Pinxit." (4) Sala (church of) frescoes inside, fragments of saints and apostles; façade—St. Martin sharing his Cloak. (5) Orzes, originally

Tsioio almost rivalled Jacopo da Valentia in a cento of imitation

in parish church of San Michele, now in Chiesetta della Madonna. Virgin and Child between SS. Roch and Sebastian. Wood, half life-size, much repainted. All these are rude temperas and examples of the most childish art.

Matteo Cesa. The following is a list of his works. (1) Belluno, Conte Agosti, Virgin and Child between SS. Peter and Paul, inscribed: "Matheus pinxit et intacavit," originally in San Pietro in Campo, near Belluno. (2) Belluno, Casa Pagani, fragment of a panel with a kneeling patron, inscribed: "opus Matei." (3) Calcipo, church of San Niccolò, sacristy. Virgin and Child and four scenes from the life of St. Nicholas, i.e. the birth, with half the gesso gone; the saint throwing the gold pieces, the rest obliterated, inscribed: "Mateus pinxit." Round the Virgin are the symbols of the Evangelists. Her figure and that of Christ are life-size, but the head of the latter and the blue mantle are gone. (4) Cet, near Castions, church of Santa Lucia. Virgin and Child between St. Sebastian and St. Lucy, the latter modern. Wood, half life-size, inscribed: "opus matei" (sic). (5) Castions, church of St. Giacomo (near). Virgin and Child between St. James and another saint (repainted), inscribed "Opus Matei"; figures like the foregoing. (6) Sala, San Matteo, Virgin and Child between St. Matthew and St. Jerome, the latter carrying a model church in which St. Christopher is depicted. With the exception of this last, which shows a slight advance, the pictures of Matteo are unworthy of examination—they are mere deformities. We may suppose that the altarpiece of Sala and those which here follow are done in Matteo's shop with the help of Antonio Cesa. (7) Serignano, near Sala. Virgin and Child, with nine scenes from the life of the Madonna round the principal panel, the central Virgin life-size. The small panels are cut down and altered from their original shape; the figures are wooden, as if painted by a wood-carver. Much below this in value are the following: (8) Sagraia. Fragments of frescoes, Virgin, Child and St. Anthony the abbot. (9) San Vigilio. Frescoes, Crucifixion, Virgin and Child, Last Supper. (10) Berlin Museum, not exhibited, No. III. 129. Virgin and Child between SS. Apollonia, Andrew, Catherine, and Francis; figures quarter life. Wood, inscribed: "Opus Mathei." (11) Same Gallery, No. III. 125. Virgin and Child, two angels, and the symbols of the four Evangelists, gold ground. [* Now on loan to the University Gallery at Göttingen.] There is a large altarpiece of carved wood, with statues of the Virgin and saints and angels tinted to imitate nature, in Santo Stefano of Belluno. On the basement is the scutcheon of the Cesa, and it is a tradition that this altarpiece was made by one of the Cesa on the occasion of an intermarriage between that family and that of the Pagani. Whether by Matteo or Antonio, this is a work comparatively of some merit, showing more power than the pictures of either Matteo or Antonio. [* As we have previously noted (i. 65, n. 2) this altarpiece is a free reproduction of the *pala* by Luigi Vivarini formerly in Santa Maria dei Battuti at Belluno and now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin.] Ticozzi (*ub. sup.*, p. 36) quotes a work of Matteo dated 1446 which the authors have not found.

Of Antonio we know but one production. (1) Visome, near Belluno, church of Sant' Andrea. Virgin, Child and SS. Daniel, Anthony, Andrew and another, life-size, inscribed: "Opus Antonii de Cesa mcccc." The style is little better than that of Matteo, the figures being rigid, ugly, and ill-shaped, the child a stuffed skin.

from Vivarini, Bellini, and Cima.¹ Cadore, which soon became famous as the birthplace of Titian, produced (1472-1507) Antonio Rosso, who bequeathed to his son, Giovanni da Mel, an art not less antiquated than his own.²

¹ Is Antonio da Tisoio identical with Antonio de Cesa? If so he changed his style. Of Tisoio we have the following:

(1) Orzes (church of), a mutilated altarpiece of which five pieces and two imperfect fragments remain. Upper course, Virgin and Child between SS. John Baptist and Andrew; lower course, SS. Sebastian and Michael (all but gone), inscribed: "Antonid de Tisoio pinxit 1512." The whole piece scaled and spotted. This is better work than that of Cesa, done in the mixed tempera manner, with a scent of the Venetian schools in the figures, defective, however, in the forms and extremities and wanting light and shade; careful in treatment withal. [* The above-mentioned five panels are now in the collection of Prince Liechtenstein at Vienna.] (2) Belluno, Casa Pagani. Virgin and Child, small panel, half-length, inscribed, "Antonio da Tisoio"; injured and reminiscent of Jacopo da Valentia, the forms being regular and slender but feeble. (3) Belluno, Conte Agosti. Three fragments, each containing an angel, one of which is ruined, another restored, the third in fair condition. In the same style, at Belluno, a Virgin and Child and figures and ornaments on the front of Casa Carlo Miari, Piazza del mercato.

² The following relates to Antonio Rosso, Giovanni da Mel, and their predecessor Vetulini.

Antonio Rosso bought a house at Mel between Belluno and Feltre in 1494 (Ticozzi, p. 39) and sold property at Cadore in 1507. (Cadorin, *Elogio di Oncaido*, &c., p. 39.) There are records of pictures by him in 1445 (? 1484) at Trichiana, frescoes of choir with figures of the apostles (*ibid.*), in 1483 at Pieve di Cadore, fresco in Santa Maria di Pieve (*ibid.*, p. 40) and at Belluno, Virgin, Child and Angels (*Memorie parziali, &c., delle chiese nel Cadore*, Anonymous MS.). The fresco in Santa Maria di Pieve was inscribed: "1484. Bartholemeus Rubeus . . . hanc immag . . . jussit f. = opus Antonii Rubei"; it represented St. Christopher. All these pieces are missing or obliterated. Rosso's extant works may be registered as follows: (1) Selva, in Cadore, church of San Lorenzo. Virgin, Child, SS. Lawrence, Sebastian, Roch, and a female saint; lunette, the Annunciation; inscribed: "Antonius Rubeus de Cadubrio pinxit." This altarpiece was done, as we are informed, according to private records preserved in Cadore, for the Torre family in 1472. Wood, tempera, changed in shape, at a late period; figures life-size, long, lean and dry, of a raw, reddish tone, with little or no shadow, the draperies angular and rectilinear; part scaled. (2) Venice, late Signora Landonelli, St. Elizabeth, between SS. Anthony the abbot and John the Baptist in a landscape inscribed: "Nicholo da Casta da Venas e dona Orsola danlioto a fato far sta opera 1494. fever. Antor: roso de Cadore depense." The panel, a small tempera was formerly in San Marco of Venas in Cadore and afterwards in possession of the abbat G. Cadorin. The leanness of the figures is awful, the art like that of Dario of Treviso. (3) Venice, Signor G. B. Cadorin, originally in the church of Liban, near Belluno. Virgin, Child, SS. Francis, John the Baptist, Anthony the abbot, and Mary Magdalen; inscribed "Questa opera a fato far Ser Liban q m° greguol da Liba abitâte al fol de Mel p

Other towns of equal note with Cadore and Belluno had their scores of humble craftsmen. At Serravalle, amidst much that was childish and repulsive, there are traces of influence wielded by followers of various schools. One artist who called himself Antonello exhibits the very rudest powers of delineation. Another whose name has not been handed down combined the

sua devotione 1494. Anto roso de Cadore depēse." Wood, 3 f. 11 in. long, by 2 ft. 4 in. Same style as the foregoing. (4) Fonzaso, near Feltre, Signora V. Panti. Virgin, Child, and SS. Sebastian and a bishop, inscribed: "Ant^e de Rubeis Caduū. p." Wood, half life-size, feeble as above. (5) San Silvestro sulla Costa (church of) near Serravalle. Semidome, Christ and the Twelve Apostles, fresco, as above, inscribed with a long inscription closing with the words: "1502 de lujo Ant^e roso de Cadore." Much injured. (See Crico, *Lettere*, *ub. sup.*, p. 281.) (6) Vigo di Cadore (church of). Altarpieces: St. Martin sharing his Cloak, between SS. Candidus and Maurice. This is a series of panels in Rosso's style or in that of the disciples of Simon da Cusighe. The date of the execution of this altarpiece is 1492. (*Memorie Parziali* MS.) Ianzi (*History of Painting*, ii. 157) countenances, we think erroneously, the belief that Rosso was the instructor of Titian. He and other authorities also assign to Rosso a Virgin and Child between SS. Bartholomew and Sylvester, inscribed: "Antonius Zaudanus" (Antonio of Zoldo, in Cadore) which was in the church of Nabiù. The picture is no longer at Nabiù, but belongs to Signor Righetti, in Venice. [* (7) The Casa Brustolon at Dont (Zoldano Inferiore) contains a fresco by Rosso, representing the Virgin and Child with six Saints (reproduced in *Rassegna d'arte*, x. 57); and in the (8) Academy at Venice there is a Madonna with Angels (No. 644) signed "Opus Antonii Rubei," which was formerly in the Oratorio dei Zamberlani at Pieve di Cadore.]

Giovanni da Mel may be noticed as follows: the earliest of his pictures is dated 1521; he was still living at Belluno in 1548. (Cadorin ed. of *Elogio di Oswald*, *ub. sup.*, p. 41). (1) Mello, Duomo, altar of St. Mary Magdalen. Virgin and Child between SS. Roch and Sebastian, scaled, repainted panel with figures under life-size, inscribed: "Joannes Rubeus Mello oriundus p. MDXXXI." The figures are lean and paltry, the colours dull and flat. (2) Sance church, sacristy. Virgin and Child between a bishop and St. Victor, panel, inscribed: "MDXXXV Joannes da Mel. o. p." Figures half life-size. (3) Trichiana by Belluno, (church of). Virgin, Child, SS. Sebastian, Roch, Bernardino, and a bishop. Canvas, with the date: "MDXLIII." as above, and much repainted. (4) Selva di Cadore, church of San Lorenzo. We assign to Giovanni here the frescoes of the choir, i.e. the Saviour, the ceiling with the Evangelists and Doctors of the Church in the groinings, and Virgin and Child, and numerous saints in the lunettes. In one of the latter, where St. Ippolitus and St. Giustiniano bury a corpse we read the date 1544. (5) Lentiai, San Pellegrino. Here too are fragments of frescoes in the foregoing manner of which Ticozzi (*ub. sup.*, 38) tells us they were inscribed: "Opus Joannis de Mello."

Bernardino Vitulini is known by a record quoted in Ticozzi (*ub. sup.*, p. 5), to have painted frescoes in the church of Ampezzo of Cadore in 1356. He was a painter of Serravalle living at Belluno.

dryness of the Vicentines and the hardness of Basaiti with Lombard feeling in the moulding of his faces. Yet another imitated the later Friulans.¹ At San Daniele and Cividale,

¹ The following are notes of painters and paintings, at Serravalle.

The district of Serravalle is full of low-class paintings. One artist is called Antonello, whose fresco (1) of the Virgin and Child between St. Sebastian and another saint, with an Eternal and kneeling patron, covers a wall in Sant' Andrea outside the walls. This fresco, which has been ascribed to Antonello da Messina, bears the following inscription: "hoc opus fecit fieri anno dñi M. IIIILXXXV die q^a. mensis novemb^r Antonellus, pinxit." It is needless to say that this infantile and repulsive work is not by Antonello da Messina, nor can it well be by Antonello da Napoli, who, according to a record in the archives of Udine, was partner to the painter Marco di Venezia at Udine in 1430-31—both of them painters of whom no works have been preserved, though the latter once decorated the ceilings of the Duomo of Udine. In the same church near Serravalle, in which Antonello laboured, are other frescoes of a similar feeble kind: (2) the Virgin, Child, SS. Roch, John the Baptist, Bartholomew, and another. (3) Equally feeble, SS. Catherine, Margaret, the Virgin, Child, and Angels about an altar supporting a statue of St. Catherine inscribed: "constituit MXIV etc.", and, in a little better style, close by, SS. Job, Anthony the abbot, and Roch. These last, however, are slender and dry figures, lightly and flatly tinted, as we shall find them in other churches. In a lateral chapel are rude fragments of still older frescoes of the rise of the fifteenth century. But to revert to Antonello, we may assign to him (4) a Virgin and Child, a fresco in the portico of the Casa Tedesco at Serravalle. Resembling the St. Job, St. Anthony, and St. Roch in Sant' Andrea is (5) an altarpiece in the same church, greatly injured, representing the Coronation of the Virgin, with the Annunciation at the sides, and below a Virgin and Child between SS. Peter and Andrew; and (6) similar to this, in San Lorenzo, a Virgin of Mercy half obliterated; (7) St. Lawrence and another, small figures of very middling execution. We may note, in conclusion, two pictures of interest as being by a more modern hand than those hitherto noticed. (8) Serravalle, San Lorenzo. St. Jerome between SS. Agatha and Lucy; in a lunette. The Virgin and Child, half-length between two angels playing instruments. Wood. The angels are the best part of this work, and recall similar creations in the Lombard school; the outlines are careful but monotonous; in the other figures the drawing is incorrect and the shape, especially of the extremities, coarse; the forms are lean and dry and somewhat rigid; there is some affectation, too, in the poses; the draperies are crushed into numerous and angular folds, the colours are feeble and unrelieved by shadow. (9) San Silvestro alla Costa, near Serravalle. St. Sylvester between two cardinals, on an altar, and in front of the latter are two bishops and two cardinals—much injured picture, with figures about half life-size. The treatment of this altarpiece is superior to that we have just described; the figures are small and slender, reminiscent of the art of Timoteo Viti or Speranza of Vicenza, the colour clear and light, the heads fairly studied and Luinesque in mask; the execution is cold and careful. Both these pictures are apparently by the same hand, of the close of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century; they suggest the name of Basaiti. They may be by some one else; there is a Baptism of Christ by one Francesco da Milano in San Giovanni of Serravalle; in

nearer the Adriatic, at Aquileia, Sesto, and Concordia, the guilds were recruited from the lowest class of limners.¹ At Udine style like the work of a pupil of Pordenone. This Francesco might perhaps have produced pictures like those of San Lorenzo and San Silvestro before taking lessons of Pordenone. A much-injured Virgin and Child, SS. Sebastian, Gregory, Roch, and John the Baptist in the church of Valle di Cadore is striking for some points of resemblance with the foregoing. There is something Leonardesque in the Madonna, something that recalls Cesare da Sesto, where-as the heads of the saints are on the models of Pellegrino and Pordenone.

¹ Here are notices of early artists and their works at San Daniele, Cividale, and elsewhere.

We shall see that there are pictures by artists of Cividale at San Daniele; records prove the existence of local artists at San Daniele itself, such as Giovanni di Simone Francione, mentioned in a notarial act of 1449. Most of the earliest pictures of the fifteenth century here are, however, nameless. In the church of Sant'Antonio Abate, which was decorated in the fifteenth century by Pellegrino, we have remnants of old work on the wall to the left of the portal, the subjects being the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt, part of an Epiphany, and a female saint with a cross, beneath which is the all but illegible inscription: "Anno domini millesimo quadrigentesimo quinto? die nono" The style of these paintings is trivial and childishly antiquated; they are also much injured; not unlike those in an Adoration of the Magi in a half-circle on a house opposite the last-named church. Of a later date, in the front of the "Casa della Fabbricceria" are fragments of frescoes representing Susanna and the Elders, gambols of children and ornaments, and a Virgin and Child with Saints. Here the art is more modern, indicating the transition from that of the fifteenth century to that of Pellegrino.

At Cividale we have the same rudeness. In the records of the notarial archives at Udine we find the following names of painters: 1345, Pietro di Manfredo hires himself for a year as assistant, to the painter Jacino of Cividale. 1416, Maestro Giacomo, pittore of Cividale, paints lances, etc. for the coming of King Sigismund of Hungary to Udine. 1487, Maestro Leonardo, of Cividale, has painted an altarpiece for the church of Santa Maria di Fratta at San Daniele. Of this last artist only is an extant picture in the Monte di Pietà at San Daniele. With half-lengths in niches of St. Michael weighing souls between SS. Elias, Daniel, Louis, and Anthony, inscribed: "1488. hoc opus Magist. Leonardus . . . fecit." The upper course of this series is a row of tinted statues, the whole production of the rudest character. [* This painter was a German by birth; his family name was Thauer. See Joppi, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv., Misc. vol. xii., Supplement, pp. 15 *sq.*] Of an older date, but equally bad, are paintings in the Duomo of Cividale—the Creation, Expulsion, and a colossal Virgin and Child. These may be of the eleventh century, whilst in the choir and above the high altar, the Christ in Benediction with attendant Saints, the Annunciation and Crucifixion, are of the fifteenth century and seem in part the work of an artist who painted a panel of the Adoration of the Magi with Saints in this church with the words: "MCCCIII. hoc opus fecit fieri religiosa Johā monialis huš monasterii" (wood, small figures). In addition to these we register the following in other parts of this country. (1) Aquileia, Duomo. Fragments of fresco: a Bishop baptizing; the Saviour enthroned amidst Saints and Angels—of the

alone Venetian principles were adopted with bold and manly resolution.¹

fourteenth century. (2) Sesto (church of), vestibule. Frescoes, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A Virgin, Child, and SS. James, John the Baptist, and Christopher and remains of an inferno, Coronation of the Virgin, Umbrian in air, of the second half of the fifteenth century; the Virgin, Child, SS. John, Peter and a kneeling Donor; St. Michael, and, of older style, St. Macarius showing the three coffins as in the Campo Santo of Pisa, and the incredulity of St. Thomas (fragments). (3) Concordia Baptistery. Paintings of the eighth and ninth centuries, except four bishops between the windows and a Bishop and Baptist in the apse, which are of the close of the fifteenth century. (4) Verzuta, near San Vito on the Tagliamento (church of). Here are fragments of wall-paintings in the apse: *i.e.* semidome; Coronation of the Virgin; and below, remains of the Four Evangelists, in pattern framings, bleached distemper of about 1450. In the *History of Italian Painting*, vol. iii. p. 258, some frescoes were noticed at Gemona and Venzone, as works of a painter called Nicolas. Of this painter we have authentic records in the archives of Udine, *e.g.*: Aug. 17, 1334. Prè Gabriele apprentices his son Biasutto to M^o. Niccolò pittore figlio di Maruccio di Gemona. 1337. Record of Niccolò's existence. 1348. Notice of his son Francesco. 1365. Will of Donna Maria daughter of Niccolò pittore of Gemona deceased in 1361. 1406. The widow of Maestro Niccolò of Gemona is still living. We have also notices of other artists: 1391. Maestro Andrea, carver and painter of Gemona, agrees to make an altarpiece for the church of Santa Maria della Pieve of Gemona (still exists). [* This artist, whose family name was Moranzone, was really settled at Venice. Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 94, 108 *sq.*] 1482. Maestro Leonardo Tedesco paints a Virgin and Child at Gemona. [* This painter is identical with the Maestro Leonardo mentioned previously in this note.] Of works we have the following: (1) Venzone, San Giacomo (fuor di) apsis fresco. Christ and the Apostles, Giottesque, of the rise of the fifteenth century and very rude. (2) Santa Lucia (fuor di) same style. The Redeemer, Doctors, and Evangelists. Of the same class. (3) Venzone Duomo, Cappella, called Pio Istituto. Frescoes: Coronation of the Virgin, Virgin and Child, and other subjects. (4) Gemona, Hospital façade, life-size Christ and St. John the Baptist.

¹ In Udine we have accounts in the records of the Archivio notarile of the following artists otherwise unknown.

Jan. 14, 1372. Giovanni da Udine pittore sentenced to perpetual banishment. 1392. Leonardo pittore, q. Niccolò di Cagli, his marriage. March 15, 1404. Donation of a house to Maestro Antonio pittore, son of the before named Leonardo. Aug. 21, 1443. Will of Antonio di Leonardo. 1430. Marco di Venezia, pittore, is partner of Antonello da Napoli pittore, 1430; the partnership is dissolved in 1434. Marco takes as his pupil Giovanni di Michele in 1432. He paints the ceilings in the Duomo of Udine in 1443. 1410-20. Domenico pittore paints at Marano. 1422. Paints at Trieste the choir of San Giusto. 1450. Action *in re* the marriage of Domenico pittore. 1410-22. Antonio Baletti q. Tommasius, companion of the above Domenico at Marano and Trieste. 1454. Niccolò pittore q. Enrici; paints in the lodge of the public palace and an altar in the church of San Pietro di Bertaldia. 1454. Umpire of an art contract, Maestro Floriano pittore q. Giacomo. 1457. Daniel Erasma pittore. 1460. Sebastiano pittore e intagliatore and Francesco de Michele, value an altar done by Gasparino pittore

It was natural that a land of forests such as Friuli then was should produce carvers in wood. The Netherlands, for other reasons, produced sculptors of stone. In both countries cause and effect were identical. The Belgians modelled reliefs and enlivened them with colours, subsequently transferring rude copies of these reliefs to panel. The statuaries of Udine, whose style at first bore something of the stamp of the Westphalian or Franconian, overlaid their short defective figures with coats of paint simulating flesh or stuffs and embroidery, executing frescoes and pictures characterized by a partial but childish dependence in plastic art. Mindless of nature and chiaroscuro, they made flat copies of wooden images; ignorant of form, perspective, or chords of harmony, they dyed their panels with gaudy washes.

It was habitual with some sculptors to do their own tinting. Others employed for this purpose journeymen of the sister craft. Amongst the tinters we should notice Andrea di Bertolotti, of Cividale, who was extensively known throughout Friuli as Bellunello. He was a master of guild at San Vito in 1462, and contracted for altarpieces and mural decorations at Udine, San Vito, and other places in the hills till 1490. In a picture at Pordenone which has not been preserved, he was called "Andreas Zeuxis, the Apelles of his age"; in a Crucifixion of 1476 at Udine he strings together a set of spectral saints of paltry outlines and deep discrepant colours. His Madonnas of 1488 and 1490 at San Vito and Savorgnano, and frescoes reminiscent of his manner at Glaris, Bagnarola, and Prodolone mark a gradual leaning to the schools of Crivelli and Andrea da Murano.¹

e intagliatore for Stefano pittore. 1461. Maestro Steffano pittore q. Matteo agrees to carve and paint an altarpiece for the Duomo of Udine. 1468. Death of Giovanni pittore of Udine and sale of his drawings. 1472. Alberto di Viera pittore and Niccolò di Giovanni pittore are witnesses to a legal instrument. 1490. D^e d^e Ser Lorenzo pittore. Looking round Udine for pictures assignable to these numerous artists, we find but the following: Udine, Duomo (in the lumber room): Coronation of the Virgin, between eight scenes, in a double course, of the life of St. Nicholas. In the sacristy, three small panels, with (a) the beato Bertrand kneeling before the Virgin, (b) his Presents of Alms, (c) his Martyrdom. These are all by one hand, rude and injured temperas, of the latter half of the fourteenth century, the latter assigned by Lanzi (il. 94) to Domenico da Tolmezzo.

¹ The following as regards Bellunello:

Bellunello is called in a record drawn up at San Vito on Dec. 1, 1462. "Magister Andrea Pictore q. Bertholotti de civitate Belunensis." He is witness to the will

DOMENICO DA TOLMEZZO



Alinari photo.

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS.

[Udine, Duomo.]

Conspicuous amongst carver-tinters are the brothers Domenico and Martino di Candido of Tolmezzo, who wandered to Udine in 1479 and lived there as partners till 1507.¹ They were more industrious and productive as sculptors than as painters. One altarpiece in the cathedral of Udine—a Madonna with saints and episodes—dated 1479, bears Domenico's signature and reveals

of Daniella, wife of the noble Federico Savorgnano. In 1468 he agrees to tint and gild a carved altarpiece by some unknown men for the church of Flumignano. He paints an altarpiece (missing) for the cathedral of Pordenone, on which the following inscription is said (Renaldi, *Della pittura friulana*, p. 11. Lanzi, ii. 94) to have existed: "Andreas Zeusis, nostræ ætatis Apelles Hoc Belunellus nobile pinxit opus." A person of his name at Udine in 1470 is instructed with commission to paint the doors of the organ in the Duomo (missing).—1475. He paints the Crucifixion with the Magdalen, the Virgin and SS. Hermagoras, Peter, John Evang., James, and Jerome, inscribed: "Opera de Andrea Belunelo de San Vido, MCCCCLXXVI," a canvas tempera with life-size figures in the Palazzo comunale of Udine. 1480, Forni di Sopra, church of San Florian. St. Florian between a double course of saints, ten in number, with the suffering Christ, and the Virgin and Angel Annunciate in the pinnacles, inscribed: "Opera de Andrea Belunelo de San Vido, MCCCCLXXX." San Vito, Santa Maria di Castello or Nunziata, Sacristy. Originally in the church of Masure. Virgin and Child between SS. Peter and Paul, inscribed as above but with the date of 1488. Savorgnano da San Vito, Virgin and Child with a kneeling patroness, inscribed: "Questa nostra dona a fato fare Tomaso de Bertin per uno avodo (*sic*) per una sua fiola la quale e qui depenta M^oCCCCLXXX. oper. de Andrea Belunelo de . . . Vido." This is a fresco. A St. Christopher by the same hand once existed in the same church (Renaldi, *ub. sup.*, p. 14, and Maniago, p. 167). In the two first of these pieces the figures are lifeless, dry, and repulsive, wooden in movement as well as in the parts. The heads are large in forehead, the brows arched, the neck thin, the hair in crisp and copious curls, a caricature of the style of Crivelli and Andrea da Murano; the colours are dull, red, and shadowed with green, the outlines heavy and black. Light and shade are not thought of, the draperies are mere lines. Lanzi calls the Crucifixion a piece of old tapestry; he might have added, a very ugly old tapestry, much injured and dimmed by time, and very rude in treatment. A slight improvement may be noted in the Madonna of 1488, which reminds us in part of Crivelli and Andrea of Murano, in part of the school of Bonfigli, and is much injured by scaling. [* See also Joppi, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv. Misc. vol. xii., Supplement, pp. 16 sq.] In Bellunello's style we may class the following: Glaris, near San Vito (church of) a Bishop enthroned, life-size, fresco—a caricature of Crivelli, with something of the old and solemn early Christian time in the pose and glance, a Magdalen erect in a niche, and other fragments. Bagnarola church, façade, large fresco of St. Christopher, partly abraded.—Prodolone, Santa Maria della Grazie, fragment of a Virgin and Child, with a date like 1474. San Vito Hospital, front, traces of a Virgin of Mercy.

¹ As far back as 1462 Domenico was apprenticed by his father, Candusio Mioni, to the painter Giovanni di Simone, of Udine (Joppi and Bampo, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv. Misc. vol. v. p. 3).

his relationship in art to Bellunello¹; but there are frescoes in country churches at Mione, Luint, Liaris, Osais, Forni di Sotto, and di Sopra, in which we not only detect his flare and hardness,

¹ Domenico and Martino are well remembered at Udine, as the following calendar shows:

Oct. 1, 1479. Udine: Domenico agrees to deliver an altarpiece for 26 l. to Nicolò, blacksmith at Morial. Altarpiece in the Duomo of Udine (see *postea*). 1483. St. Roch of wood, executed for the church of Zugliano. 1484. Altarpiece for a church in Carnia. [* Reproduced in *L'Arte*, xiv. 475.] Aug. 13, 1489. Udine: carved altarpiece in Santa Maria of Cormons. 1492-3. Udine: carved altarpieces in San Pietro di Buja and San Michele of Vidulis. Jan. 4, 1494. Carved altarpiece in San Lorenzo di Sotto Selva. 1495. Carved altarpieces in the church of Tomba, in the church of Pozzecco, in San Giovanni of Codroipo, and in San Lorenzo of Sedegliano. May 20, 1497. Carved altarpiece in church of Villaorba. April 11, 1498. Carved altarpiece in San Lorenzo of Talmasons, valued by Pellegrino da San Daniele and Francesco di Ser Giosafatte. Nov. 28. Udine: Domenico and another value an altarpiece of wood by Bartolommeo di Biagio. Jan. 28, 1499. Udine: Domenico claims payment for two carved figures made for the church of Ontagnano. July 1, 1500. Udine: Domenico and others value an altarpiece by Bartolommeo for Santa Maria of San Vito. 1501-3. Domenico is of the council of Udine. 1501. Domenico receives payments for a carved altarpiece for the church of Flambro. April 1, 1502. Domenico receives payments for a carved altarpiece for the church of Preteulis. Jan. 8, 1502. Domenico paints in the church of Venzone. March 6, 1503. Carved altarpiece in the church of Canussio. Carved altarpiece in the church of San Martino at Nogaredo di Prato. 1504. Carved altarpiece in the churches of Polcenigo and Ziracco. Domenico is a member of the brotherhood of San Cristoforo at Udine. 1505. Domenico is umpire in a quarrel between Francesco di Giosafatte and the men of Basagliapenta, and values an altarpiece by Bartolommeo for the church of Pagnano. Altarpiece of San Cristoforo of Udine. 1506. Domenico values an altarpiece by Bartolommeo for the church of San Andrea at Stragis. He carves an altarpiece for the church of Vergnacco valued by Giovanni Martini; and an altarpiece for the church of Villaorba. Nov. 13, 1507. Payments to Domenico's heirs for the above. [* See also Joppi and Bampo, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1 *sqq.*]

The following refer to Martino di Candido, brother of Domenico and his partner at Udine: Aug. 24, 1491. Contract for a carved altarpiece for the church of Villacaccia. 1492. Altarpiece in partnership with Domenico for the church of Buja. 1497. Altarpiece in the church of Pozzo. 1502. Altarpiece in the church of Caporiacco. 1503. Altarpieces in the church of Pozzuolo and in the church of San Pietro Martire of Udine. 1504. Altarpiece in the church of Marizza. 1505-6. Martino is umpire with his brother in *re* altarpieces at Pagnano and Stragis. 1506-7. Altarpieces at Pozzuolo, Sant'Ermagora of Villanova, and Treppo. [* See also Joppi and Bampo, *loc. cit.*, pp. 23 *sqq.*]

Domenico's altarpiece in the Duomo of Udine is composite, with the Madonna in the centre receiving the homage of the kneeling St. Lucy and at the sides SS. Hermagoras, Mark, Bertrand, and Omobono, above, Christ in His tomb between two angels, and two other angels in brackets; at the sides on the roses of the brackets, the angel and Virgin Annunciate, inscribed in cartelli at the bases of

but also observe a general similitude of form and setting.¹ These mural adornments sometimes cover the groined vaultings, coves, pilasters enclosing the central panel: "1479, opus Dominici de Tumetio," tempera on gold ground, figures a quarter of life-size. The flesh tints are grey, with a red flush on the cheeks and cold shadows. Drapery cutting and sharp, as if carved in wood.

¹ The frescoes in the churches mentioned require comment and explanation; *e.g.*:

(1) Mione—Sant' Antonio, old choir now turned into a sacristy; with a hexagonal ceiling in twelve compartments, with Christ in a medallion as centre, the Four Evangelists, the Virgin, and Angel Annunciate and Ten Prophets in couples, figures a little over half life-size, poorly and coarsely outlined, lean and thin, with wooden extremities. The colours are sharp in contrasts, yet dull in tone. This is an art inferior to that of the ceilings in the upper Basilica of Assisi. The head of the Saviour is broad and long, and rests on a thin neck, the long, snake-like hair giving him an air of wildness. The walls which support the ceiling of this old choir are white-washed. (2) Luint, Santa Caterina, old choir, now a sacristy. The ceiling is hexagonal, with twelve fields, the Saviour in a central medallion, the Four Doctors, Four Evangelists and Ten Saints in couples; in a lunette above the arch of the choir, half-length of St. Ursula and eight attendant saints. The treatment is the same here as at Mione. (3) Liaris, San Vito, old choir, now a sacristy; hexagonal ceiling with the hand of the Eternal in the central medallion, and Christ in a section between the Virgin and Angel Annunciate; the rest of the arrangement as at Mione and in the same manner. (4) Osais, church of San Leonardo, old hexagonal choir now sacristy. The Eternal in the centre surrounded by the Four Evangelists and the Four Doctors (the latter in couples) and ten saints and prophets; on the walls in a double course, St. Leonard liberates prisoners, the Annunciate Angel between four saints; St. Leonard founds a monastery: three apostles; transit of St. Leonard, part covered by a cupboard, half-length of Saints and the Annunciation. The treatment is rude, as before, but more like that of Giovanni Francesco da Tolmezzo's frescoes at Socchieve than the foregoing. Giovanni Francesco may therefore have been assistant to Domenico of Tolmezzo at Osais. (5) Forni di Sotto, San Leonardo, rectangular choir, with the Four Doctors and eight Prophets in the triangular sections of the ceiling; on the walls: to the right St. John and St. Luke and four saints, to the left the Martyrdom of St. Laurence and four apostles; St. Mark and two prophets. Behind the altar, which covers the wall and part of the painting, are the eagle, and the ox and two apostles; in the soffit of the choir-arch St. Sebastian, St. Roch and six females, in the outer face of the arch the Annunciation, beneath which are St. Nicholas, St. Martin sharing his Cloak, and St. Anthony the abbot. Each of the doctors in the vaulting is seated under a tabernacle on a throne with a desk before him containing shelves and books, in the same manner as in the ceilings of Barbeano (1489) and Socchieve (1493) by Giovanni Francesco da Tolmezzo. Here it is probable again Giovanni Francesco was assistant to Domenico da Tolmezzo. We are told that on the wall behind the altar the following inscription is to be found: "1422 adi 27^{me} fo depenta soto chameraro Ser Durigo Marest fiol de Ser Dorigo Merzut," but the date is probably an error. (6) Forni di Sopra, San Floriano, rectangular choir with a groined ceiling, the Eternal in the centre surrounded by the Four Doctors and eight prophets in the vaultings above the lunettes—on the walls in the double courses, figures of

and soffits, of hexagonal choirs, comprising the Redeemer and patron saints and the Four Evangelists and Doctors, the former singly, the latter in couples behind desks with open doors and shelves; at other times the choir is rectangular, with the Four Doctors in the triangular fields, the prophets in the corners, of the ceilings.

Amongst the journeymen paid to carry out these works we may number Gian Francesco da Tolmezzo, whose industry is proved by records and frescoes in the last twenty years of the fifteenth century. Gian Francesco was not related to Domenico, nor was he a statuary by profession; he confined himself exclusively to panels and monumental designs, in which he exhibited the rudeness and defects of his countrymen; but he gained a considerable facility of hand and imbued with a certain life the stark and unreal conceptions of his predecessors. In the large and ambitious cycle of subjects with which he filled the churches of Sant' Antonio at Barbeano in 1489, of San Martino at Socchieve in 1493, and of Provesano in 1499, he displays very little art; but his style is one which, deprived of its exaggerations, and sifted of its principal defects, becomes attractive in Pellegrino da San Daniele, Pordenone, and Morto da Feltre. At Barbeano, the vaulting of the choir is divided by diagonals and contains the Doctors of the Church in domed seats adorned with pinnacles and fret-work; at the angles of the sections a Prophet and Evangelist; in a double course round the walls, the Nativity and Epiphany, the Ascension, and the Last Judgment—all much damaged and in part obliterated. In the spirit and technical treatment of these episodes there is but little to distinguish them from earlier ones; a quaint mixture of the old Christian and contemporary German is observable in the compositions; curious disproportion of size and not unfrequently grotesque traits in neighbouring figures. The masks are vulgar, the forms common and paltry, the hands and feet of repulsive coarseness, the drawing incorrect, and the action hard; colour, perspective, or relief by light and shade are wanting; but the masks and shapes are types after which the greater Friulan masters worked; the movements of which he

saints, and in the soffit of the choir-arch, female saints eight in number. These frescoes are dated "1500 a di xvii aprilis," and yet are of the poor and childish style already noticed in the foregoing descriptions.

gives the suggestion are those which they brought to a better perfection; the fault of disproportion is that which they inherited; and in their method of painting they followed his system of shading flesh and vestments with deeper tints of the same colours. What he did at Barbeano, Gian Francesco repeated at Socchieve and Provesano; but in the last of these places on a wider range.

The doctors are enthroned in the ceiling as before, but without the Evangelists, the sections at the spring of the diagonals being filled with prophets. Behind the altar is the Crucifixion; at the sides, in a triple course, scenes from the passion, paradise, and the abode of Satan; in the pilasters of the entrance arch, St. Roch, St. Sebastian, and other saints. Of unequal merit and diverse character, some incidents are obviously derived from German prints or drawings; others have an Italian origin. Christ in the Resurrection is a different type from the Redeemer in the Entombment; the figures are lean and long in one place, and short or square in another. Great want of refinement is betrayed in the flagellation where the scourger's hand wrings the Saviour's hair, or in the capture, where Christ returns the smitten ear to the prostrate, howling Malchus. The lower regions are crammed with all the monstrosities of the eleventh century; the masks and shapes are common and incorrectly outlined, muscular developments in defective action and position are ostentatiously exhibited. There is neither perspective, brightness, transference, nor shadow.

As a specimen of Gian Francesco's manner, the St. Sebastian on the pilaster is particularly remarkable. It is moulded after the fashion of Benozzo's school, and still has a Transalpine air—a naked frame, thin of chest, broad at the hip and thigh, coarse in foot, and slender in arm; the head, heavy and vulgar, with thick curled hair hanging over his eyes, uniform yellow flesh, hatched sparingly with red and black. Technically this is the system of Pier Antonio of Foligno. But in the midst of these unpleasantnesses there is always an element of realistic force. The Crucifixion, composed after the fashion of the fourteenth century, shows little attention to correct balancing in the setting of the groups or in the fitting of the personages to their places, but is in better drawing and movement than elsewhere. The

red flesh and chestnut hair, relieved with deeper tints of the same tone, foreshadows the treatment of the great Friulans, whilst in certain heads with less than usual of the wild Germanic cast we see the counterparts of those improved by the skill of Pellegrino and Pordenone. That a man of Gian Francesco's fibre should have been out of his element in small temperas, need scarcely be remarked—a Virgin belonging to Signor Astori at Udine sufficiently proves it.¹

It was about this time that the Friulans began powerfully to

¹ A few notes may be made to illustrate this Gian Francesco and a poor contemporary known as Gian Pietro da San Vito:

Giovanni Francesco da Tolmezzo was, as we learn from Utinese records, the son of Oderico di Daniele of Socchieve. He was invested with a small feud by the Lords of Spilimberg in 1481. There are, in addition, the following items respecting his career. Maniago (*Stor. delle belle arti Friulane, ub. sup.*, p. 172) describes frescoes by him on the façade of the church of Vivaro inscribed "Za. Francesco do Tolmezzo 1482"; he adds that they were taken down at the enlargement of the church in 1820. November 20, 1489. Spilimberg: Gian Francesco, in payment of his debt to the Lords of Spilimberg, cedes his claim to the sum of 40 ducats due to him for frescoes in the church of San Antonio of Barbeano. August 16, 1491. Spilimberg: The superintendents of the church of Barbeano pay the sum above named. It will be seen, from the foregoing, that the frescoes of Barbeano were completed as far back as 1491. The damage which they have sustained is by scaling and discoloration. In the Epiphany particularly there are large pieces of the figures obliterated, and an oblique crack in the wall cuts the whole composition into two. The blue draperies in every case are scraped away. In the soffit of the choir-arch are remains of quarter-lengths of saints. The best part of the whole work, the best figures, as regards motion and mien and colour, are those of the ceilings, some of which we shall find with improvements in frescoes by Pordenone and Pellegrino. Socchieve: In the rectangular choir of this place the vaulting is divided as it is at Barbeano; the figures at the angles of the triangular sections are all prophets; on the wall to the right are figures of apostles, on that to the left Christ in glory and four apostles. On the wall behind the altar is the Nativity and four apostles; eight busts of saints are in the soffit of the choir-arch. An altarpiece in two course represents St. Martin sharing his Cloak between SS. Rufinus and Roch, above, which are half-lengths of the Madonna between SS. Michael and Lawrence. In spite of extensive repainting, one can still see that the painter is the same as the author of the frescoes, which are in very bad condition. An inscription as follows is on the pilaster of the entrance: "Opera di Zuane Francesco de Tolmezo depentor fu de M. Duri, Daniel d. Soclevo de la Ghaxada de quelli del Zoto 1493." Provesano: The frescoes of this church are also disfigured by the obliteration of all the blues of sky and vestments, and there are also large portions in which the colour is absent. On the pilaster of the choir-arch is the inscription, "Zuane Francesco d. Tolmezo, depenzeva soto la chura d. m. p. Io. de Rame d. la tera del Titu, 1496 ax." Udine: Signor Avvocato C. Astori. Half-length Virgin and

feel the influence of the Venetian schools, and we have tangible evidence of the manner in which this influence was exercised in a Virgin and Child at the Louvre bearing the signature of "Giovanni Battista da Udine, disciple of Luigi Vivarini." Without value as a specimen of art in consequence of age, neglect, and surface daubing, this solitary example shows that a Friulan painter wandered from Udine at the close of the fifteenth century to enter the atelier of the Vivarini at Venice, leaving us unfortunately in doubt whether the painter in question is or is not Cima de Conegliano, the only person in the annals of north Italy who bore the name of Giovanni Battista. Cima, there is no

Child with numerous angels; wood, tempera, the principal figures one-quarter of life-size, inscribed "Zuane Franciſco de Tomezo." This panel is flayed in many parts. The contours are finely minute, the forms regular in their proportions, but the drawing is incorrect, and the child is a mere bladder. The drapery, as usual in Gian Francesco, is cast in multiplied and broken folds. [* This picture is probably identical with one which in 1907 was presented to the Venice Academy. An altarpiece representing the Virgin and Child between SS. Joseph and Elizabeth in Santa Maria delle Grazie at Gemona was painted by Gian Francesco before 1510. Closely allied to this work is a Holy Family in the Gallery at Strassburg (No. 222). (See L. Venturi in *L'Arte*, xii. 211 *sqq.*) For notices of this artist see also Joppi and Bampo, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv. Misc. vol. v., and Joppi, *ibid.*, vol. xi. pp. 88 *sq.* He was still living in 1510.]

Giovanni Pietro of San Vito is a very low-class painter, whose manner might be illustrated by the poor works of San Floriano at Forni di Sopra (see *antea*). He may be the painter of the Doctors and Evangelists, a Resurrection, and scenes from the life of St. Nicholas, a Deposition from the Cross, and other subjects on the walls and ceiling of the church of Tauriano, on one of the pilasters of which is carved the date 1487. The execution is ruder than that of Gian Francesco at Barbeano. Another series of the same kind, but of a later date and not without an inspiration from Pellegrino, is the fresco decoration, with Christ and the Evangelists, the Four Doctors and half-lengths of saints, in the choir and semi-dome of the church of Dignano, near San Daniele. Provesan, church of, fresco of the Virgin and Child, with St. Roch, inscribed: "Queste do fegure a fato far Daniel de Zuanato p uno avodo per la peste forono liberati da quel male 1513, adi 15 Seteber. Zuñ piero de S. Viô f." Close by an erect St. Sebastian by the same hand, with the words, "Questo Sancto Sebastiano a facto far Domenigo de ambroso per suo Vodo 1513 adi 15 Septeb." These performances are almost unworthy of attention. Valvasone, church of SS. Filippo e Giacomo. Choir with the Four Evangelists in the vaulting, the Resurrection, two scenes from the life of St. James, the Crucifixion, and two incidents of the life of St. Philip, St. Francis, and the Twelve Apostles. These are antiquated compositions, in the rudest Friulan manner, inscribed in the Resurrection, "1516 adi 5 Zugno, &a., &a. Piero de S. Vido fecit." [* See also Joppi, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv. Misc. vol. xii., Supplement, pp. 20 *sq.*]

doubt, furnished models from which many later craftsmen of the highlands copied, but Luigi Vivarini was also a favourite amongst the hillmen, and his teaching is clearly traced in Giovanni Martini, one of the earliest masters of Friuli who is really worth studying.

Giovanni Martini was the son of Martino and nephew of Domenico da Tolmezzo, whom we noticed as a carver at Udine, and was called Martini to distinguish him from his cousin, Giovanni Mione. In a Madonna with the date of 1498 at the Correr Museum in Venice, he strikes us as a timid craftsman, unacquainted with the subtleties of oil medium, whose colours shine with a sombre and glassy uniformity. His tones are marked by abrupt transitions of light and shade, and his vestment tints by depth and harshness. His drapery is angular and of copious brittle fold.¹ Without amplitude of form or breadth of shadow, his sacred impersonations are alternately dry and puffy, as they affect to represent ripeness or unripeness of age. He imitates that period of Luigi Vivarini's practice which immediately followed upon the abandonment of tempera, and recalls in many respects Jacopo da Valentia. How long Martini remained at Venice is uncertain; but as early as 1497 he held a place amongst the rising generation at Udine,² and at the opening of the sixteenth century a serious competition arose between him and Pellegrino of San Daniele. Two chapels in the cathedral of Udine had been prepared by the municipality for the reception of altarpieces; one was entrusted in 1501 to each of the competitors. Giovanni was to paint the Glory of St. Mark, Pellegrino that of St. Joseph. A year was spent in the partial

¹ Paris, Louvre, Musée Napoléon III., No. 187. [* Now Bayonne Gallery.] Wood, measures 54 in. high by 40 in. wide, inscribed: "Johs Bap. d'otino, p. d. . cipis Aloysii Vivarinj." This panel is much injured by restoring. It represents the Virgin and Child, is very feeble, but in the manner of later pieces by Giovanni Martini.

² Venice, Correr Museum, No. 37 (Cat. of 1859). Wood, m. 0.95 high by 0.70; inscribed: "Joannes de Utino, p. 1498." The Virgin behind a ledge, with SS. Joseph and Simeon at her sides, holds the infant on her lap, who plays with a bird and grasps at a couple of cherries. The draperies are straight-lined, and of multiplied broken fold. There is no transition from light to shade; the forms of the Child recall those of B. Vivarini, and the technical treatment is that of the Muranese atelier when oil began to supersede tempera. In many respects Giovanni da Udine here recalls Jacopo da Valentia.



Alinari photo]

GLORY OF ST. MARK.

[Udine, Duomo.

completion of the task. In 1500 an additional grant of money was made to both parties. The pictures were finished and exhibited, but, long before public taste had given its award, Giovanni's modesty accepted defeat, and he inscribed the altarpiece with the words: "1501 Johanes Utinensis hoc parvo ingenio fecit."

It is curious to observe in these pieces how nearly parallel the two men travelled in this period of their career, how laboriously they strove for finish of outline and minuteness of detail, how dependent they both were on the models of Cima. If we sever from Cima's productions one of those marked effigies of saints to which he was partial, with its shaggy hair, projecting forehead and cheekbones, balled nose, twinkling eyes and lantern jaws, if we look at the underset and stringy form and its large working extremities, we see the counterpart of figures familiar in Martini, Pellegrino, and even Pordenone. This very cast of the human frame, combined with some additional grimness, is to be found in the saints attending round the throne of Martini's St. Mark, and particularly in the Baptist; we are more surely reminded of Luigi Vivarini's teaching by the rawness of empty flesh tone, the cutting contrast of light and shade, the absence of mass in *chiaroscuro*, and, here and there, a not unpleasant softness in the mould of faces.¹

For some years Martini continued to labour at Udine without seriously changing his style. In a Presentation of Christ at the temple in the cathedral of Spilimberg he still recalls Cima, Vivarini, and the Bellinesques; and we notice a little more freedom of hand as well as correct distribution of *chiaroscuro*; but no greater power is attained than we might expect from Jacopo da Valentia or the beginnings of Catena, Basaiti, or Bissolo; and grotesque vulgarity of types betrays an absolute want of elevation.² At a period when art was taking rapid

¹ Udine, Duomo. First altar to the left, arched panel with life-size figures—in oil—St. Mark enthroned, between SS. John the Baptist and Lawrence, and nearer the spectator, four saints, two of whom are bishops. The treatment is still the imperfect one described in the Madonna of 1498.

² Spilimberg Cathedral, Cappella del Rosario. Wood, oil; figures little short of life-size; in a frame of the time, arched, supported on decorated pilasters and finished with an entablature. More than a third of the surface is bared of colour and the rest is in very bad condition. Simeon, at one side of an altar, holds the

strides in Venice and its dependencies under the influence of the Bellini, there was little in these creations to attract patrons of refined taste. Whether Martini felt this, or whether circumstances led him to relax his efforts in order to concentrate his energies on the sister branch is uncertain. After 1503, having probably become a partner with his cousin Mione in the shop of Domenico da Tolmezzo, he began to carve altarpieces, and from that date till his death in 1535 he contracted frequently for works of this class, accepting but occasionally commissions for pictures and processional banners. What he surrendered when he thus combined the business of the sculptor with that of the painter was the chance of mastery in either. As a carver, his best and most important performance is the altar finished in 1527 for the church of Mortigliano, a village situated between Codroipo and Palma Nuova—a vast piece of monumental design in four courses with bas-reliefs representing scenes from the lives of the Saviour and Madonna and statuettes all tinted with colours and gold. Stunted proportions are characteristic of the ornamental framings as well as of the figures, which are far from rivalling those of Antonio of Massa, the skilful decorator of the Cambio of Perugia, or of the still more celebrated Giovanni da Verona. His saints have the expression, the force, and vulgar type, of those produced in the schools of Nuremberg and Augsburg; they are rigid, obtrusive in their show of muscle and vein, and draped with superabundant winding stuffs, but fairly set and well arranged. As a painter, he transferred to panel the hardness and crudity of his wooden personages, their thickset shape and salient outline, their lifeless angularity and artificial cast of dress, but above all, their solidity and sharpness of tone. Confined to his shop in a provincial town, with reminiscences of great Venetian art fading daily from his memory, it was no wonder that all delicacies of texture and handling should be lost to him, and that he should unconsciously fall into the raw flatness and depth peculiar to Palmezzano or the followers of Carpaccio. That this, in truth, was the end of his efforts is clear in the Glory of St. Ursula at

child in his arms, whilst opposite to him a clerk waves a censer; to the left the Virgin and St. Joseph; to the right two spectators—the whole scene in a vaulted chapel. The style, so far as can be judged of it, is like that of pictures previously noticed, but more free.

the Brera, which he finished in 1507 and more so in later altarpieces at Udine and Portogruaro.¹

But Martini and Pellegrino were not the only Friulans in

¹ Milan, Brera, No. 157. Canvas, m. 1.85 high by 2.20, inscribed on the pedestal of St. Ursula "Essendo camerar magistro Anthonio Manzignol mccccvii." Of this picture, falsely assigned to Pellegrino by Hartzen (*Deutsches Kunstblatt*, 1853, No. 23), there are records to the following purport. August 21, 1503. Contract of Giovanni Martini for a St. Ursula and Saints for the Brotherhood of St. Ursula in San Pietro Martire of Udine. April 27, 1507. Election of arbitrators to value the altarpiece of St. Ursula. [* Cf. Joppi and Bampo, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv. Misc. vol. v. pp. 28, 37 sq.] From San Pietro Martire of Udine the altarpiece has found its way in part to Milan, the lunette with St. Dominic and four angels being still in a chapel to the right of the choir in the church and one out of three predella subjects, viz., the Martyrdom of St. Ursula, in the house of Conte Florio at Udine. [* The lunette is now in the Museo Civico at Udine.] The central subject is St. Ursula on a pedestal erect in prayer, between ten female saints in a portico. The figures are curt and square, but of good proportions; the colours are dull and sharply contrasted, as before. The predella (canvas) is injured by abrasion and restoring.

Udine. In San Pietro Martire, where the lunette above mentioned is preserved, is a choice of ill-preserved pictures by Giovanni Martini, e.g.: (1) A lunette, canvas, with life-size figures of St. Benedict and a worshipper kneeling at his feet. [* Now in the Museo Civico.] (2) Canvas of St. Anna, with the Virgin on her lap and the infant Christ, SS. Joseph and Anthony, at the sides; completely repainted including the signature which now runs on the old lines as follows: "Opus Joannis Mātini utiñ." (3) Virgin and Child between SS. Dominic, Sebastian, Peter Martyr, and Roch. (4) Udine, Communal Palace. [* Now Museo Civico.] Two figures of Saints—half life. (5) Portogruaro. Duomo-choir (originally in San Francesco). Presentation in the Temple; the prophetess Anna prays behind the Virgin, and a clerk holds up Simeon's cloak on the other; in front of the altar-steps, St. Joseph and three other figures. Dry and defective forms are conspicuous in this piece, which, however, is fairly well composed. The colours are raw and sombre, and time or accident has dimmed and abraded the surface. On a cartello: "Joannes Ma....is....ulanus. Al tēpo de .. — de Magnolo Sartor.....fenita a di p̄ mo febraro M....."

The following is a calendar of records respecting Giovanni Martini.

Oct. 12, 1497. Udine: Giovanni Martini is witness to the will of Elena, wife of Pellegrino da San Daniele. Feb. 12, 1501. Udine: part payment to Giovanni Martini and Pellegrino for their altarpieces (St. Mark and St. Joseph) in the Duomo of Udine. June 14. Final payments. July 8, 1502. Udine: Giovanni Martini receives as apprentice Giovanni Ricamatore (afterwards known as Raphael's assistant, under the name of Giovanni da Udine). May 25, 1503. Udine: contract with the Brotherhood of Santa Maria in San Pietro Martire (the title-head of the contract alone preserved). Aug. 21, 1503. Udine: contract for the altarpiece of St. Ursula, now at the Brera (see in text and *postea*). Oct. 17, 1503; June 22, 1504. Udine: altarpieces (? painted or carved) for the churches of Ciseriis and Belgrado). 1505. Udine: Giovanni Martini is "cameraro" of the church of San Cristoforo at Udine. April 27, 1507. Udine: Umpires chosen to value altarpiece of St. Ursula (see *antea*, 1503). Nov. 26, 1508. Contract for carved altarpiece for the church of Asio. June 26, 1510. Carved figure of St. Helen, with two painted figures on shutters, for

whom the tendency to copy Cima was manifested. In no subordinate craftsman was this more marked than in Girolamo, whose Coronation of the Virgin may still be seen in the town hall of Udine. He was one of a band of five who bore a common name—the only one indeed who deserves to be remembered, and probably the same who, as Girolamo di Bernardino, decorated the

the church of Gruagno. Dec. 12, 1510. Carved altarpiece for the church of Variano. June 23, 1511. In time of plague; will of Valentina, wife of Giovanni Martini. Will of Giovanni Martini, leaving a standard painted by himself to the church of San Cristoforo of Udine; his brothers Vincenzo and Giacomo are his executors. May 11, 1512. Giovanni Martini and his brother Vincenzo (painters) settle a quarrel with the gilder, M. Antonio. Dec. 11, 1512. Contract for carved altarpiece for the church of Baracetto. Feb. 12, 1513. Contract for carved altarpiece for the church of Santa Maria la Lunga. April 24, San Daniele: Giovanni Martini values an altarpiece. August. Udine: Giovanni Martini values an altarpiece. Feb. 2, 1517. Udine: marriage settlement of Giovanni Martini (widower) and Donna Francesca di Ser Andrea (dowry, 150 ducats gold). June 18, 1517. Udine: Giovanni Martini values a carved altarpiece. July 13. Giovanni Martini values a carved altarpiece. Aug. 21. Giovanni Martini challenges the umpire appointed to value one of his works. Sept. 26. Carved altarpiece for the church of Sedigliano, valued by Pellegrino da San Daniele. Jan. 26, 1518. Pordenone chosen to value Giovanni Martini's altarpiece for the Brotherhood of San Gervasio in Santa Maria delle Grazie at Udine. July 30. Carved altarpiece for the church of Arcano. Nov. 4. Carved altarpiece for the church of San Marco. March 9, 1520. Udine: payment for altarpiece of Baracetto (see 1512). Oct. 9. Payment for altarpiece at Asio (see 1508). Nov. 19, 1521. Giovanni Martini values the organ-doors by Pellegrino in the Duomo of Udine. 1522. Giovanni Martini is Prior of the Brotherhood of Santa Maria della Umiltà at Udine; values two altarpieces. March 24, 1524. Will of Giovanni Martini in favour of his four daughters, with life-interest in favour of his wife, Francesca. May, 1526. Giovanni Martini is of the popular council at Udine. Sept. 18, 1526, to June 23, 1527. Carved altarpiece of church of Mortigliano, price 1180 ducats—payments in instalments till as late as 1551. 1527. Carved altarpiece for church of Madrisio di Fagagna. April 25. Udine: Carved altarpiece for the church of Palmata. Feb. 4, 1528. Udine: Giovanni Martini purchases a feud in the district of the Luogotenente of Udine. March 7, 1528. Acknowledgment of debt from the church of San Martino of Cividale to Giovanni Martini for a standard with the Virgin, SS. Martin and Michael. Oct. 1. Giovanni Martini takes over from the heirs of Antonio the gilder (to finish them) three altarpieces for the churches of Oleis, Butrio, and Claris d'Inchiarai. Aug. 31, 1528. Giovanni Martini leases his property at Cerquea. Feb. 19, 1529. Giovanni Martini purchases copyholds at Chiasellis. March 22, 1530. Udine: contract for carved altarpiece for church of Caminetto. July 15, 1532. Valuation of the above, 100 ducats. May 30, 1530. Carved altarpiece for San Martino of Ruolt. Aug. 12. Valuation of the same. July 20, 1530. Giovanni Martini values his cousin Mione's altarpiece in San Martino of Verzegnis. April 23, 1531. Contract for a standard for the church of Brazzacco. Sept. 2. Carved altarpiece for San Martino of Galleriano. Sept. 7. Figure of

GIROLAMO DA UDINE



Alinari photo.]

THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.

[Udine, Museo Civico.

churches of Lestizza and Cormons in 1511 and 1518 with frescoes.¹ Friulan by birth and by education, he elaborated an ill cultivated style not unlike that of Martini in 1507. What we observe in his Coronation at Udine is a timid conception of subject, an antiquated Friulan air, and a paltry adaptation of the models of Cima, combined with that peculiar rawness and heavy flatness of tones which make the latest creations of Giovanni Martini unattractive. It is just such a work as we might assign to a man who had been employed as a journeyman towards the close of the fifteenth century in the ateliers of Cima and Carpaccio; nor is it improbable that, when at Venice, he should have received orders for pictures such as the Coronation of the Virgin called Carpaccio in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, or the Glory of St. Mark attributed to Cima in the Academy of Vienna.²

St. Joseph for San Giuseppe of Flambro. Oct. 14. Figure of S. Vito and two painted shutters for S. Vito of Inchiaraio. Jan. 27, 1532. Arbitration as to a figure of St. James done by Giovanni Martini for the noble Francesco de' Freschi. Feb. 6, 1532. Udine: contract for carved altarpiece for San Odorico of Orsaria. Oct. 29, 1534. Price of the foregoing, 145 ducats. May 4, 1532. Udine: contract for carved altarpiece for the church of Coderno. Jan. 21, 1533. Giovanni Martini redeems a piece of land at Nimis. Feb. 19, 1533. Udine: contract for carved altarpiece for the church of Campo Formio on the model of that of Tomba. May 17. Standard for the church of Massa. March 26, 1534. He values an altarpiece. May 30. Carved altarpiece for San Maria di San Pietro in Carnia. Dec. 12. Carved altarpiece for the church of Butrio. Feb. 15, 1535. Carved altarpiece for the church of Zugliano. June 8. Crucifix for San Giorgio al Tagliamento. Aug. 30, 1535. Udine: codicil to Giovanni Martini's will. Sept. 30, 1535. Death of Giovanni Martini. [* See also Joppi and Bampo, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv. Misc. vol. v. pp. 26 *sqq.*, 13 *sqq.*] Of Giovanni Mione, son of Domenico da Tolmezzo, we have a complete calendar of records, dating from 1505 to 1530; they only relate to wood-carvings.

*¹ Girolamo di Bernardino died in 1512 and cannot therefore be identical with the author of the frescoes at Cormons, which are dated 1518. (Cf. Joppi, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv. Misc. vol. xii. Supplement, p. 24.) At least two painters named Girolamo which are not mentioned by the authors were working in Friuli at the opening of the sixteenth century (see *ibid.*, pp. 23, 30).

*² The following is a calendar of records relating to Girolamo di Bernardino of Udine.

May 25, 1506. Girolamo di Bernardino hires a house at Udine. June 28, 1508. Girolamo di Bernardino lets the dying establishments of his father at Udine. March 13, 1509. Udine: Girolamo di q. Bernardino values an altar carved by the sculptor Bartolommeo of Udine. March 12, 1510. Udine: Girolamo di q. Bernardino values a curtain-fall by Giacomo Martini. March 19, 1511. Udine: Contract of Girolamo di q. Bernardino to paint the chapel (? choir) of the church of San Biagio and San Giusto of Lestizza near Udine. (The church was completely renewed in the course of the last century, 1818). The following inscription is said

In the archives of the notaries of Udine, an agreement bearing date in 1468, recites how Battista, a Sclavonian, at that time living in Udine, contracted to paint a curtain fall for the church of Comerzo. In this old but interesting document it is agreed that Battista shall first submit two subjects as specimens to the decision of umpires, and, in the event of a favourable award, shall be entitled to claim a supply of honey and eggs and a sum of eighty lire for the completion of his work. Other records of 1470-76-80 refer to Battista's later labours in the same field and his residence alternately at San Daniele and

to exist in the "coretto" of the church of Cormons. "ai 3 otubre a fato far questa opera Matus Braut. . . . Jeronimo, p." Besides this Girolamo we have Girolamo di Giovanni, painter, of whom the following is known: June 3, 1490. Udine: Girolamo di Giovanni sells a piece of land at Bolzano.—There is also one Girolamo di Rodolfo of Cividale, respecting whom there are records of 1551 and later (he cannot be the artist described in the text); and of Girolamo di Paolo of Cividale we have documents dated 1554-7-63, but they relate to carved works. Girolamo di Paolo of Milan, resident at Udine, is also a sculptor, whose works were executed in 1529.

(1) The first picture of Girolamo to which records refer is one executed for Santa Maria in Valle at Cividale called *Ancona di San Benedetto*, paid for in 1539. Maniago (*Stor. delle belle arti Friul., ub. sup.*, p. 301), who publishes the record, assigns to Girolamo a figure of St. Benedict in Santa Maria in Valle of Cividale; but we shall see that there is reason to consider this figure merely as part of an altarpiece finished for this church by Pellegrino da San Daniele in 1501 (see *postea*, p. 87, n. 1). [* Girolamo di Bernardino, as we have seen (*antea*, p. 79, n. 1), died seventeen years before the above *ancona* was painted. According to Joppi (*loc. cit.*, p. 30), its author was one Girolamo di Matteo da Milano.] (2) The Coronation in the town hall of Udine [* now in the Museo Civico] was formerly in the sacristy of the Duomo (Maniago, *Guida di Udine*, 8vo, 1825, p. 184). It is on panel, in oil, m. 1.77 broad by 1.71. The Saviour is represented sitting on a throne in a ruined portico, the Virgin kneeling on the step before him. A green hanging forms the background behind the throne and intercepts a view of the outer country. The idea of the conception is conveyed at the same time by the infant Christ and dove in halos above the Virgin's head. At the sides of the foreground are the Baptist and John Evangelist, between whom a boy-angel sits playing the mandolin. On a cartello fastened to the step is the signature "opus Jeronimi utinesis." This piece has been restored, but is in a very bad condition and threatens to scale in many places; the colours at present are sombre, raw, and hard. We are reminded of Cima by certain types, and of Carpaccio by the method of treatment, the contrasts of tints, and the ornamentation. (3) Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Here is a Coronation in the same style as the above, but with choirs of saints at the sides of the throne. The authorship has been assigned to Carpaccio, but the execution is a cento of that of Cima, of Carpaccio, and the Friulans which is characteristic of Girolamo (see the engraving in Zanotto, *Pinac. Ven.*, fasc. 18, who says the picture was in San Gregorio at Venice). The surface is injured by age and retouching. In the same

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at Udine. Of the person to whom these records allude not a single piece has been preserved; and he would probably have remained in obscurity but that he was the father of Martino de Udine, comrade to Giovanni Martini, and a man of note in the history of Friulan art.¹

The archives of Udine, to which we owe the preservation of Battista's name, also contain a contract dated May 18, 1491, from which it appears that Martino had lost his father, had become the partner of Ser Giovanni Antonio, a goldsmith at San Daniele, and accepted the duty of decorating with frescoes the church of Villanova, near San Daniele.² Of Martino's

style, and possibly for this reason by Girolamo, are No. 167, Justice; No. 165, Temperance; No. 150, Annunciate Virgin; No. 148, Annunciate Angel—in the Venice Acad. (see *antea* in Cima, i. 248, n. 4). (4) Similar, again, is an enthroned St. Mark attended by St. Andrew and St. Louis of Toulouse (No. 14 in the Academy of Arts at Vienna. Canvas, figures all but life-size). To this piece the name of Cima is attached. [* See *antea*, i. 251, n. 4.] To the same author possibly we may ascribe the St. Anthony between St. Roch and Mary Magdalen, a picture given to Caroto in the Leuchtenberg collection at St. Petersburg (No. 63, canvas, figures half the size of life). [* Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.] But for the fact that Girolamo di Bernardino is so constantly found mentioned in Utinese records from 1506 to 1518 we might suppose him to be identical with the famulus of that name to whom Gentile Bellini bequeathed his sketches. [* As shown by Dr. Ludwig (in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxiv. Supplement, pp. 14 *sqq.*) the Girolamo mentioned in Gentile Bellini's will is probably identical with Girolamo da Santa Croce. See also *antea*, p. 79, n. 1.]

¹ Of Battista da San Daniele we have the following notices, to which we should premise that he was by birth a Dalmatian.

November 10, 1468. San Daniele: The "camerari" of the church of Santa Maria di Comerzo agree with "Maestro" Battista, the painter, residing at Udine, to paint a curtain-fall, etc. December 17, 1470. San Daniele: Maestro Battista, the painter, residing at San Daniele, contracts with the "cameraro" of the Brotherhood of Santa Daniele di Castello to make and paint an altarpiece for the high altar of the church with four figures, *i.e.* SS. Daniel, Michael, and St. John the Baptist, above which a bust picture of the Virgin Mary. July 26, 1476: San Daniele: Maestro Battista, "pictor Scлавonus," resident at Udine, is witness to a public act at San Daniele. November 19, 1480. Udine: Maestro Battista, living at Udine, and Ser Giovanni Antonio da San Daniele are umpires in the quarrel of the painter Maestro Francesco and the men of the village of Pasiano in the matter of a picture. In a record of March 10, 1502, Pellegrino, Battista's son, is described as "M^r. Martino Qm. prudentis Mag. Baptist pictoris de Dalmacia." [* Battista died in 1484. See Joppi, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv. Misc., vol. xi. pp. 7 *sq.*]

² May 18, 1491. San Daniele: The Camerari and men of Santa Maria di Villanova, near San Daniele, agree with Ser Giovanni Antonio, goldsmith, and M^r. Martino, painter, q. M^r. Battista, to the effect that they shall paint the chapel (choir) of their church with the Annunciation, the Purification, the

birth or education we have no sort of information. His frescoes at Villanuova perished; and we can only surmise that, having studied the elements under his father and afterwards visited Venice, he returned to Udine with a claim to instant employment amongst his countrymen.¹ The flattering epithet of Pellegrino, which he obtained in 1494,² supposed indeed to have been given to him by Giovanni Bellini, might justify us in believing that he was a skilled—if not a perfect—craftsman. We shall see, however, that he was less entitled to be called Pellegrino in the fifteenth than in the sixteenth century, that what he learned in Venice or the Venetian provinces before 1494 was acquired under the influence of Cima rather than from Giovanni Bellini, and that, but for a happy chance which cast him adrift in the North Italian States from 1508 to 1512, he would have deserved a place in art not much higher than that of Giovanni Martini.

In 1494, shortly after completing his labours at Villanuova, Pellegrino received an order for an altarpiece at Osopo from the Lords of Savorgnano.³ It is the first and by no means the best of his works. The Virgin, enthroned in a splendidly ornamented marble semidome, is attended by St. Columba and St. Peter, the steps leading up to the plinth on which she rests being kept by three angels playing instruments, about whom stand two groups of saints: the Baptist, Hermagoras, the Magdalen, James, Stephen, and Sebastian. On a balcony in rear and at the height of the Madonna's chair, two seraphs sound the triangle and guitar, the skirting beneath being hung with golden damask cloths; behind these seraphs a balustrade or cornice on pillars is filled with rows of cherubs holding branches. Nothing more

Nativity, the Prophets and Four Doctors. The church was renovated in the eighteenth century. [* See Joppi, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. ix, Misc. vol. xi. pp. 14, 28 sq.]

*¹ We now know a document dated May 26, 1489, in which Domenico da Tolmezzo declared that Martino at that time was about sixteen years old, and had stayed with Domenico for little more than a year, after having previously lived with Antonio, a Florentine painter settled at Udine. (Joppi, *loc. cit.* pp. 27 sq.) Martino was thus aged about nine when his father died, so he cannot have learnt much from him.

*² For 1494, read 1493; see the next note.

*³ In 1493 Pellegrino, together with Martino da Tolmezzo and Giovanni Martini, executed paintings in the Chiesa Maggiore at Gemona. It is in the documents relating to these works that the artist is for the first time called Pellegrino. (Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 14, 29 sq.)

characteristic than this cento of florid architectural decoration and hangings, and figures dispersed on numerous planes. The Virgin, a fair and well-proportioned dame, supports the child, erect and leaning back with his arms across, on her knee—a Bellinesque group reminiscent of that which bears Antonello's name in the Berlin Museum. Hermagoras and Peter, with some remnants of Friulan ruggedness, the lower angels with their dry shape, are adaptations from Cima. Of coarser local type are the Baptist, St. James, and St. Sebastian—whilst, curiously enough, the cherubs in the upper balustrade are better and more boldly drawn than the rest of the picture. That which most reminds us of the defects of highland painting is angularity and overcharge of drapery. Yellow flesh-tints heightened with a red flush in the cheeks, a raw and earthy system of shadows with abrupt transitions, betray Pellegrino's ignorance of the delicacies of Venetian treatment. Hard, broad outline loosely defines the parts; anatomy and muscular developments are carefully but incorrectly made out. Perspective is skilfully applied.¹ It is obvious that, of all contemporary painters, Cima was the one who most impressed Martino at this time, it was Cima, and not Giovanni Bellini who smoothed away Friulan coarseness and removed its outer rind of roughness. It was Cima that enabled the masters of the uplands to engraft some of the modern graces on the grim tyres of mountain art. Pellegrino after this had numerous orders for pictures; he had finished altarpieces for the Cathedral and for the guild of ironsmiths, in Santa Maria di Piazza (1495-6); his interest was good with the Savorgnani, who were influential at Udine and Osopo, and who frequently gave him their patronage; in San Daniele, at a distance of a few miles, he had courted and married the daughter of Daniele, constable of the city gates, from whom he was to receive a fortune. He was himself a candidate for the reversion of the

¹ April 5, 1494. Osopo, Udine: Two representatives of the commune of Osopo promise to "M^r. Martinus nuncupatus Pelegrinus" to perform the contract entered into for the altarpiece ordered for the church of Osopo of the said Pellegrino; and in Martino's name, his brother-in-law, M^r. Giovanni de Cramariis, promises to perform the contract according to the terms originally stipulated. The picture to which the foregoing record alludes was in the chapel of the "Castello," and is now in the church of Osopo. [* It was completed by November 1495. (See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 14, 30, 33 sq.)]

office of constable at Udine and had a promise of it on condition of painting gratuitously all the shields of arms of the town with the figures of the patron St. Mark, all the standards and decorations for public festivals, and the St. Marks within and without the walls; yet his ambition led him rather to seek instruction in travel than to court ease at home, and in 1497 he made a will and prepared for a journey to Rome.¹

There was at that time in San Daniele a religious corporation under the patronage of St. Anthony, the abbot of which owned a church of fair proportions within the precincts of the town. This church, called Sant' Antonio, had been covered in former years with frescoes which no longer bore comparison with the later ones of ordinary Friulan painters. It seems to have been suggested by the relatives or friends of Pellegrino, many of whom lived at San Daniele, that it would be well to prevent his under-

¹ January 29, 1495. Minute of an application (granted) from the guild of smiths to the Lesser Council of Udine for permission to set up an altarpiece in San Giovanni di Piazza. Same year, June 6. Contract of the guild of smiths with Pellegrino to paint an altarpiece for San Giovanni di Piazza representing SS. Giovanni, Alb, and Sebastian, and a scene from the life of St. Alb on canvas for 20 ducats. May 9, 1498. Promise of final payment to Pellegrino for the above. March 22, 1499. Gift from the municipality of Udine to the guild of smiths of 10 ducats for Pellegrino's altarpiece in San Giovanni di Piazza. [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 14-16, 31 sq.]

May 4, 1495. Pellegrino is present at the division of the property of the Lords of Savorgnano in their house at Udine. April 1, 1497. Pellegrino is witness to a contract in which a copyhold is purchased of Daniele, constable of the gates at San Daniele, and transferred to Pellegrino himself, at that time married to Elena, heiress of Prè Giusto, "cappellano" of San Daniele. Same date: deed in which Ser Giorgio de Cichinis transfers the above copyhold to Pellegrino. Elena, wife of Pellegrino, was the daughter of Daniello, constable of the gates at San Daniele (*vide* document of Oct. 10, 1497 in Maniago, *ub. sup.*, p. 292). Oct. 12, 1497. Udine: will of Pellegrino, in which he declares that he is about to start for Rome, and leaves all his property to his mother Chiara and his wife Elena in equal shares. Same date: will of Elena, wife of Pellegrino, making him, with slight exceptions, her sole heir. Witness to both wills is Giovanni Martini, painter of Udine. April 11, 1498. Udine: Pellegrino and Francesco di Ser Giosafatte value an altarpiece of wood by Domenico da Tolmezzo. March 4, 1499. Udine: Pellegrino presses for the payment of the altarpiece painted for the altar of Corpus Christi in the Duomo of Udine. This altarpiece is described as finished in the contract of June 6, 1495, between Pellegrino and the guild of smiths. Both of the altarpieces in the Duomo and San Giovanni di Piazza are gone. Dec. 17, 1495. Petition of Pellegrino, praying for the reversion of the place of constable of one of the city gates. (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, p. 291.) [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 15 sq., 33 sqq.]

taking a distant pilgrimage by retaining him to execute a large and important pictorial work. The Brotherhood of Sant' Antonio gave him an order to repaint their chapel, and Pellegrino was thus persuaded to postpone his departure. It was probably the wish of the fraternity that the whole edifice should be covered with subjects, and it is not unlikely that they required a plan of the whole internal decoration to be made; but the first duty imposed on Pellegrino was that of filling in the ribbed sections of the semi-dome vaulting and the soffit of the arch leading into it with figures of the Saviour and the Four Evangelists and busts of saints in medallions. Though in comparison with the men of the Carnian province, and especially with Giovanni Francesco of Tolmezzo, Pellegrino now applied newer rules to architectural ornamentation and perspective, and gave a more modern air to his composition, he still remained impressed with old Friulan character. Byzantine projections mark the face, coarse robustness the hands and feet, of the square, foreshortened Christ; the angels round the Saviour are cast in the short and paltry mould of earlier ones at Osopo.

Of the attendant evangelists the shapes are unwieldy and helpless, the chief defects being hard and cornered drapery, ill-drawn extremities, incorrect anatomy, vulgar and antiquated masks. No trace of subtlety in treatment is apparent in any part; a dusky and uniform colour breaks with abrupt transitions from yellow to leaden grey in flesh, and sharp juxtapositions from primary to primary in dresses; the contours are raw and cutting, the surface is rough, opaque, and hatched in lights and shades to a rude and unsatisfactory finish.

What contemporary opinion may have been as regards this work has not been recorded. It shows that Pellegrino at the time was little superior to Giovanni Martini, that he had some Friulan wildness, and a tendency to imitate Cima. As an analyst and draughtsman he betrayed a vast amount of inexperience, and it might be questioned whether such a beginning could be considered to promise future greatness. Pellegrino signed his name and the date of 1498 on the upper slant of the semi-dome window, and years elapsed before the decoration was resumed.¹

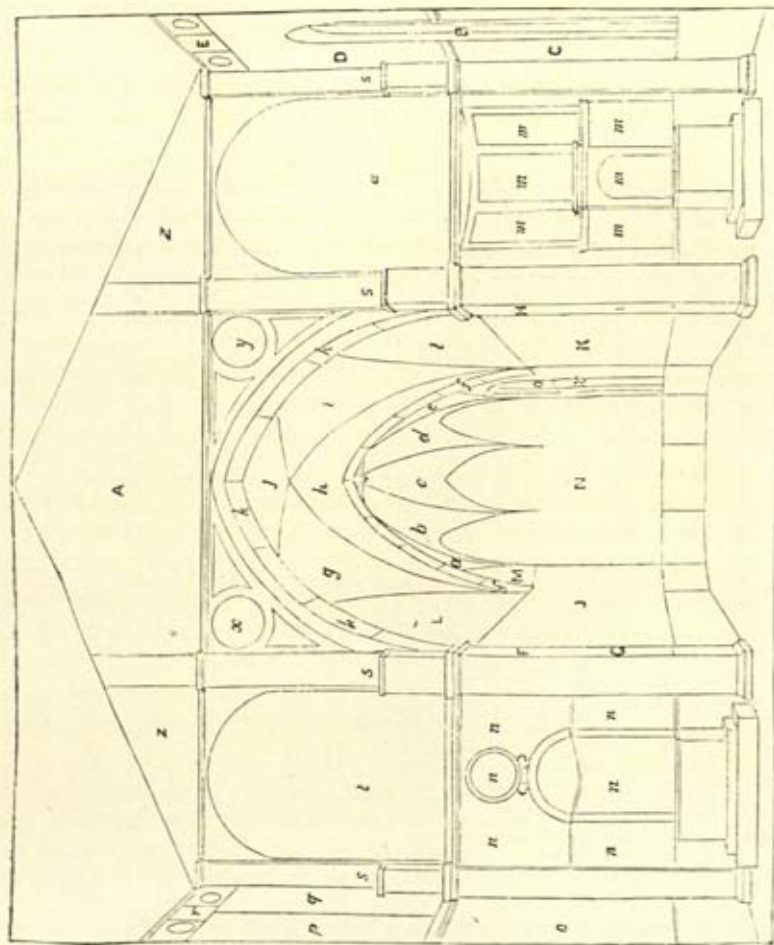
¹ San Daniele, church of Sant' Antonio. Pentagonal semi-dome vaulting. Most of the blue grounds on which the figures should be relieved are either abraded or

During thirty years previous to the opening of the sixteenth century, Friuli was invaded seven times by the Turks, and the last of these invasions occurred in 1499. Pouring in large numbers over the Bosnian borders, the Saracens crossed the Isonzo, Tagliamento, and Livenza, massacred or carried off the inhabitants of towns and villages, and forced all those who had the means to take refuge in walled cities. Pellegrino, it cannot be doubted, was obliged to run for Udine, and many a year went by before the Brotherhood of Sant' Antonio acquired sufficient courage or saved enough money to proceed with the embellishment of its house of prayer.

Meanwhile trade resumed its wonted activity in the chief centres of traffic, and Pellegrino found no lack of patrons in the Friulan capital. A friendly competition began, as we have seen, between himself and Giovanni Martini, and the Glory of St. Joseph, which he completed in 1501 for a chapel in the Duomo, is a record of his victory in this amicable contest. The saint is here represented erect holding the infant Christ, who gives a blessing to the Baptist in the garb of a shepherd. An isolated example of its kind as regards subject, and almost irreparably damaged by repainting, it suffices to show that Pellegrino, even at the opening of the century, had not as yet made any serious progress in modernizing his style, his chief characteristic being an imitation of Cima, which becomes very distinct in a background of ruinous buildings like that in Conegliano's Glory of St. John in Santa Maria dell'Orto at Venice. The figures are in better drawing and movement, the draperies have a more modern cast and the extremities less coarseness than of old; but there is nothing as yet to foreshadow the bold facility which became so conspicuous later.¹ The success of this com-

scaled, the blue mantle of the Saviour is altered and bleached, the red tunic changed by damp, and the head discoloured. Two angels to the right of the Saviour's feet are all but gone. The violet dress of St. Mathew is spotted and discoloured. In a lozenge in the vaulting of the window (*o* in the accompanying plan) are the words "*Pelegrinus pinxit*," and in a medallion beneath the date "1498." The figures of the semi-dome vaulting are marked in the plan *a, b, c, d, e, f*.

¹ The contract for this picture is dated May 10, 1500, the price to be 35 ducats (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, p. 293). An additional sum of 10 ducats was granted on Feb. 1, 1501 (*ibid.*). June 14, 1501. Final payment was made to both Pellegrino and Giovanni Martini (record of Arch. Notar. of Udine). [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, p. 16.] Not only is the principal panel injured by repainting, but the predella representing



- a-c.* Christ and the Evangelists.
g. Saints.
g-f. Four Doctors of the Church.
kk. Six Prophets.
l. St. Anthony restores the Child to Life.
g. St. Michael overcomes Satan.
n. Glory of a Saint attended by six Saints.
m. Ditto, Ditto.
o. St. Anthony's Benediction of his Brethren.
p. Martyred St. Sebastian.
r. St. Michael overcomes Satan.
r. Moses strikes the Rock and Miracle of the Serpent.
ss. David, Adam, Eve, and Judith.
t. The Nativity.
u. Epiphany.
x. Eriety of Noah.
y. Sacrifice of Abraham.
z. The Temptation.
- A. Annunciation.
 B. Saints in Medallions.
 C. St. Christopher.
 D. A Saint.
 E. St. George and the Dragon and the Judgment of Solomon.
 F. St. George.
 G. St. Colombanus.
 H. Angel and Tobias.
 I. Saint in Episcopals.
 J. Christ washes the feet of the Apostles.
 K. Christ in Limbo.
 L. St. Anthony fights the Fiends.
 M. Burial of St. Paul the Hermit.
 N. The Crucifixion.

PERSPECTIVE OF THE CHURCH OF SANT' ANTONIO AT SAN DANIELE IN FRIULL

petition introduced Pellegrino to municipal honours and he was elected member of the Council of Udine from 1501 to 1503. Of his pictures at that time we have but a poor example in the Baptist between saints (1502) at Santa Maria in Valle of Cividale.¹ He might have lived in this manner for years a

the Adoration of the Shepherds and the Flight into Egypt—both landscape compositions—are ruined by retouching. Vasari (v. 106) greatly praises this picture.

¹ 1501 and 1503. Pellegrino was a member of the "Maggior consiglio" of Udine. There is a St. Benedict in Santa Maria in Valle at Cividale, half the life-size on an arched panel much injured by abrasion, outlined with a minute broken contour; the draperies, cutting and rectilinear as in Catena and Bissolo; shadow all but absent. We are asked to believe that this figure is the one referred to in a record published by Maniago (*Stor. delle b. a. Friul., ub. sup.*, p. 301), in which, under a date of 1539, payment is made to "Mistro Hieronimo depentor" for "l'ancona di S. Benedetto." In the vicinity of the panel above described, there are two others of the same size, representing St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist hanging on the walls of Santa Maria in Valle. The panel of the Evangelist is supposed to be that referred to in a record, also cited by Maniago, with the date of 1561, in which one Elizabeth Formentina at Cividale pays Pellegrino da San Daniele "per la pala di San Zuan" 125 ducats. This figure of St. John the Evangelist is gentle in shape and mien, the head round and full, the flesh rosy, pale and shadowless, the draperies rectilinear, the feet large and coarse. We should say this was the work of a man bred in the old methods of Friulan art, but not unacquainted with the works of Cima. St. John the Baptist is of the same stamp as the Evangelist (much injured too). We are inclined to think that the three panels formed part of one altarpiece, and that the painter was Pellegrino, and the whole piece seems to be that called "Pala di San Zuan" in the record of 1501; but we think also that so weak a production of Pellegrino should be classed amongst those confided principally to his assistants, among whom Girolamo da Udine may have been counted. [Cf. *antea*, p. 80, n. 1.] We have the contract of June 28, 1501, by which Pellegrino agrees with "la Reverenda Elisabetta Formentina," abbess of Santa Maria in Valle at Cividale, to produce the altarpiece which is to represent St. John the Baptist between St. Benedict and St. John the Evangelist, and in the upper part the Assumption of the Virgin, the whole piece to be 15 ft. high by 7 ft., and to be valued on completion. [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 16, 36 *sq.*] Sept. 17, 1501. Pellegrino is witness to a will at Udine. March 11, 1502. Pellegrino promises to pay to the Brotherhood of San Antonio 52 lire, a charge upon a house which he had purchased in Borgo Aquileia at Udine. Nov. 2, 1502. Udine: Elena appoints Pellegrino her agent in the matter of the succession of her relative Prè Giusto, ex-chaplain of Santa Maria in San Daniele. Oct. 24, 1503. Pellegrino receives a present of a garden from Giovanni F. Filetini of Udine, for whom he had done painter's work. [* In 1503 Pellegrino completed a large polyptych for the Duomo of Aquileia, where it is still preserved. The principal course of it contains three couples of saints (the central compartment being now detached); above is seen the risen Christ between two prophets, and below is a predella. This altarpiece, the magnificent frame of which was carved by Antonio de' Tironi of Bergamo, is inscribed at the back, "Hoc opus pinxit

respected citizen and a mediocre artist, had not accident driven him from home and brought him in contact with new and very powerful influences. The first of these accidents was one which affected him greatly. We saw he had been promised the reversion of the post of constable at Udine. When a vacancy occurred in 1506 he claimed it and was mortified beyond measure at not receiving it. In dudgeon, we may suppose, he retired to San Daniele, in the vicinity of which he finished a fresco called *La Vergine di Strada*, fragments of which are still preserved, and in 1507, after a short period of unsettled life, he let his house and wandered to the lowlands.¹ Political reasons were probably of weight in the hostility which he encountered at Udine; parties were quietly taking sides for the Imperialists on the one hand, for Venice on the other. The Emperor Maximilian had

magister Peregrinus pictor utinensis filius quondam magistri Baptiste anno 1503." Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 16 sq., 38 sqq.] July 9, 1505. Contract between Pellegrino and Giovanni Francesco of Spilimberg, the price not to exceed 82 ducats. There is no present knowledge of the existence of this piece. Nov. 20, 1505. Estimate of repairs to Pellegrino's house in Borgo Aquileia at Udine, he being present. Feb. 10, 1506. Payment to the Brotherhood of Sant'Antonio at San Daniele of rent due by Pellegrino for certain houses in Borgo Aquileia at Udine. March 1506, and following, deeds of purchase and sale of property by Pellegrino. [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 17 sq., 40 sq.]

¹ Sept. 23, 1606. Udine: Pellegrino applies for the vacant post of constable of the Pascole gate at Udine, which had been promised to him on Dec. 17, 1495. The Council refuses to make the grant and appoints another person. Oct. 9 and 27, 1506. Pellegrino lets a house in Borgo Aquileia and appoints two lawyers his agents at Udine. [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, p. 18.]

As to the fresco called the *Vergine di Strada*, old chronicles affirm that it was done in 1506 in the church of the Madonna, near San Daniele; the subject was the Virgin and Child, with the Baptist and St. Joseph. All that now remains is the Virgin and Child sawn from the wall and preserved in a frame under glass on the high altar. The figures are life-size, but too injured to warrant an opinion. (See Hartzén, *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, 1853, No. 23, and Maniago, *ib. sup.*, p. 179.) Hartzén, in a notice of Pellegrino's works (*Deutsches Kunstblatt*, No. 22), ascribes to Pellegrino the Glory of St. Ursula at the Brera, but we have seen that it is by Giovanni Martini.

Oct. 5, 1507. Udine: deed of gift of a garden in Udine to Pellegrino from Giovanni Savorgnano, for services done in his profession. Oct. 29. Purchase of land in Borgo Aquileia. Nov. 26: Minute of settlement between Pellegrino and the Brotherhood of Sant'Antonio at San Daniele as to rent-charge of the latter on Pellegrino's house in Borgo Aquileia. Nov. 15. Deed of gift of two fields at Udine from the noble Giovanni Savorgnano to Pellegrino for professional services. Dec. 1: Pellegrino lets his house at Udine to Giacomo Cibel for 32 lire per annum. [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 18 sq.]

PELLEGRINO DA SAN DANIELE



Alinari photo.]

POLYPTYCH.

[*Aquileia, Duomo.*

sent word to Venice that he intended to pass the Alps into Italy; the Venetians had refused, and were prepared to resist, the passage. In January 1508 Friuli and Cadore were invaded, and the wars lasted with little interruption till 1512. Those years Pellegrino spent in the north Italian provinces, partly, as we believe, at Venice and partly at Ferrara.

At Venice a great revolution had been made in painting; secrets of mediums, problems of perspective, subtle laws of harmony, had been mastered and applied; composition, proportion, expression, and the draughtman's skill, if not neglected, had become second to effect in pictures; touch had taken the place of pure outline; artifice of treatment and of colour that of severe science; scenic concentration, deep flush of light, sweeps of strong shadow, twilight of glowing tone, were the qualities which gave a new aspect to the works of Bellini, Giorgione, and Palma. How striking the change to a man like Pellegrino returning to the haunts of his youth, full as yet of his ideal of Cima and old Friulan ruggedness; how natural that he should strive to acquire something of the attractiveness of Giorgionesque art! We can fancy that, in the period of his initiation to this new manner, he would fall very easily into that sort of imitation which we discern in an altarpiece of the late Rinuccini collection—a *Glory of St. Mark* between *St. Jerome* and *St. Gerard*—falsely inscribed with *Perugino's* name, in which we observe a superficial copy of *Giorgione*, *Palma*, and *Lotto*. We hesitate as to the authorship which might be claimed for *Morto da Feltre*, but it is quite conceivable that a man of Pellegrino's type should produce the dry and paltry figures, the full, deep draperies of rectilinear fold, the clouded, empty flesh-tones—which are so conspicuous in this instance. The Duke of Ferrara at this time was preparing to decorate his palace with mythological subjects. He had ordered a *Bacchanal* of *Giovanni Bellini*, and scenes from the *Æneid* of the *Dossi*; he was to employ *Titian* at a later period and strive, though in vain, to enlist the services of a still greater artist. The only reason given by *Raphael* in 1517 for refusing to paint a *Triumph of Bacchus* was that the same subject had been done for the Duke by Pellegrino da San Daniele.¹

¹ Ex gal. Rinuccini. The altarpiece of *St. Mark*, between *SS. Jerome* and *Gerard*, represents three saints erect in niches and on pedestals. It is much

In the summer of 1512 Pellegrino returned to Udine, where he designed allegories of "religion, justice, victory, and fame" in monochrome for the monument of Andrea Trevisano in the loggia of the public Palace; but even here the hand of time lies heavy on his labours, and we can only discern that he had gained dexterity and grace in rendering form and action.¹ The reach of his power is only to be measured in the wall-paintings which he now resumed at Sant' Antonio and San Daniele. How it happened that this church remained so long without modern adornments has been explained; when Pellegrino resumed duty there in summer 1513, it does not appear that any limits were set to him as regards time. The frescoes themselves afford internal evidence of having been finished at different epochs and at considerable intervals—the Four Doctors in the choir vaulting seen from below at openings of an oval shape, and six life-size busts of prophets on the soffit, in the spring of 1514.²

injured and inscribed: "Pietro Perugino pinxit anno 1512." The St. Jerome slightly recalls Palma, the head of St. Mark is Bellinesque. Hartzen (*Deutsches Kunstblatt*, *ub. sup.*, No. 23), assigns the picture to Pellegrino (see also *History of Italian Painting*, 1st ed., vol. iii. p. 196). As to Ferrara, see Vasari, v. 97 sq. and 107, vii. 433, in which it is stated that through Ferrarese influence Pellegrino obtained for relations at Udine the appointment of two canonries. With reference to Raphael's objection to paint a Triumph of Bacchus see Campori, *Notiz. Ined. di Raffaello*, 4to, Modena, 1863, p. 7. [* Pellegrino's connection with Ferrara began earlier and lasted longer than the authors suppose. It seems that he stayed there continuously from 1508 to 1511; but both before and afterwards he paid visits to that town—in 1504, 1505, 1512, 1513, and possibly 1514. He was in the service of the Ducal family, for which he executed numerous works, among which we may mention the scenery for Ariosto's comedy *Cassaria* (1508). See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 17 sqq.; Campori, in *Atti e memorie delle RR. Deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie modenesi e parmensi*, ser. i. vol. vi. pp. 337 sqq.]

¹ Dec. 19, 1512. Udine: payment to Pellegrino for monochromes of the tomb of the late luogotenente at Udine (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, p. 295). The figures are life-size, the old and worn outlines impinged upon by the whitewash of the tomb.

² The frescoes described are *g, h, i, j, k*, in the elevation annexed to the text, July 26, 1513. In the church of Sant' Antonio minute of agreement between Pellegrino and Ser Girolamo de Venustiis, "camerario" of the Brotherhood, to adorn the church with paintings (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, pp. 294-5). [* See also Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 19, 41 sq.] The figures are damaged by spots, damp, and abrasion—the St. Jerome and a prophet in soffit especially so. Some of the stucco ornaments also have dropped out and the blues generally are all but obliterated. Some of the harshness peculiar to the frescoes is due to the system of line-hatching from which Pellegrino has not yet severed himself.

Though injured by damp and, so far, an imperfect test, these pieces very clearly demonstrate that the works of the modern Venetians had not been carelessly studied by Pellegrino. It was not in him to divest his style altogether of its old Friulan impress; his marked contour and detail were still obtrusive; he was too abrupt in contrasts of light and shade and too harsh in transitions; he indulged to excess in sombre colour, strong tints and sharpness of drapery line; but he showed some mastery over the principles of anatomy and foreshortening, and improved greatly in drawing and modelling. Precision and boldness are judiciously combined in his handling; character and expression are often united in one figure; there is force in the ruddiness of his flesh and flow in the folding of his drapery. The most distinct feature of his style, however, is an imitation of Pordenone for which there was probably sufficient cause. Pordenone was born, as we shall see, about 1483, and received the lessons of Pellegrino. In the first burst of his career he produced frescoes savouring of the old Friulan and Venetian and markedly like those of 1498 in Sant'Antonio of San Daniele. At a subsequent period he also visited the lowlands and followed the Giorgionesques. Being a man of genius and originality, favoured moreover by the flexibility of youth, he adapted himself to the changes introduced at Venice and returned into Friuli a better painter than his teacher.¹ During his frequent wanderings, Pellegrino probably visited San Salvatore of Colalto or other churches in which Pordenone was employed during the early part of the century and wittingly or unwittingly fell into his manner. It is instructive to observe how at different epochs the two men were masters to each other, Pellegrino first instructing Pordenone, Pordenone later heading and imposing his influence upon Pellegrino. Both artists, great in their way, might have been led to the same results by a similar course of study, yet Pellegrino is so like Pordenone in 1514 that it is hard to believe he did not imitate him, especially as Pordenone is already superior to Pellegrino in every department of his art.

In 1514 Friuli was involved in new complications. The troops of the emperor having treacherously broken truce and

* ¹ Pordenone is probably identical with Giovanni Antonio, who is recorded as Pellegrino's assistant at Ferrara in 1508. See *postea*, p. 133, n. 6.

forced the Venetians to raise the siege of Marano, occupied Udine and all the strongholds of the hills except Osopo in February. In March they ransomed San Daniele, then comparatively defenceless; and a contemporary record tells how the inhabitants were offered the alternative of fine or pillage, and Pellegrino was one of those deputed to deliberate on this unpleasant subject.¹ The Imperialists, it is true, had barely time to secure their booty and retire; but in the meanwhile Pellegrino was forced to a temporary residence at Udine, where he produced a Virgin and Child with saints, now ruined, in the church of San Rocco.² His return to San Daniele took place in November 1515, and from that time forward, he laboured with little intermission at the wall-paintings of Sant' Antonio.

Looking at these frescoes in their present condition they seem to have been carried out with constant reference to the progress that art was making throughout the Venetian territories; and we almost fancy that each subject betrays in its handling the exact date of its execution; nor shall we greatly err in assuming that the Miracle of the Resurrection of the Child in the choir preceded the subjects on the wall of the choir-arch, and these were followed by the Saints on the piers, the Limbus, and the Washing of the Apostles.

No longer confined to the narrow field of church altarpieces, Pellegrino now appears to us as a composer dealing with expression and incident, and on this ground he undoubtedly

¹ March 27, 1514. Minute of a "council of heads of families" held at San Daniele drawn up by the notary Niccolò di Giorgio, in the archive of Udine. [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, p. 20.] Previous to that date we have other records relative to Pellegrino, e.g.: May 12, 1513. At Udine: purchase of a house from Vincenzo da Bari. Oct. 28. At San Daniele: action of Pellegrino against an inhabitant of Begliano for 8 ducats. Jan. 10, 1514. Pellegrino buys a feud for 9 ducats. Oct. 18, 1514. Udine: deed of division between Pellegrino and his brother-in-law, Candido di Giusto, of certain property left by q. M^o. Giorgio Mugnaio.

² In a record dated Nov. 14, 1514, at Udine, the "cameraro" of San Rocco fuori porta Pascole at Udine contracts with Pellegrino for a "pala" to contain the Virgin and Child between St. Sebastian and St. Roch for 45 ducats. It still exists: on panel with figures all but life-size, St. Roch in profile praying with joint hands; St. Sebastian naked with his hand behind his back, between the two an angel playing an instrument. The surface, after having been flayed, was almost completely repainted and is now scaling in many places. [* See also Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 20, 42 sq.]

reveals new and not inconsiderable powers. His talent for arrangement in the Resurrection of the Boy is hardly less unexpected than his skill as a colourist and draughtsman. He divides the scene into two parts, separated from each other by the figure of the mother imploring the supernatural aid of St. Anthony. Her features, of peasant mould, are filled with a spirit of passionate hope and confidence, whilst her child, of plump and pleasant shape, lies flexible in death on her knee. Behind her, in sympathising attitudes, a group of five females of diverse age and complexion, gently supplicating, eagerly inquiring, curiously watching, or timidly listening. In front, St. Anthony in benediction, a poor and vulgar specimen of monkish abstinence, attended by friars and laymen. The setting is good; the movements are natural, instantaneous, and appropriate. Form, of a robust and fleshy substance in females, comparatively feeble in males, is rendered without delicacy of selection, but in correct perspective; drapery is ample, well cast, and fairly distributed. A slight emptiness may be noticed in the flesh-tints, but the colouring is warm and bright. Particularly remarkable is the change in technical handling. Whilst in the earliest of his works Pellegrino piles his colour substantially and models it up by liquid hatching and thus creates unpleasant blindness and opacity, he now paints on a marble surface, lightly covering the white ground with transparents, and only using solid touches for the highest light or the deepest dark. The latter he puts in with much cleverness where the parts recede and especially where the shadows are projected by the brow, the nose, and chin. He produces by this means a massive contrast of chiaroscuro, to which however he sacrifices much, neglecting outline in extremities and articulation, and merely suggesting in a general way what the shape of a finger or joint ought to be. It was Pellegrino's misfortune to be attracted almost exclusively by richness of colouring. In his effort to rival contemporary Venetians, he imitated them with superficial ease, and thus remained below them in the subtleties of their practice; and we may attribute the want of break in his flesh as compared with theirs, and something in its monotone which reminds us of Pordenone and Correggio to that cause. He was also at a disadvantage because he applied to wall-painting a system almost exclusively used by the Venetians for the

production of easel pictures. Venice enjoyed in Titian the greatest representative of the art of colouring on canvas, Florence in Andrea del Sarto the greatest *frescante*. When Titian attempted fresco he was as much beneath himself as del Sarto when he took to the easel, transferring to the wall the technica of canvas, as Andrea transferred to canvas the technica of fresco. Yet Pellegrino, in spite of this disadvantage, acquitted himself of his task with reasonable success; and though he occupied but a second place as compared with Giorgione, Palma, and Pordenone, he is not the less entitled to admiration. We have seen that for many generations his compositions were frequently assigned to greater artists; and, without at all pretending to rob Giorgione for the benefit of Pellegrino, we may observe some resemblance in treatment between the works of the latter and the Concert at the Louvre.¹

Slight progress had been made up to this time in covering the fields of the choir and semi-dome in Sant' Antonio; but, slow as the work had been, it had proceeded regularly. Some sudden ambition now prompted Pellegrino to undertake the decoration of the large face of the choir-arch. Not many years before, Michelangelo had finished the ceiling of the Sixtine chapel; and a murmur of admiration was heard throughout Italy at the gigantic exertions which enabled one man to cover so wide an area in so short a time with such marvellous products of the pencil. Pellegrino's idea seems to have been suggested by the fame of the Sixtine. It was an attempt to produce a filling of framings and medallions with subjects sacred and profane and subordinate details of architecture and sculpture. The space is broken into broad divisions, horizontally with deep cornices, vertically with pillars and piers interrupted in their length by capitals and plinths with statues, in the spandrels of the arch medallions with imitated reliefs, round the arch itself a border in gilt stucco and flat monochrome with arabesques and trophies. In this rich and effective cento, Pellegrino exhibits fertility in expedients, cleverness in perspective, and taste in colour; being one of the few Venetians who reminds us of the modern classic of the Florentines. He cannot beat Pordenone when he imitates the Raphaellesques at Casarsa, Sebastian del Piombo at Piacenza,

¹ Louvre, No. 1136.

Correggio at Treviso or Michelangelo at Spilimberg; but he alone combines all the innovations of the age; and his ingenuity is conspicuous when he transforms simple altars like those on the sides of the choir-arch at Sant' Antonio into piles of monumental splendour. Nothing can be simpler than the cube of these altars, on each of which a carved and tinted statue is placed, yet they seem to be very highly ornamented. In that to the right, the wall behind the statue is made to resemble a marble niche, whilst two others at its sides, enclosed in monochrome pilasters and borders and thrown back by linear perspective, are painted so as to contain figures of saints. This first course is parted from a second one by a well-imitated entablature forming the base of a curved recess of coloured marbles in which three saints are set, the height at which they stand, as well as their distance within the entablature, being accounted for by the concealment of the lower extremities, the foreshortening of the proportions, and the view of the ceiling of the recess. Besides this, the figures are placed in appropriate attitudes: St. Sebastian bound to the pillar, his head thrown back and drooping, his frame curved with one hip outward—a fleshy, youthful effigy more like Antinous in voluptuous languor of pose than a Christian martyr; St. Job, aged yet bronzed and powerful, his right leg nearly overlapping the left, on which the whole weight of the body rests, leaning over and supporting himself with both hands on a staff, a cloth round his loins, the limbs disfigured with ulcers; St. Roch in soft boots moving to the left and looking round to the right, pointing at the plague-boil, a muscular, bearded peasant, in the vigour of youth, very reminiscent of Romanino; St. James, with a broad head and low forehead, and large eyes wide apart under arched brows, the barrel of the nose running down from a wide root to a thin point and delicate nostrils. In harmony with the boldness of the arrangement is the chord of rich tones gaily thrown upon the white smooth surface of the plaster. With less emptiness than before, but not without tricky conventionalism in the uniformity of technical treatment, this portion of Pellegrino's work is very remarkable for blending, clear transparence, and massive chiaroscuro. In the warm flesh-tints there is still some neglect of transitions and subtle modulations, yet the parts are brought into keeping by

sheer cleverness of harmonic contrasts, and St. Roch, in glaring stuffs, is very brilliant; but the richness of the whole is enhanced by effects calculated to assist those of the light streaming through the neighbouring window. St. Sebastian, whose body is fully exposed, is relieved against the pillar with a strong brown, the depth of which is greater than that of the frame itself. St. Job in the centre of the curve is brought out with a very fine play of projected shadow, St. Roch by a complicated tress of the same, the strongest of which is cast by the hat on his head, whilst lesser ones are caused by the arm and the hand pointing at the boil—all this improved by a bold application of perspective to form and by touch invariably following the direction of the foreshortenings. What constitutes the difference between this and Tuscan art is the absence of reference to nature. None of the figures will bear close analysis, correctness of outline and modelling, or selectness of types and masks, being always sacrificed to a gay brightness of colour and a sublime ease of hand.

In no fresco is Pellegrino's skill in imitating Giorgione more remarkable than here, and it is not without interest to dwell minutely upon the manner in which the imitation is made, because when a dissection of this kind has taken place it helps us to determine what pictures are justly attributable to Giorgione or Pellegrino. Pellegrino was in the habit of accepting commissions for church standards whilst fully occupied with his principal undertaking at San Daniele. We have records of such a commission for a church at Pozzalis in 1516. A panel finished, we believe, under these conditions and not improbably about this time is the Virgin and Child amidst saints at the Louvre under Giorgione's name.¹ This important masterpiece once formed part of the collection of Charles I. at Whitehall,

¹ Louvre, No. 1135. Wood, m. 1.0 high by 1.36, bought for Charles I. by Lord Cottington (comp. Bathoe, *Cat.*, etc., of *King Charles I. coll.*, London, 1757, p. 106) erroneously stated (Louvre catalogue) to have come from Mantua, successively in the hands of Jabach and Cardinal Mazarin, embrowned by old varnishes and retouched in a few places (chiefly knee, breast, and forehead of the infant Christ). The standard of Pozzalis has not been preserved, but we have records which (with others) may be calendered here. March 7, 1515. Udine: the luogotenente Leonardo Emo summons Pellegrino to appear before him. San Daniele, Aug. 2, 1515. Cession by Pellegrino in his wife's name, of a legacy of

and was purchased for him as a Giorgione by Lord Cottington ; it is an oblong with half-lengths in a landscape, to the left the Virgin with the Saviour on her knee clad in a red tunic, half covered with a blue mantle and its green lining, her white veil passing downwards under her arm and covering the child's belly. St. Joseph behind to the left, St. Sebastian to the right, bound naked to a tree, the sparse dark leaves of which are touched off upon the light clouds that dot the deep blue of the sky ; between him and the Virgin, St. Catherine with a hand on her bosom ; in front of all, the profile and shoulders of an adoring patron. The heads, in the mould of those at San Daniele, are either square or round and bending so as to form a balance of curves and produce foreshortening of all the features—the Virgin, ill-proportioned, coarse in features, and lame in extremities, and an exaggerated copy of Bellini's in the altarpiece of 1505 at San Zaccaria, the child still more pinguid and incorrect. —St. Catherine disfigured by a thick and vulgar hand, the draperies studied in detail but of defective cast and frequent fold as in the followers of Palma Vecchio and Lotto. The treatment is Pellegrino's, especially in the artifice of contrasts. St. Joseph, the Virgin, and the child are surrounded by deep hues of a blood-red tinge, whilst St. Catherine is brought forward upon the changing blues of a distant landscape ; St. Sebastian partly on the brown trunk of the tree partly on the pale green and yellow of St. Catherine's dress, the lights covering half of every object, leaving the rest in obscurity or semitone, each body in its own projection being relieved on another either as shade on deeper shade or light on shade or half-light on half-shade. On the same principles as at San Daniele the gesso is perfectly smooth, a general neutral red-glazed with a clearer and colder scumble

two bushels of corn yearly to the Brotherhood of Santa Maria of San Daniele. Nov. 11, 1515. Udine: Pellegrino leases land at Udine. Nov. 12. Pellegrino grants a power of attorney. San Daniele, March 10, 1516. Pellegrino purchases land Oct. 21. Final payment for the same. San Daniele, April 29, 1516. Pellegrino hires a house. June 29, 1516. Udine. Pellegrino appoints an agent. San Daniele, Sept. 29, 1516. The Camerari of San Floriano at Pozzalis confess themselves indebted to Pellegrino in the sum of 20 ducats for a standard. San Daniele, Nov. 15, 1516. Pellegrino promises to carve, tint, and gild an image of St. Margaret, for Santa Margherita of Anduins. [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 20, 43 *sq.*]

produces a grey half-tint in flesh merging into ruddier tones of increasing substance and warmth up to the strong impasto of the highest prominences ; these being illuminated from outside, the darks from the transparency of the ground—a very clever trick of technical execution, simulating the sun playing on the surface in one case, and the blood pulsating under the skin in the other ; to complete the finish, a copious use of the badger tool, then subtle transparents of light texture enlivening the cheeks and lips in the transitions or breaking the evenness of the shadows, and so managed that the reflex of one colour is re-echoed in another as in nature—withal, a broad handling with full vehicle. The result of this method is not perfection ; for abundant impregnation with oil and varnish yields but a hard and misty emptiness, the partial glazes introduced at the close frequently blending but ill with the rest and creating an impression of vague rawness. Such an impression is never produced by the genuine works of Giorgione, who was unused to those particular knacks, but Pellegrino might have learnt them from Fra Bartolommeo or Mariotto as he may have taken from Correggio a certain mode of giving hair and locks, or from others the habit of cutting out a speck here and there with the butt-end of his brush.¹

With increasing skill, Pellegrino continued the decoration of Sant' Antonio by filling in the spaces behind the altar to the left of the choir-arch, simulating as a background to the tinted figure of St. Anthony a niche with a mosaic semi-dome adorned with two cherubs ; above the border of the niche, a medallion of Christ in Grief between two angels ; at the sides of the statue, two life-size angels in flight, and above these, a double group of saints in episcopal and clerical dress. Though short and square, the angels are bold and life-like, in draperies waving to the breeze—the figures in every case bound to their places by atmosphere and gradation of tone, varied in character and expression and

* ¹ Mr. Berenson (*The Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, i. 140), has ascribed the above-discussed picture to Cariani, and the editor thinks this attribution is correct and warranted, for instance, by the hot colouring, the snub-nosed types, the draperies, and the hands. As works by Cariani which come especially close to the *Sacra Conversazione* in the Louvre we may quote the *Virgin and Child* with SS. Francis and Jerome in the Frizzoni-Salis collection in Bergamo, and the *Virgin and Child* with St. Peter in the Borghese Gallery in Rome.

ready in action. With much to remind us of Correggio and the Raphaellesques in cast of dress, the fresco still remains behind those of Pordenone in fanciful conception and energetic rendering, and we trace with more and more certainty an increasing neglect of form for the sake of brilliancy and freedom of hand.

More in the spirit of Pordenone is the neighbouring composition on the left wall of the aisle, in which St. Anthony on his throne gives the pastoral benediction to a large congregation. Though damaged in many ways this fresco is still imposing from the grandeur of movement and gesture as well as the stern gravity of the principal figure. The sense of vague rendering in form or detail and modelling is all but lost in massive light and shade and a variegated richness of tints. In a series of noble portraits introduced as worshippers of the saint we have speaking evidence of that sort of art which most painters of the Venetian and Friulan school exhibited—the art of reproducing truthful and effective likenesses. Parted from this scene by a deep cornice with medallions of heads and ornament, we have an upper course representing St. Sebastian at the Column, St. Michael trampling on Satan, and monochromes—all of them masterly examples of light and rapid treatment. On a level with these are the feigned statues in the cornice above the altars on the wall of the choir-arch.—Statues of David, Adam, Eve, and Judith, each of them on a round pedestal; in the spandrels of the arch, medallions with simulated bas-reliefs of the Drunkenness of Noah and the Sacrifice of Abraham, to the right and left, arched fields containing the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi in very bad condition; above these, again, in the pediment, two obliterated subjects in white and black at the sides of a court in which the announcing angel is seen alighting and bringing the message to Mary. Striking as a proof of the variety of Pellegrino's observation during long years of travel is the peculiar form of imitation observable in the two principal incidents of the Nativity and Epiphany. Like Pordenone who went to Ferrara, Girolamo da Treviso who studied in Bologna, or del Piombo who visited Rome, Pellegrino, wandering in Lombardy and the Venetian provinces, acquired an insight into the habits of most of the painters of the lowland schools, reminding us of Gaudenzio Ferrari in the Adoration of the Shepherds, of Bazzi and Pintu-

ricchio in the Adoration of the Magi, where the ornaments are raised and gilt in the most approved Umbrian fashion.

To the right, in the aisle, the window-slants contain masks and images of saints in half and full length, and near it are the injured remnants of St. George and St. Christopher carrying the Saviour—poor and hasty productions of the master's assistants.

To what extent Pellegrino still feels the impress of Giorgione may be seen in some of the saints in niches in the piers of the choir, the angel and Tobias and a bishop to the right, St. George and St. Columba to the left,—St. George, a youth in armour, standing in the attitude of St. Liberale in Giorgione's altarpiece at Castelfranco or of the smaller replica at the National Gallery, with a slight variety in the way in which the sword and lance are held ; here too the head is helmless, and the long hair falls in abundance to the shoulders ; the right hand grasping a palm whilst at Castelfranco it crushes a glove. It may be that Pellegrino never saw Giorgione's altarpiece, yet the coincidence is singular and suggests a Giorgionesque inspiration. Receiving light from the window, the figure is in a very advantageous situation : it is well brought out by massive shadows, skilful rounding, and accurate perspective, its shape made beautifully prominent by strong rich colour ; and again we forget in the gorgeous effect of chiaroscuro and tinting want of analytical power and faulty drawing.

We must not suppose that Pellegrino's constant residence in a small and unimportant town in Friuli cut him off from communication with the ideas and progress of the world around him. His works at San Daniele alone would prove that he kept up acquaintance with the treasures of art in his own, and even in neighbouring, provinces ; nor was there any lack of connection or interchange between the people and commodities of the hills and lowlands. Private records tell us that Pellegrino was in constant intercourse at least with Udine either for the purpose of administering the property of which he was still possessed there or in pursuit of his business as a painter. Not unfrequently he went up to the capital to sign a lease, make a contract, or act as referee between patrons and artists. In May 1517 we find him receiving a deed of assignment of a burial-place for himself and his family in the church of San Michele at San Daniele, in

September of the same year valuing a carved altarpiece by Giovanni Martini. In September 1519 he was present at a sitting of the Council to exhibit a drawing of the figures with which he proposed to adorn the doors of the cathedral organ at Udine; and when the work was finished in 1521 it was submitted to Giovanni Martini and Sebastiano Florigerio as umpires. Many were Pellegrino's subsequent personal applications to obtain his dues.¹ St. Peter and St. Hermagoras on one side, the Four Doctors in couples on the other, form the subjects of these doors, which are unhappily painted in distemper on canvas, so that what remains of them as at present preserved in the great hall and in the private rooms of the town house is in a most unsatisfactory condition. They seem originally to have been executed with great boldness, and only to differ from earlier productions by a certain stylelessness in drapery; but it is to be

¹ May 7, 1517. Udine: deed of cession by Maestro Bernardino, "teologo," to Pellegrino of his family sepulchre and monument in San Michele of San Daniele. Sept. 11, 1517, and Dec. 4, 1518, San Daniele: payments of rent by Pellegrino for a house at San Daniele. Sept. 26, 1517. Udine: Pellegrino is umpire between Giovanni q. Martini and the Camerari of the church of San Lorenzo at Sedegliano; his fee is six lire, or about 1 ducat, for travelling expenses and valuation. April 11, 1518. Gemona: Pellegrino is appointed agent for the chapter of the Minorites of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Gemona. Sept. 21, 1519. Udine: Minute of Council of Pellegrino's appearance to show the drawings for the organ of the Duomo (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, p. 295). Nov. 6. Contract for the doors of the organ (*ibid.*, 296-7). Nov. 3, 1521. Udine: as to appointment of umpires to settle the price of the organ-doors (Records in Archives of Notar. at Udine). Nov. 15. Appointment of Giovanni q. Martini and Sebastiano Florigerio as umpires (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, p. 297). [*The second of the umpires was Giovanni Greco, not Sebastiano Florigerio. Joppi, *loc. cit.*, p. 21.] Nov. 19. Award of the above (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, 290). Nov. 28. Pellegrino claims payment and receives 35 ducats on account (Records in Archives of Udine). Dec. 4. Further payment of 20 ducats (Records in Archives of Udine). [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 20-22.] The organ-doors (which Vasari mentions, vol. v. p. 106) are in a bad state, and as these lines are penned the figures of SS. Peter and Hermagoras are being restored. The Four Doctors, forming the inner face, are also in poor condition. To the right we have St. Augustine, fronting the spectator, with the right hand on a book on his knee, his left on a book resting on a desk, behind which St. Ambrose sits in half shadow. This couple in episcopals sit under a vaulted chapel, supported by ornamental pillars with mosaic lunettes; on the capitals of the pilasters, David with the sling and a boy with a banner. To the left, St. Jerome and St. Gregory in a similar chapel; on the capitals of the pilasters, Judith and a boy. The whole work broadly executed, but now of a dull tone from time and retouching. The face of St. Augustine, the figures of SS. Gregory and David, are blackened and repainted. [* These pictures are now in the Palazzo Comunale at Udine.]

remarked that a Judith in the spandrels of the arching above the figures of St. Gregory and St. Jerome is a mere repetition of that in Sant' Antonio of San Daniele, a sort of repetition not unfrequent in Pellegrino, as in 1519 he painted an Annunciation for the tailors' guild at Udine, and in comparing it as it stands in the Academy of Venice with the same subject in Sant' Antonio, we observe that one is a mere reduction of the other.¹ A much more interesting canvas of the same period and one which we may consider identical with that admired by Vasari in the house of Messer Prè Giovanni at Udine is that of a female in the collection of Conte Bernardini at Saltocchio near Lucca, to which, as we might expect, the name of Giorgione is given. Vasari accurately described it as "a Judith in half-length carrying the head of Holofernes." The face is round and regular, with heavy locks of rich chestnut hair falling to the shoulders; a white chemisette, and a green dress with broad armlets, showing their lining of amaranth, and an inner white sleeve, make up the dress; one arm is on a plinth on which the words "pro liberanda patria" are written, the left supports the grisly head of Holofernes against the edge of the plinth; a halo is thrown round the whole by a green tree in a clear sky. Great richness of tints and a solid touch of oily impasto in Palma Vecchio's manner give peculiar charm to this fresh and youthful apparition, whilst the sombre tone of flesh, relieved by darker shades of the same colour, without Giorgione's subtlety of glaze and without definite outline or correct modelling, unmistakably betray the hand of Pellegrino.²

In the meanwhile the frescoes at San Daniele continued to progress; and Pellegrino devoted to them undiminished energy. Christ washing the Feet of the Apostles to the left in the choir of Sant' Antonio is a composition of great power and very remarkable for the energetic character and suggestive grouping of the figures. Posture, strain, and absence of beauty in type or dignity in mien are compensated by resoluteness and breadth of general treatment. We are reminded of Gaudenzio Ferrari by certain

¹ Venice Academy, No. 151. Canvas, oil, m. 1.89 high by 3.46, inscribed: "Pelegrinus faciebat 1519. P. P. M. Dominici Suchonici camerarii auspiciis Francisco Tascha priore." Altogether repainted in oil.

² Saltocchio; compare Vasari, v. 106 *sq.* The picture is a panel, the figure half-length and the size of life.



Anderson photo.

[111. 102]

THE ANNUNCIATION.

[Venice Academy.]

masks, such as that of St. Peter, who, half kneeling half stepping, protests his unworthiness ; but the Saviour, bending towards St. Peter, the disciple stripping on a bench or conversing as Judas retires through the door, the lodge with square pillars and hangings, are very reminiscent of Pordenone.—On the opposite wall are frescoes of the same period and of similar style. Christ, striding to the edge of the abyss, triumphantly exerts his strength to raise the struggling Adam ; males and females issue in various attitudes from the cavern to the right, whilst to the left behind the Saviour the repentant thief, a nude of Herculean muscularity, supports his cross upon the ground. Characteristic is the foreshortening of the heads by which the horizontal facial lines are brought into close proximity and high projection, conventional the swell and depression of the contours, false or undefined the shape of extremities and articulations ; the standard of selection in type and mask is, as ever, low ; but something naturally true and bold in the totality of the movement, massive distinctness of light and shade and warm transparent colour in the fashion of Pordenone and Correggio, prove absolutely attractive. When Pellegrino repeated this subject, as we believe him to have done, in a much-injured canvas at the Palazzo Reale of Venice, he merely introduced a couple of additional figures into the scene ; yet the piece is attributed to Giorgione.¹

In two lunettes above the Washing of the Apostles, St. Anthony fights with the fiends and kneels awe-struck before the dead body of St. Paul the hermit. These are designed in the spirit of Schön or Dürer and treated with neglectful ease in a manner akin to that observable in a Christ transfigured assigned to Morto in the church of Ognissanti at Feltre. The most important fresco and the last completed at Sant' Antonio is the Crucifixion, a large

¹ Venice, Palazzo Reale (old Procuratie Nuove). The Christ in Limbus is an oblong canvas (with small figures) which used to hang in the Ducal Palace in the room called Ante Secreta del Collegio (Zanotto, *Guida di Venezia*, 1863, p. 106). There is this difference in arrangement between it and the fresco at San Daniele, that, in addition to the repentant thief supporting his cross, there is to the left a St. John the Baptist, a nude male and female, and part of another figure. The rest is all but a repetition of the fresco. The execution seems to have been rapid and at one painting ; the surface now is injured by abrasion and extensive repainting, so that it is hard to say whether the work was originally a tempera or not.

[* This picture, which is once more in the Ducal Palace, is undoubtedly by Previtali. See *antea*, i. 285, n. 1.]

and straggling composition, in the conception of which Pellegrino contents himself with the old model produced at Provesano by Gian Francesco da Tolmezzo. Though here we become perfectly aware of the progress incident to lapse of years in arrangement and technical treatment, we are struck by that sort of resemblance which successive painters in one locality necessarily acquire. We note, as in Gian Francesco, want of balance in distribution, exaggerated action, and absence of selection in type. The Saviour crucified in the middle of the picture, the Magdalen looking up as she grasps the instrument of death, the thieves writhing on tree-crosses, the dicers, the Virgin in a swoon attended by the Marys, the guards and spectators in a landscape—these make up a time-honoured whole which gains interest from the peculiarity of its execution. The form, lie, and proportion of the Redeemer's frame are certainly the best that Pellegrino ever produced; nor is there any lack of expression in the head, but assuredly it was difficult to find a heavier or a more common fleshiness, a coarser or more peasant face. The thieves are very like those of Gian Francesco in vehemence and contrast of position: the unrepentant with his torso bent outwards in throes of agony, the repentant drooping his head and shoulders and raising his right knee. In both instances there is some command and much parade of means; and Pellegrino so far succeeds that, though he does not rival Pordenone in the grandeur and breadth of a similar subject at Cremona, he now all but equals him in outline and modelling of articulations and extremities. Quaint, if not of unquestionable taste, is the cut and varied tinting of costumes and head-gear, most of the spectators and guards being in parti-coloured vestments with here and there a breastplate embossed with golden rivets; others in long hair falling from beneath wide soft hats decked with feathers or turbans of fanciful shape. The forms are plump and pleasant, and the personages in their mummery are set in pretty attitudes, their frames turned one way, their heads another, massive shadow thrown over them by accidental projection from hat and hair, and puff and plume. In this medley of genre which most of the Giorgionesques cultivated we have the precise reverse of Titian's grave and high-bred tact.

When called upon to remunerate Pellegrino for his long and arduous service, the Brethren of Sant' Antonio, in December 1522

found it difficult to satisfy his demands. They were unwilling to enter into litigation, and therefore obtained the painter's consent to accept the award of Don Giovanni Angelo, vicar of the patriarch of Venice; but even then they were forced to pay a sum of 100 ducats, and the matter was not settled without difficulty and delay.¹

Pellegrino never again undertook a commission of such magnitude, and what he did during the closing years of his life was merely a succession of altarpieces and church standards. We have records of contracts for the furnishing of standards in 1526 for the churches of Alesso, Chievulis, and Pignano, in 1529 for San Francesco of Udine and Santa Margarita of

¹ Sant' Antonio of San Daniele. The following, in respect of the frescoes in this locality, may be added to the general sketch in the text.

Lunette (*l*). Resurrection of the Boy, life-size. The distance here is a background of houses and a tower to the left, and the rest hills and sky. The Virgin's red dress is scaled. Altar (*m*). Here the St. James is much injured in the lower parts; the blue jerkin and boot-lining of St. Roch reduced to the red preparation (figures life-size). Altar (*n*). The lining of the pivial of the bishop in the upper course to the left is abraded (figures life-size). St. Anthony giving his pastoral blessing to a congregation (fresco *o*). Here the lower part of the fresco is altogether eaten away, and the heads of the kneeling congregation are but partially preserved, some being abraded or discoloured and spotted, others all but obliterated. Above this is a rich cornice balcony with profiles in monochrome, and above again frescoes *p* and *q*, representing saints in niches, parted from each other by pillars. Of these, St. Sebastian is almost destroyed by damp, and St. Michael is all but gone, the blue ground of the niche being bare to the preparatory red. Two monochromes above (fresco *r*) represent Moses striking the Rock and the miracle of the Brazen Serpent. The simulated statues (*s*) appear from below to be of life-size; they are in as good preservation as the medallions *x* and *y*. In the Nativity (*t*) the figures are seven in number, and large as life; distance, landscape. The blues are abraded, and a piece of intonaco to the left has dropped, the rest spotted and spoiled by damp. The Adoration (*u*) is still more injured, a large spot in the centre being altogether bare, and the arm of the kneeling king deprived of colour. In the Annunciation (*A*) the Eternal in a round occupies the middle of the space, the figures are made to appear of the life-size; the blues are, as usual, scraped away. In the sides and soffit (*B*) there are rounds of St. Peter the Martyr, Chiara, Nicholas of Bari, and Erasmus, and full-lengths of St. Lawrence and St. Stephen. *C* and *D*, St. Christopher and St. George, are in a very bad condition, and the same may be said of the medallion monochrome *E*, St. George killing the Dragon and the Judgment of Solomon. The saint in episcopals on the pilaster (*I*) is part abraded, part repainted. The face above is preserved, and of a soft expression. The Washing of the Feet (*J*) is damaged by the abrasion of certain colours, as in the tunic of the apostle seated on the left foreground, and the violet mantle of St. Peter. The Judas and an apostle next him,

Gruagnis, in 1533 for San Daniele of Cavazzo and Tricesimo, in 1547 for the church of Meriano, none of which have been preserved.

Sebastian Florigerio had been for some time apprentice to Pellegrino, and probably had proved his ability to work out designs of his master's invention. A very curious deed, dated November 27, 1525, shows how he bound himself to do duty as assistant in return for a promise of somewhat distant realization. It was agreed—and the agreement was ratified by a kiss and shake of hands—that within two years Pellegrino should give Florigerio his daughter Aurelia and a dowry of 200 ducats, payable at his death, Florigerio promising his bride 100 ducats and a silver girdle; the pair and their children

as well as the Christ, are disfigured by spots. Christ in the Limbo (*K*) is much injured, colours having dropped off here and there, or being changed and blackened in tone. The hands, feet, and articulations are most extraordinarily inaccurate. St. Anthony in strife with the devils in the lunette (*L*) is full of stains and very much dimmed. In the distance, St. Anthony offers to the hermit Paul the bread miraculously sent by a raven. In lunette *M* the distance is scaled, but two lions are seen scooping out the grave for the hermit. In the Crucifixion (*N*), the whole of the lower part of the fresco is more or less spoiled by scaling or abrasion. The colours in the dress of the Magdalen and on some parts of the frame of Christ (*e.g.* the left hand) are scraped away. The landscape is Friulan, a distance of hills with numerous towers and walls in the same arrangement as those of Pordenone and Morto and Gian Francesco da Tolmezzo. All the parts of the composition to the right are more opaque, and less vivid in treatment than the rest, and we believe them done by Pellegrino's journeymen. The same may be said of the figures in the window-side in the choir (frescoes *X*), viz. rounds with SS. Anthony, Louis, Bernardino, Benedict, a bishop, and Anthony of Padua. In the aisle of the church of Sant'Antonio we have remnants of a life-sized figure of St. Panunzius in his tree. We have notice of the completion of the frescoes of Sant'Antonio in the following records: Dec. 18, 1522. San Daniele: minute stating disagreement between Pellegrino and the Brotherhood of Sant'Antonio after the frescoes in the chapel had been valued. Both parties, being unwilling to litigate, remit their quarrel into the hands of Don Giovanni Angelo di San Severino, patriarchal vicar. Dec. 21, 1522. San Daniele: Messer Narduccio, Cameraro, approves the above arrangement. Dec. 29, 1852. San Daniele: the Council of the Brotherhood of Sant'Antonio also approve. March 8, 1523. San Daniele: the Camerari explain to the Council of the Brotherhood of Sant'Antonio that, being bound by sentence of the patriarchal vicar to pay to Pellegrino 100 ducats, they submit a proposal to sell a mortgage possessed by them on the land of Ser Giacomo Portunerio of San Daniele. Approval of the Council. [* See also Joppi, *loc. cit.*, p. 22. The frescoes by Pellegrino in Sant'Antonio at San Daniele were restored by Signor A. Bertolli in 1878-81.]

to live in Pellegrino's house, and Florigerio to receive no salary for his services.

And now for the first time a direct and unpleasant rivalry was engendered between Pellegrino and Pordenone. Both painters had friends at Udine, who energetically supported their claims. Pellegrino, according to previous arrangement, had promised to attend the Council on March 30, 1527, with drawings for the decoration of the pediment of the cathedral organ; but, having been prevented by rain and snow from coming, a partizan of Pordenone rose and made an offer in his name that the work should be done in oil or distemper, as the citizens should think fit, for 31 ducats. An animated debate took place, which ended in the acceptance of Pordenone's offer. At a later period the same competition was renewed in another place, and Pellegrino had the mortification of witnessing the payments made to Pordenone in 1535 for a Trinity in the Santissima Trinità of San Daniele. He consoled himself for his defeat at Udine by accepting a commission for a Resurrection with Saints from the Minorites of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Gemona.

Towards the close of 1529 he completed the Madonna with six saints between St. Michael and St. Sebastian in Santa Maria of Cividale, one of the few altarpieces in his later style which has been preserved. Without exhibiting any serious novelty of treatment this large and important picture, greatly injured by time and restoring, is an interesting illustration of the bold freedom acquired by constant practice in wall-painting. The Virgin, a well-proportioned, fleshy dame, sits enthroned in a ruined chapel with the infant child erect upon her lap; at her sides, four female saints artfully posed, with turns of head and frame in varied contrast, some in the figured turbans and slashes peculiar to Bernardino Licinio, others with their long hair in tresses, bound with ribbands, falling on full throats and shoulders, after the manner of Palma Vecchio. An angel playing a large viol sits on the steps of the throne, like that of Pordenone at Susigana. The child, in twisted action, looks down to St. John the Baptist, who stands in a green mantle on the foreground, whilst to the right S. Donato holds the model of a town. With all his experience and years, Pellegrino still imitates his contemporaries, caring as little as ever for pre-

cision of form, of outline, or of modelling, trusting to pose and colour for effect, and working out his familiar system of cold preparations for warm light and warm grounding for cool shadow. In his drapery he combines with curious effect the curves of festoons and the angular breaks of substantial brocades.¹ The last subject of any size upon which we find him engaged, is that of restoring to its original condition St. Peter receiving the Keys from the infant Saviour, an altarpiece with numerous saints at San Pietro in Borgo Aquileia of Udine described in Pellegrino's

¹ The following calendar of records comprises those referred to in the text.

Dec. 7, 1520. Udine: Pellegrino arbitrates between the painter Giovanni q. Domenico and the Camerari of the church of Santa Maria and Sebastiano at Clauzetto. Jan. 16, 1521. San Daniele: Pellegrino purchases certain houses at San Daniele. Feb. 18, 1521. Udine: Pellegrino leases certain houses at Udine. Aug. 14 and 25, 1525. Udine: Pellegrino leases certain houses at Udine. Nov. 27, 1525. Udine: deed of betrothal between Pellegrino and Florigerio called "Maestro Sebastiano figlio di Giacomo di Bologna" at present in Conegliano. 1526. San Daniele: numerous contracts of purchase and sale of timber. May 5, 1526. San Daniele: Pellegrino contracts to paint a gonfalone for the church of Alesso for 32 ducats. May 22, 1526. San Daniele: Pellegrino contracts to paint a gonfalone for 24 ducats for the church of Chievulis. Aug. 6, 1526. San Daniele: Pellegrino contracts to paint a gonfalone for 50 lire for the church of Pignano, subject the Virgin, St. Leonard, and St. Roch. March 30, 1527. Udine: Minute of Council as to the question whether Pordenone or Pellegrino should paint the organ of the Duomo at Udine (*Maniago, ub. sup.*, pp. 310-11). Dec. 28, 1527. Gemona: agreement of Pellegrino to paint for Santa Maria delle Grazie a canvas of the Resurrection of Christ with the Four Doctors according to a design previously submitted and for the price of 50 ducats. This picture has not been preserved, but there is a Virgin and Child enthroned between St. Joseph and St. Elizabeth (full length) in the church of that name in which we may still observe the manner of Pellegrino's school. May 31, 1529. Udine: Pellegrino values a gonfalone by Ser Battista Vicentino painted for the Brotherhood of SS. Pietro Paulo e Antonio of Valvasone.

Sept. 20, 1529. Cividale: receipt of Pellegrino acknowledging payment of 100 ducats for the altarpiece in Santa Maria dei Battuti (*Maniago, ub. sup.*, pp. 177, 298). The upper part of this picture is fairly preserved, the lower part is thrown out of harmony by cleaning and restoring. All the final glazes are rubbed down. Specially injured in the central panel are the mantle of the Virgin in its lower parts, and the flesh of the neck of the figure immediately to the right of her, the left foot, cheek, hair, and orange dress of the angel on the throne-step, much injured the SS. Sebastian and Michael and two small panels of angels at the sides which we take to have been done by Pellegrino's assistants Florigerio, or Luca Monverde. The central pinnacle representing the Eternal is missing. The altarpiece is arched and about 9 ft. high by 5 ft. in its central part. It is mentioned by Vasari (v. 107).

Dec. 13, 1529. Udine: Pellegrino promises to paint a gonfalone for Santa Margherita of Gruagnis representing St. Margaret with the dragon at her feet between

contract of April, 1542, as "of the olden time." Years have disposed of this and other canvases of the same period;¹ and we know of no more pictures of which records are extant, but there is still one specimen of the master which deserves to be remembered, and this is the Madonna with Saints in the collection of Prince Giovanelli at Venice. The canvas contains half-lengths of the Virgin and Child between St. Sebastian and St. Roch, with St. Peter and St. Andrew in half-shaded distance, standing out upon the blue and white of a clouded sky. Neglect of drawing and modelling is carried so far that the lines of the ribs and pectoral muscles in the St. Sebastian are out of place and the fingers are given with a single touch; yet there is an air of freshness in the whole scene that charms, and reminds us of Palma Vecchio.²

SS. Ermagoras and Fortunato, and, above this, the Virgin and Child, the work to equal in richness the gonfalone previously done by Pellegrino for the Brotherhood of the Virgin della Concessione in San Francesco della Vigna at Udine. 1529-34. Numerous contracts of Pellegrino for delivery and sale of timber, and for purchase and lease of houses and lands in Udine and San Daniele. Dec. 1, 1533. Udine: Pellegrino's gonfalone for the church of San Daniele at Cavazzo is valued by Giovanni (Ricamatore) da Udine and others. Jan. 20 and July 5, 1534: summons for payment, and payment in panels and wood. June 28, 1534. Tricesimo: agreement with Pellegrino for a gonfalone for the church of Tricesimo. Nov. 9 and 16, 1534. San Daniele: Valuation of a picture and models of the same done for the church of S. Cristoforo of Gradisca di Sedegliano by Pellegrino. Jan. 22, 1535. San Daniele: Pordenone's receipt, witnessed by Pellegrino, for a picture in the Santiss. Trinità of San Daniele (this record is also in Maniago, *ub. sup.*, pp. 48-315). 1535-40. Numerous contracts and agreements as to purchase, sale, and lease of lands and houses. Dec. 3, 1540. Udine: valuation of certain frescoes of Pellegrino's in San Andrea of Paderno, by Giovanni (Ricamatore) da Udine and others. Oct. 23, 1547. Udine: valuation of Pellegrino's gonfalone in the church of Meriano. [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 22-6, 49 *qq.*]

¹ April 27, 1542. Udine: Pellegrino promises to repaint the altarpiece at San Pietro in Borgo Aquileia of Udine. (This church was remodelled in the eighteenth century and was subsequently a military magazine.) March 12, 1543. Udine: agreement by which Pellegrino undertakes to paint four figures of saints on canvas, for San Pietro in Borgo Aquileia of Udine. March 24, 1546. San Daniele: agreement by which Pellegrino promises to pay to M^o. Agostino, sculptor of Venice, 27 lire for agency in getting the commission for an altarpiece done by Pellegrino for the church of Santa Lucia of Prata. [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 25-56 *sq.*]

² Venice, Principe Giovanelli. The picture is on panel, the figures half-length, under life-size. It is properly assigned to Pellegrino. With the exception of a few parts unevenly cleaned and some retouches, the picture is fairly preserved.

Pellegrino lived till 1547; his death occurred at San Daniele on the 23rd of December of that year.¹

Whilst at Udine and San Daniele Friulan art, influenced by Venetian example, underwent the changes which we have endeavoured to follow, something of a very similar kind occurred in the cities of Feltre and Treviso. At Feltre Pietro Luzzi, or Morto, as Vasari teaches us to call him, learnt the trick of Giorgionesque and Palmesque treatment after the superficial fashion of Pellegrino. At Treviso, where first Pier' Maria Pennacchi had inherited local and Paduan traditions and gradually modified them by contact with the moderns, Girolamo Pennacchi, his son, successively cultivated the styles of Giorgione and Pordenone to fall at last into imitation of the Bolognese followers of Raphael.

Vasari relates that whilst Pinturicchio was painting the castle of Sant' Angelo and the Vatican chambers, a youth came up from the North to learn drawing at Rome. Morto of Feltre, as he was called, spent his time in designing ceilings, house-fronts, and arabesques. Amidst the excavations of the old city, and in the classic ruins of Campania—as far south as Pozzuoli and Baia—he sought out remains of old art, copied ornaments of stucco, and revived the antique applications of foliage to surface decoration. Having mastered this specialty, he was attracted to Florence by the fame of Michelangelo's cartoons and strove to acquire skill as a figure painter. Discouraged, however, by the conviction that he could not successfully compete with the more advanced Tuscans, he gave up his new studies after producing a few Madonnas, and returned to his favourite pursuit in

¹ The only other pictures with which Pellegrino's name is coupled are the following: (1) London, National Gallery, No. 778. Wood, 8 ft. 2 in. high by 4 ft. 9 in., arched. The Virgin and Child with a donor between St. James and St. Fortunatus—formerly in possession of Count Ugo Valentinis of San Daniele: purchased in Venice of Signor V. Azzola in 1867 (not seen). (2) Belluno, in the hands of a dealer who bought it at Udine. Wood, oil, figures one third of life-size. Virgin and Child, between St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Hermagoras, and St. Fortunatus; much repainted and injured, and probably of Pellegrino's shop.

In the register of deaths of the notary A. Belloni, of Udine, we find the following entry: "1547. 23 Decembris, Ser Peregrinus de Sancto Daniele obiit." It is not to be forgotten that an interesting and valuable monograph of Pellegrino was written by the late Mr. Hartzel in the *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, Nov. 24, 1853.

companionship with Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini. From Florence he went to Venice, where he was employed by Giorgione in composing the ornaments of the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, and thence into Friuli, where he laboured until such time as, having taken service with the Venetians, he fell in an engagement at Zara.¹

Ridolfi, the garrulous Venetian annalist, was ignorant of Morto da Feltre's existence, but, curiously enough, relates how Pietro of Feltre, more commonly known as Zarato, being Giorgione's disciple, seduced his mistress and broke Giorgione's heart.² Of this cause for the death of the great Venetian, Vasari shows himself in turn utterly unacquainted; but it is remarkable that both historians should describe Giorgione as the master of a painter connected in a mysterious manner with the city of Zara.

At a very early period Morto was recognized as identical with Pietro Luzzi; and Cambruzzi, a Feltrine annalist of the seventeenth century, embodied what had been but a popular tradition in his *Storia di Feltre*, which is still preserved in manuscript in the library of his native place. He stated that Pietro Luzzi of Ridolfi was Morto of Vasari and described his altarpieces and frescoes in the Loggia, in Santo Stefano, Santo Spirito, and Via delle Tezze at Feltre, and a Madonna in the village of Villabruna.³

Modern investigation brought a number of records to light in confirmation of Cambruzzi. It was not proved that Morto and Luzzi were one person, but Luzzi's birth and employment as a painter at Feltre were placed beyond all doubt. He was born in 1474. His father, Bartolommeo, having matriculated in the guild of surgeons and unsuccessfully canvassed for the post of medical officer of the town, withdrew to Venice, where he was appointed in 1476 surgeon to the city of Zara. He lived there till his death in 1530; but when or where he apprenticed his son Pietro to art is unknown.⁴

¹ Vasari, v. 201 *sqq.*

² Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 137.

³ For an authenticated copy of this manuscript we are indebted to the kindness of the librarian of the Seminario of Feltre, Signor O. Zanghellini. Antonio Cambruzzi's Chron. manuscript goes up to the year 1681. He began it about 1630.

⁴ These facts, resting on authentic records, are contained in Signor O. Zanghellini's life of Pietro Luzzi, published in *Il Messaggiere Tirolese di Rovereto* of April 10, 1862.

* According to Dr. L. Venturi (*L'Arte*, xiii. 374) the records of Pietro Luzzi quoted by Zanghellini do not exist. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly a fact that there lived a painter called Lorenzo Luzzi, who was a native of Feltre and the son of one Bartolommeo. He made his will in Venice on Dec. 12, 1526, and

If we accept the theory of Luzzi's identity with Morto, he went in 1495 to Rome, in 1506 to Florence, and in 1508 to Venice. He may have witnessed Giorgione's death in 1511;¹ he would naturally be called Zarato from the home of his father's adoption. Of his works at Rome, Florence, or Venice, not one is preserved; his practice at Feltre began about the same time as that of Pellegrino at San Daniele or that of Pordenone at Conegliano. At the outset of the wars which desolated Friuli all artists fled from that province. When peace was proclaimed they trooped home again, Luzzi no doubt amongst the number; but Feltre had suffered more than Udine or San Daniele. It clung to the Venetian side with an obstinacy that ended in punishment by pillage and by fire. The town was but a heap of ruins, with remnants of a decimated population, when the truce with Maximilian was signed. In 1515 an order was issued commanding that the principal edifices should be rebuilt. A bull of Leo X. and a ducal decree of Leonardo Loredano sanctioned the restoring of the church of Santo Stefano in March 1519. The town hall and its loggia were set up anew; and Luzzi was employed to furnish altarpiece and frescoes for both.² It is probable that he had already painted the outer walls and turret of the old palazzo upon which traces of ornament and the date of 1518 may still be discerned.³ According to Cambruzzi he designed the façade of a house in Borgo delle Tezze and finished an altarpiece at Villabruna⁴; oral tradition ascribes to him a Virgin

died between that date and January 5, 1527 (Ludwig, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxvi., Supplement, pp. 96 sq.). We have therefore every reason to believe in the authenticity of the signature "1511 Laurencius Lucius Feltren" ping" on a picture belonging to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum of Berlin, and, considering the close affinity of style which this picture shows to a number of works ascribed to Molto da Feltre in or near Feltre, it seems extremely likely that they are also by Lorenzo Luzzi. Dr. Venturi suggests (*ib. sup.*, p. 366) that Vasari's account of Morto da Feltre's life and work for the most part relates to Lorenzo Luzzi; but that there may have existed another member of the Luzzi family, called Pietro, to whom refers what is told of Morto's erotic disposition, life as a soldier, and death at Zara.

* ¹ For 1511 read 1510.

² Zanghellini, *ib. sup.*

³ That the Palazzo and turret at Feltre were in existence in 1518 is proved by the arms of Venice and the inscription: "And. Mauro Prai MDXVIII" on the upper front of the Palazzo. The frescoes on the walls, chiefly escutcheons, would not have any value as art even if they were well preserved; they are all but obliterated. Andrea Malipiero is known to have been Podestà of Feltre; he succeeded Agostino Moro in 1518. (See Conte Antonio dal Corno, *Mem. istoriche di Feltre*, &c.—Venice, 1710, p. 146).

⁴ Cambruzzi, manuscript, *ib. sup.*

and Saints of Canpo and a Christ transfigured in Ognissanti of Feltre. It is unfortunate that works respecting which records have been discovered should be those of which no trace remains. In the course of years, Santo Stefano was ruined; its altarpiece was lost,¹ and the frescoes of the loggia were obliterated; what remains is the façade in Borgo delle Tezze and the altarpiece of Villabruna.

If we could presume to attach any authenticity to a half-length of the Madonna attended by the Baptist and St. Anna, under Luzzi's name in the hall of the episcopal palace at Feltre, we can assign it to his early period, when, studying among the Bellinesques, he might acquire a bony dryness and vulgarity of mask easily attained from the poorer followers of that school. Even in this unattractive piece a certain individuality of type may be observed.² In a later phase of his manner Luzzi may have designed that altarpiece of the Rinuccini collection, which was introduced into the complex of Perugino's works by a forgery, and which may be ascribed alternately, as we have seen, to Pellegrino da San Daniele.³

At Villabruna the painter is in his fullest expansion, and though his subject is simple, it is treated with the art of the sixteenth century. The panel is arched and hangs high above the altar; it has lost its old patina, and has fallen into disharmony from cleaning and retouching; but it is not so injured as to preclude an opinion. The Virgin sits on a cloud forming a pretty group with the child, whom she supports on her knee, as with his left hand he grasps the wrist of his right and gives the blessing. On the landscape foreground St. George in armour looks up to the infant and points to the dragon at his feet. St. Victor, on the opposite side, stands boldly leaning on a double-handed sword, the staff of a banner within the hollow of his left arm. The white shirt and square-cut vest, the slashed sleeves and wrist-bands, the chain, medal, and buttons, the red mantle lined with amber, the crimson hose and black cloth shoes—these numerous parts of the dress of the sixteenth century put together in variegated colours—produce that picturesque

* ¹ Cf. *postea*, p. 115, n. 1.

² Feltre, Vescovado. Wood. Horizontally split in half, ground dark, and the surface generally injured by repaints. The Virgin's face is broad at the forehead narrow at the chin; the child, in benediction, Bellinesque. The saints are dry, and bony, with ill-drawn hands. The colour is sombre, hard, and copiously imbibed with vehicle. Something in the whole work recalls the early works of Bissolo; yet Morto may have done it in his earliest time.

³ Florence, Ex-Rinuccini Gallery. See *antea*, in Pellegrino.

effect which distinguishes north Italian portraits of this time. The Virgin, gently bending her dimpled and oval face, and glancing from the corners of her eyes at the spectator, is of the large and fleshy shape which we observe in Pordenone or Pellegrino, whilst the child, of less Venetian mould, recalls the models of Bazzi, Beccafumi, or Peruzzi. St. George and St. Victor, with their bushy hair and marked features, are altogether Palmesque in their peasant air. What chiefly characterizes the treatment is a combination of spirited resolution with looseness in drawing. Detail is sacrificed to mass, and drapery is given with judicious volume, but without correctness of fold. Rosy flesh-tints of dense crust are shaded with transparent brown, by means familiar in the handling of Pellegrino. The touch is liquid, bold, sharp, and sweeping, producing a slimy and somewhat empty surface. To break this monotony, rubbings of red or greenish blue are put in here and there, and hair is made to sparkle with tips of ruby and amber.¹ Luzzi, in fact, practised all the subtle tricks which increase the effect of works of high art, but which are no surrogate for the absence of the higher qualities of draughtsmanship and selection.

With the same ease, and with similar breadth, he probably executed the Virgin and Child between St. Valentine and St. Gregory in the church of San Giorgio, near Feltre. Though assigned to the school of Titian, and not unworthy of being classed amongst the works of Francesco Vecelli, it has too much of the character of the Madonna of Villabruna not to be by the same hand. Here, too, the infant Christ reminds us of Bazzi, Beccafumi, and Peruzzi, and the projection of the muscular swell in flesh, as well as the compression of the parts at the joints, marks a conventional facility in drawing. The masks and shapes are the portly ones of the Friulans of the period, the males especially distinguished by powerful scantling and vulgarity of aspect. St. Gregory alone, in pontificals to the left, presenting a piece of fruit to the Saviour, is one of the austere masculine types of which we find the originals in the canvases of Titian.²

¹ Church of Villabruna, high altar. Wood, arched, the figures life-size. Retouched, or altogether repainted, are the blue mantle of the Virgin, the eyes and flesh shadows, the yellow glory, and clouds. In the child, the shaded contours are retouched, the feet almost new and ruined, the flesh-tone generally abraded. St. George is also retouched in parts, and St. Victor is injured chiefly in the shadows of the head and in the hair.

² San Giorgio, near Santa Giustina on the road between Feltre and Belluno. Wood, arched, figures life-size. This picture is worm-eaten, dimmed by age, and spoiled by old restoring. The red tunic of the Virgin is throughout discoloured. St. Valentine holds the book and palm, the dove whispers at



Hanfstäengl photo.

[Bonn, Provinzialmuseum.]

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS.

In the church of Caupo, near Feltre, and in the gallery of Berlin, where the subject of the Virgin and Child between two saints is repeated, we find the same general principles of art enfeebled either by the effects of time and repainting, or by the employment of assistants. At Berlin some reflections are suggested by a curious and apparently modern inscription. On the foreground, to the right of a standing figure of St. Maurice, are the words: "Laurencius Lucius Feltren^{is} pingat," and we are asked to believe that Lorenzo Luzzi and Pietro Luzzi of Feltre are two painters. But in the *Memorie istoriche di Feltre*, published at Venice in 1710 by Count Antonio dal Corno, *Morto da Feltre* is called Lorenzo Luzzi, and it is not unlikely that the author took the name of Laurencius from the inscription on the altarpiece now at Berlin. Whether Pietro Luzzi was also known as Lorenzo Luzzi is doubtful. He may have been christened Pietro Lorenzo, he may even have signed a panel with the latter name, but the pictures assigned to *Morto* and to Pietro Luzzi are similar in style to that of Berlin, and it is equally apparent that the inscription at Berlin is one of those comparatively modern forgeries which throw critics into doubt and misgiving, and often involve the history of painting in artificial obscurity.¹

St. Gregory's ear. At both sides of the throne a landscape distance. The drapery is serpentine in fold, the forms generally of great weight.

¹ (1) Caupo (four miles from Feltre), church of, arched, canvas, with life-size figures. In the middle the Virgin enthroned in a landscape, the child erect on her knee blessing St. Vitus to the left, whilst St. Modestus to the right holds the palm. In a cloud above the Virgin's head is a half-length of the Redeemer in benediction. The sky and hills are all repainted, and the figures, though less damaged, are also retouched in many places. The figures are more paltry and vulgar than those of previous examples, nor are the movements free from affectation. The work is that of Luzzi, though feeble of its kind, and perhaps carried out by assistants. [* This picture was stolen from the church of Caupo on Jan. 17, 1910, and has not yet been recovered. It is reproduced in *L'Arte*, xiii. 369.] (2) Berlin Museum, No. 154. Wood, arched, 8 ft. high by 5 ft. 1 in., from the Solly collection. It has been supposed that this is the picture originally in Santo Stefano of Feltre, which represented the Virgin and Child between St. Stephen and St. Victor (Cambruzzi MS., *ub. sup.*), and this may be true if the forged date 1511 be set aside, the contract for the altarpiece of Santo Stefano being preserved at Feltre and dated 1519 (O. Zanghellini, private communication). The picture, as it stands at Berlin, is in the same spirit as that of Caupo, somewhat feeble and washy, and probably done in a great measure by assistants. [* This painting is now on loan to the Provinzialmuseum at Bonn. As we have seen, the signature and date are in all likelihood authentic; and it is also most probable that the picture was originally in Santo Stefano at Feltre.] (3) Berlin Museum, No. 176. A canvas, 3 ft. 6 in. high by 3 ft. $\frac{1}{4}$ in.,

We recognize the identity of *Morto* and *Luzzi* with most certainty in the decoration of two houses at *Feltre*, *Casa Bartoldini* in *Via delle Tezze*, and the old *Crico* palace in the *Mercato Nuovo*. *Casa Bartoldini*, the best ornamented of the two dwellings, is that which *Cambruzzi* describes; it is chiefly remarkable for a fresco of *Judith* throwing the head of *Holofernes* into a sack held by a female slave—a series of half-lengths immediately above a piece of frieze containing three cupids holding a tablet. Lower down, and in the centre of the façade, *Curtius* sits with his back to the spectator on a charger, who rears at the gulph. At each side are false windows and niches with children, a framing with *Romulus* and *Remus* at the she-wolf's breast, and panellings with trophies. The figures are thrown on the wall with great ease and breadth, the *Judith* and cupids *Giorgionesque* in character and shape as well as in treatment, and especially so in the large and effective rendering of form and perspective. *Curtius*, full of life and resolution, seems designed after an old medal. The ornament alone is overcharged.¹

Much more complete as an example, though more imperfectly preserved, is the decoration of the old *Crico* palace, a house of irregular front altered by the addition of an upper story. Beneath the imitated brackets, which tell of the earlier shape of the building, there runs a long strip of panellings, bounded at each end by the *Crico* escutcheon supported by Cupids. In these Cupids we find types like those of *Pellegrino* and *Girolamo da Treviso*. Some of the panellings are abraded, others contain fragments of subjects—*Charity*, *Faith*, *Temperance*, *Prudence*—the two last, half-lengths of females pouring water into a vase and looking into a mirror. They are richly furnished with hair, bare-necked, bare-armed, healthy and plump, seductively inviting in pose, provoking in glance, and graceful in movement. Broad treatment and warm dusky tone almost conceal a certain abruptness of transition from bright light to dense hatched shadow. There is a masterly calculation of harmony in the juxtaposition of broad surfaces of flesh with garments of white or tinged in primaries—an illustration of that grand system of handling

representing *Peace* and *War*, is a mongrel production of no real value or interest. It bears the name of *Morto da Feltre*, who is thus made to figure as a painter different from the so-called *Lorenzo Luzzi*. [* This picture is now officially ascribed to the school of *Brescia*, about 1530-40.]

¹ *Feltre*, *Via delle Tezze*, No. 604. *Casa Avogadro Tauro*, now *Bartoldini*. The *Judith* and frieze are monochrome; of the *Curtius*, part of the colour is abraded and the ground worn away.

which culminates in the so-called *Mistress of Titian* at the Louvre, or in the *Flora* at the Uffizi, or, finally, in the *Palmas* of the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. Compared with *Pellegrino*, Luzzi has less feeling for colour, less ease of hand, and less transparency.

The lower courses of subjects on the façade are confined within two wide piers in which traces of medallions are found. Between a cluster of four windows and a larger single one, Abraham armed with the knife is stopped in his intended sacrifice by the angel. He still grasps with his left hand the clothes of Isaac. The size of the figures is much above that of nature, their appearance betraying some relationship in the artist with Peruzzi or Pontormo. Abraham is strong, stern, well-drawn in limb and extremities; Isaac large and unwieldy, like a child by Bandinelli. Studied drapery seems to reveal acquaintance with the laws of sculpture, obeyed at Florence in the sixteenth century. Beneath this composition *Jephthah* may be seen meeting his daughter, a mere fragment, yet full of *Giorgionesque* character, and much in the spirit of the *Madonna of Villabruna*.¹

We thus have in the Crico façade a mixture of styles natural to a person such as Vasari describes *Morto* to have been, a Venetian who visited Rome and Florence and then saw *Giorgione* in his prime—we observed at the same time a certain resemblance of manner in the frescoes and in *Madonnas* assigned to *Pietro Luzzi*. But besides this there is to be found in the Crico façade harmonic division of space, a judicious overcoming of difficulties arising from irregularity in the building, a tasteful arrangement of parts within friezes and piers, chaste arabesques in appropriate places, and in every respect a scientific application

¹ Feltre, Mercato Nuovo. In the panellings between the Crico escutcheons, taking the spaces in order from left to right, we have (1) traces of a figure holding a sword; (2) *Charity*, a female with a child raising itself to the breast, and two heads of other children, the rest of the picture gone, and the wall bare to the stone; (3) in a round, a female with her hands joined in prayer; (4) the fresco is gone; (5) the two female busts described in the text, on a ground of blue sky with clouds. Of the female to the left pouring water, part of the forehead and hair are wanting. In the fresco of the *Sacrifice of Abraham* the colour is abraded in the angel, the sky, and part of the figure of Isaac. Under the fourth window of the cluster is a panelling with pretty ornament. The Meeting of *Jephthah* and his Daughter is almost gone. The dress of the female is almost worn away, and little but *Jephthah's* head remains. There are bits of other figures and an architectural interior also just visible. The arms are those of the Crico family, and the initials A.C. on the escutcheons are those of *Andrea Cricus*. The house once called *Casa Tauro* is now *Casa Toschi*.

of perspective. We may therefore incline to believe that Cambruzzi is right in affirming that Morto and Luzzi are identical. With these mural designs we exhaust all that can tend to strengthen this belief.

One of the few remaining frescoes with which Luzzi's name is connected is a Christ transfigured—with saints—in the altarniche of the sacristy in the church of Ognissanti at Feltre. This fresco bears the date of 1522, and in the simplest form of composition represents the Redeemer looking up to heaven with his arms outstretched, whilst St. Anthony and St. Lucy stand at the corners of the foreground.¹ What strikes us most immediately in this fresco is its likeness to those done by Lorenzo Lotto in 1534 for the church of Trescorre. The same sort of affinity is to be found in frescoes by Pellegrino, whence the difficulty of deciding to which of the two painters, Luzzi or San Daniele, the Transfiguration should be assigned. Essentially in Pellegrino's fashion is the compression of the horizontal lines in the Saviour's face, and the true movement of the frame and limbs, whereas, the vulgar face and form and the heavy extremities, as well as the neglected contours, point to Luzzi. St. Anthony, glaring from the corners of his eyes, looks wildly austere, St. Lucy like a robust country wench. As in other specimens of this period and locality, the types are degenerate Giorgionesque, the drapery ample but undefined, the flesh warm but dense in the high lights and darks, and strongly hatched in the transitions.²

In a Deposition from the Cross at the Seminario of Feltre we discern the hand of a painter whose Madonna with Saints at Dresden is catalogued under the name of Catena.³ A portrait at the Uffizi (No. 538), were it free from some of its coarsest retouches, might prove to be by Torbido; nor is it unlikely that it was

¹ Feltre. Ognissanti. The colour is warm, but somewhat abraded by time. On a cartello at St. Anthony's feet is the date MDXXII in three lines; at St. Lucy's feet the plate with the eyes.

* ² Judging from reproductions, the editor agrees with Dr. L. Venturi (*loc. cit.*, p. 372) that this fresco comes so close to Lorenzo Luzzi's Caupo and Berlin altarpieces as to warrant the conclusion, that it is by the same artist.

³ Feltre, Seminario. The dead Christ raised by the Evangelist, the Magdalen wringing her hands, to the left the Virgin in a faint, attended by the Marys; other figures; canvas fragment, with figures under life-size. This picture was once in Santo Spirito of Feltre, and goes by the name of Luzzi. It is spotted and worn. The composition is conventionally arranged; a vulgar realism characterizes the faces; the drawing is poor. Some figures are too large for the rest, the Christ for instance being over-large; the flesh-tones are sombre even in light, and the dress tints are sharply contrasted. Something in the appearance of the surface

ascribed to Morto solely on account of a death's head in the hand of the personage represented.¹

Vasari's assertion that Morto met a violent death in battle may be correct; he must needs err in fixing the date of that event in the artist's forty-fifth year.

Pietro Maria Pennacchi was born in 1464, and probably spent the years of his apprenticeship in Treviso, where he produced pictures remarkable for dryness and patient finish.² One of his earliest works, Christ in the Tomb between two angels, a panel which passed out of the collection of the Avogari of Treviso into the Berlin Museum, is very remarkable for the careful minuteness of its outline and detail, the dim and shadeless pallor of its tones, and the hard ugliness of its forms. It is so different from Pennacchi's later pieces that, but for the signature, we should doubt its genuineness. It shows that Pier Maria, before he studied at Venice, was trained in the ways of the Squarcionesques, and held to that mixture of the Transalpine and Paduan which makes so many old artists of North Italy unattractive.³ When he painted the replica of this subject, now in the Correr Museum at Venice,

suggests the use of wax in the vehicles. This is the style of a picture (No. 64) assigned to Catena in the Gallery of Dresden (see *antea* in Catena). It may be by Luzzi in his last period or by some follower of his.

There are other pictures assigned to Morto da Feltre in the Venetian provinces; e.g. Cologne, Duomo. Two saints in armour on horseback about life-size, injured by restoring beyond all recognition. We are told (Zanghellini in *Messaggiere di Rovereto*) that there was a Madonna between St. Francis and St. Anthony once in Santo Spirito of Feltre which afterwards passed to the Gallery of the Seminario. It is not in the Seminario now.

¹ Florence, Uffizi, No. 538. Canvas; half length of a man in a dark dress seated in a chair in front of a brown yellow curtain; this is said erroneously to be Morto himself. He points and touches with his finger the surface of the table on which is a death's-head. His hair is chestnut, his expression smiling. On the table are the syllables "Men~solin." The flesh is deprived of its final glazes and the dress is so dimmed by dirt that the folds cannot be seen.—The solid impasto, brownish raw flesh-tints and dark shadows, have the dirty look of Torbido's creations. Vasari's woodcut of Morto is altogether different from this.

² Pier Maria Pennacchi. His birth is in Federici, *Mem. Trevig.*, i. 219, 238. He was the son of Giovanni di Daniele Pennacchi.

³ * In our opinion, Freiherr von Hadeln (in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, iv. 277) is correct in noting an influence from Giovanni Bellini already in this picture; the general conception of the scene, the comparative softness of the colouring, and the forms of the landscape seem to us to justify this view. But there exists an even earlier work by Pier Maria Pennacchi, lately identified by the same critic (*ibid.*, pp. 276 *sq.*) which shows the artist entirely under the influence of Girolamo da Treviso the elder, whom we therefore may consider as the first master of Pier Maria—a view which perfectly agrees with the author's theory of his early

and the Madonna with Saints in San Leonardo of Treviso, his style had already received some polish from the Bellini and Vivarini, yet he was still so German in air that Dürer's monogram and the date of 1499 were not considered a forgery.¹

After he settled at Venice,² Pennacchi began to waver between imitation of Bellini and Carpaccio, and we observe in the Annunciate Virgin at San Francesco della Vigna comparatively bold action and regular proportions in the figures, together with a pleasing shape in the faces and a broad cast of drapery—features the more striking as they are altogether unexpected. Still later Pier Maria adopted the free system of treatment of Rondinello—a liquid touch with much use of

training. The picture in question is a Madonna and Saints in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (No. 49; cf. *antea*, i. 231, n. 1). We are, however, not quite sure that Girolamo da Treviso the elder is identical with Pier Maria's elder brother, the painter Girolamo Pennacchi (*d.* in 1496-7) as Freiherr von Hadeln thinks, since Federici (*ub. sup.*, i. 215, 218 *sq.*) expressly states that Girolamo da Treviso the elder belonged to the Aviani family, and he also knew of the existence of Pier Maria's brother Girolamo, though he does not mention him as a painter (see *ibid.*, p. 238).

¹ (1) Berlin Museum, No. 1166. Wood, 1 ft. 10 in. high by 2 ft. 1 in., from the Solly collection, inscribed: "Petrus Maria Tarvisio p." The distance is a hilly landscape. The two angels stand on the ledge of the tomb, within which the Saviour is supported. Worthy of remark is the bony leanness, the roundness of the head, and the height of the forehead, in the figures. The hairs may be counted. The picture was in Federici's time in the Avogaro collection. (2) Venice, Correr Museum, Sala xvi., No. 3. Wood, m. 0.64 high by 1.50; on the tomb the forged signature: "A.D. 1499." There is a slight difference between the attitude of the angels here and those at Berlin; they grieve with much grimace. The colour is abraded. [* Morelli (*Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfilii*, p. 343) ascribed this picture to the young Giovanni Bellini, and his view is now generally accepted. The painting shows, indeed, the closest possible analogies to the earliest works by that master, while it is far above the powers of Pennacchi. Cf. Fry, *Giovanni Bellini*, pp. 16 *sq.*, and *antea*, i. 141, n. 1.] (3) Treviso, San Leonardo. Virgin and Child enthroned, with an angel at the throne-foot playing an instrument; to the left St. Bartholomew, to the right St. Prosdocimo. In the arching the Eternal. Wood. On a cartello are remains of an eligible inscription. This piece has been ascribed to Jacopo Bellini (see *antea*, i. 116, n. 2), but seems—in such parts as retain their original character—by Pier Maria in a style a little more advanced than at the Correr Museum. The Eternal and angel are modern.

* * A series of records, the dates of which range, with intervals of a few years, or even months, from 1483 to 1514, show Pier Maria Pennacchi as living at Treviso; and he died between July 1514 and March 1515. It is, however, more than probable that during those years he paid frequent visits of some duration to the neighbouring Venice. Cf. Biscaro, "Note e documenti," from *Cultura e lavoro*, 1897, p. 47; Fogolari, in *Bollettino d'arte*, ii. 128 *sq.*

PIER MARIA PENNACCHI



[Anderson photo.]

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD.

[Venice, Santa Maria della Salute.]

varnish, a full, square mould of form and dresses of Palmesque fold; and of this class we have the half-length Virgin and Child in a radiant glory at the Salute.¹ Three panelled ceilings in Venetian churches are assigned to our artist. The one in Santa Maria della Misericordia is adorned with half-lengths of Prophets; another in the Madonna de' Miracoli with the Visitation, St. Joachim, St. Joseph, the Doctors, Evangelists, and Prophets; the third in Santa Maria degli Angeli at Murano, with the Doctors, the symbols of the Evangelists, and a Coronation of the Virgin. We hardly recognize the same hand in each of these churches. At the Misericordia, bloodless flesh-tints and opaque shadows give an unpleasant air to figures otherwise pleasing in contour and mask. At the Miracoli, a rude treatment and a poor echo of the manner of Verlas might suggest that Pennacchi left his work to assistants, or that it was renewed by later and feebler craftsmen. At the Angeli we are repelled by overweight in the heads and frames and want of character in the design generally.²

An Assumption in the cathedral of Treviso gives a much more favourable insight into Pier Maria's later period. It is a lively composition, with balanced movement in the Virgin and angels, who rise amidst the clouds, a good sway in the breezy drapery, and varied attitude in the apostles who surround the tomb; but brisk action is counterbalanced by a certain paltriness in the individuality of the personages. The treatment is by no means complex, the flesh, of full body, being shaded with warm semi-transparent tints, and finished without glazes, after the fashion of some of Bellini's

¹ (1) Venice, San Francesco della Vigna. Canvas, hanging high up in the choir. The Virgin kneels at a desk, in the left-hand corner of a room with a high, panelled ceiling. Through an opening we see the country. Here the colours are light and uniform. [* Compare the next note.] (2) Venice, Santa Maria della Salute. Wood. The Child on the Virgin's lap holds the thumb of her left hand. Rays surround her head. The colour is clear, semi-transparent, and unbroken. The size is above that of life. Some repaints have been lately removed, but the surface is raw from more than one cleaning.

² (1) Venice, Santa Maria della Misericordia. This ceiling, with relief panellings, is not noticed by the guide-books. The prophets and saints in the squares are half-lengths, some of which are bleached and others in part obliterated. (2) Venice, Madonna de' Miracoli. This is assigned to Pennacchi by Boschini (*Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. di Canareggio, p. 5) and Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 305). It is a flat ceiling, with the principal subject in a central round; the rest in smaller medallions circumscribed by squares. The prophets and saints are half-lengths of rude execution. Of the organ-shutters with the Annunciation outside and St. Peter and St. Paul inside, mentioned by Boschini (*Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. di

pupils.¹ In other productions of this kind at Treviso, it is hard to say whether Pennacchi works alone, or in company of his son Girolamo. There are panels and decorations in which he reveals a more modern spirit. The Virgin and Child between St. Catherine and St. John the Baptist, a series of half-lengths in possession of the advocate Signor Perazolo at Treviso, is a pretty and not unattractive production, in which we find a distant reminiscence of Palma and the germ of certain peculiarities of pose and action which pertain to the compositions of Girolamo Pennacchi. The touch, too, shows better acquaintance with the technica of oil-painting; the surface is warmer and more blended than before. Again we observe a diluted mixture of the Pallesque and Giorgionesque with the usual air of Pier Maria's figures in fragments of an injured fresco representing the ordeal of a saint, virtues, and busts, on the front of a dwelling in the Via Ognissanti at Treviso—a design in which there is something akin to Paris Bordone, Bissolo, and Catena. The drawing is bold and resolute, the tone hot and strongly relieved by shadow. The date of this decoration is 1528, the year in which, according to Ridolfi, Pier Maria died.² In other fragmentary pieces on buildings and in churches at Treviso the same style may be discerned, and the field opened up by Dario in the previous century receives its final cultivation.³

Girolamo da Treviso was the pupil of his father, whose later

Canareggio, p. 6) as by Pennacchi, nothing further is known; but perhaps the canvas at San Francesco della Vigna is part of them. [* Subsequent research has confirmed this surmise of the authors. Of the paintings which formerly adorned the organ in the Madonna de' Miracoli, those containing the figures of the Virgin, St. Gabriel, and St. Peter are now reunited in the Venice Academy; the figure of St. Paul is still missing. See Fogolari, *Bollettino d'arte*, ii. 121, *sqq.*] (3) Murano, Santa Maria degli Angeli. The ceiling is in the same style as the foregoing.

¹ Treviso, Duomo. Wood, figures under half life-size. In the sky, amidst angels in clouds, the Virgin ascends with her hands joined in prayer; below, the apostles about the tomb (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 305). The whole panel is injured, and in some parts the colour is scaling off. [* It is proved by a contemporary record that this picture was ordered on July 20, 1520, from Domenico Capriolo. Biscaro, in *Atti dell'Ateneo di Treviso*, 1896, pp. 280 *sq.*]

* * We now know that he died between July 11, 1514, and March 15, 1515. Biscaro, *ib. sup.*, p. 281.

² (1) Treviso, Signor Perazolo. Wood, oil, half-lengths, half life-size. A distant landscape is half concealed by a red hanging; to the left a small angel flies above the Virgin; the Baptist holds the cross and lamb. The face of the Virgin is injured. (2) Treviso, Via Ognissanti, No. 1329. House front. Under the eaves between the windows the Fates and half-lengths of aged men; beneath

style he inherited. He first reformed his art by studying Giorgione and Pordenone; he subsequently wandered to Bologna, where he adopted the Raphaelesque manner; but in all his transformations he preserved the Venetian type. Like his father, he was very quick in realizing momentary action; his system of colouring is monochromatic, like that of Pordenone and other Friulans; he throws objects boldly into shadow without transitions; his touch is liquid, and his flesh of a warm reddish uniformity; he thus differs from Giorgione and Titian, yet in some early pictures in which we trace the results of his imitation of Giorgione and Palma Vecchio he superficially resembles, and has not unfrequently been taken for, the master of Castelfranco.

Girolamo di Pier Maria Pennacchi was born in 1497, and probably served his apprenticeship in the paternal atelier.¹ We may seek, and perhaps find, the trace of his hand in works exhibiting the modes of Pier Maria, combined with a younger and more modern spirit. Such works, we have seen, exist in the habitations and convents of Treviso. Of that phase in his practice in which a faint dye of the great masters is apparent we have three specimens in the Onigo collection at Treviso, two of which bear the name of Giorgione. The most important is that representing the Virgin near a ruin, reading and holding the infant erect on a parapet of stone, behind which St. Joseph

them a frieze with busts of females in ornaments of leaves; to the right, in a large empty space, a female saint amidst soldiers before an idol under an arched portico (fragmentary); above the piers of the lower colonnade Fortitude and another figure, and on a tablet above the key of one of the arches: "I. 5. XXVIII." Much of the decoration is rubbed away. In the same style as this we have the following: (3) Treviso, Seminario. Refectory of the monastery of San Niccolò. Fresco with remnants of figures large as life, two knights with banners at each side of a composition reduced to a mere fragment, but not unlike the Temptation of St. Anthony. In the upper part of the sky an angel flies away. (4) Treviso, Contrada del Gesù, No. 112, 114. House front with escutcheons and figures, "MDXXV. mensis Septembris." This is a rudely handled work of the school. (5) Treviso, Contrada Santa Maria Maggiore, No. 141. Graffito with gambols of children and figures; done with rude haste in the style of Pennacchi's school.

[* The Academy at Venice contains a picture by Pier Maria Pennacchi (No. 657), representing the Death of the Virgin, and bearing the fragmentary signature: "... trus ... aria". Christ disputing with the Doctors, in the same gallery (No. 85), is probably also by Pennacchi.]

¹ See Mauro's genealogy in Federici, *ub. sup.*, *Mem. Trev.*, i. 238, which gives the date of Girolamo's birth as 1497. This date is confirmed by Vasari's first edition, in which Girolamo is said to have died in 1544, aged forty-six. In Vasari's later edition (v. 139) his age is given as thirty-six; and, following that apparently, Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 305) says Girolamo was born in 1508.

sits looking up. There are few panels by Girolamo in which a more graceful and delicate feeling is manifested. The group is charming, and the child clings to the mother's veil and looks up most naturally. The forms are clean and plump, in the mould of the Giorgionesques and Pordenone, the drapery ample and well cast, and the flesh painted in a well-blended, rich, and liquid tone. The distance of hills, half concealed by a green hanging, is one of those made fashionable by the Venetians of the sixteenth century, and frequently used by Pellegrino and Morto for the purpose of bringing out the figures into strong prominence. What distinguishes the piece from those of Giorgione is the sombre warmth and unbroken surface of the flesh, the abrupt transition from light to dark, and the sudden depth of the shadows—the want of that combination of notes which make up the subtle harmony of Giorgione, Titian, and Palma. The male bust in the same collection is that of a man in a black pelisse with a yellow fur collar, holding a glove in his right hand and standing in front of a stone niche; his hair hangs down to a chin covered with a slight pointed beard. In the fullness and weight of the parts, as well as in technical handling, there is a reminiscence of Pordenone, rather than of Giorgione, and the treatment, similar to that of the Holy Family we have just examined, proves that Girolamo tried to produce in the manner of the more talented Venetians and Friulans. The second portrait, still more resolute in the relief and depth of its shadows, is that of a short-haired, bearded man, dressed in a dark damasked surcoat, with a collar round his neck, the golden warmth of whose flesh recalls Tintoretto and Titian.¹

At some period of Girolamo's stay at Treviso he was employed as a decorator of façades; of which we have an example in the house known of old as that of Pier Maria Pennacchi. On the front of that building there are fragments of medallions, with sporting children, allegories of the Virtues, and a Judgment of Solomon, in which the painter's grace, facility of hand, and truthful rendering of nature are united to great boldness of outline and richness of tone. In the Casa Moretti and a dwelling in the Contrada Tommasini we observe a continuation of the same style, and in the last perhaps the work of a later artist of the school.²

¹ (1) Treviso, Casa Onigo, tavola. Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph, figures under life-size. (2) Same collection. Half-length; on the left hand a ring. (3) Same collection. Busts without hands; on canvas. Brown ground.

² (1) Treviso, House of the Pennacchi, Contrada dei due passi, No. 1138. Centre, Judgment of Solomon, the dead child to the left, with one of the mothers

How long Girolamo remained in his native place is uncertain. He went early, it is said, to Venice. Yet we are in doubt as to what he may have done there, for the Glory of St. Roch between St. Jerome and St. Sebastian in the sacristy of the Salute is a doubtful specimen; and, though he may be the author, it reminds us also of Lorenzo Lotto.¹ It is stated by Vasari that Girolamo was one of those whom Andrea Doria employed in the Palazzo del Principe at Genoa; he tells an anecdote of the painter's presumption in pitting his powers against those of other artists in the same service. It is not improbable that Girolamo visited Genoa between 1528 and 1532; but there is nothing left to show us in what manner he bore the rivalry of Pierino del Vaga and Pordenone.² In 1532 Girolamo was despatched to Trent to paint for Cardinal Von Cles some of the frescoes in the Castello; and there are traces of his hand in wall-paintings on a staircase of the second floor.³ In 1533 he

looking down at it, and fragments of spectators; to the right saints and all but lost, the soldier about to strike the babe, which he holds by the leg. On a throne to the left, and parted from the rest of the scene by a pillar, is part of Solomon on his throne and the second mother; on a line with the composition, and to the right of it, a figure of Prudence and remnants of a Fortitude; on an upper frieze ovals contain: (a) two cupids playing with a monster, (b) a boy slapping another boy in a tender place, (c) a boy throwing a ball at a monster. All the figures are life-size. (2) Casa Moretti Adomari Celestini, Contrada dell' Accademia, No. 1033. Sports of Children. A frieze with ornament, children, and bull's heads, trophies; and, lower down, traces of designs, of which the subjects are no longer to be guessed at. Below that, and in the spandrels of a colonnade, are rounds, in one of which is the Encounter of Hercules and the Lion. (3) Contrada Tomasini, No. 1147. Venus, Neptune, Jove, Judgment of Paris, ornaments, Centaurs and Amazons, a Virgin and Child. These last are bold Michel-angelesque designs in the style of Beccafumi, and might be by Fiumicelli. The first of these three façades is assigned to Girolamo by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 305).

¹ Venice, Santa Maria della Salute. Wood, whole lengths, under life-size; distance, landscape. This piece has been much repainted. The colour is strongly impregnated with vehicle, and has a glossy semi-transparency. The clear tone of flesh, with its blue-grey shadows, is in the manner of Lotto. The slenderness of the figures, too, would point to the same artist, and yet we are not sure that he is to be preferred to Girolamo as the painter of this piece. Boschini (*Le Ric. Min.*, Sest di San Marco, p. 104) and Sansovino (*Ven. Descr.*, p. 121) mention a picture of St. James, between St. Lawrence, the Magdalen, and other saints, by Girolamo in San Salvatore of Venice; but the picture is missing. A choir of angels in the upper part of the composition is described by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 305) as like that in Raphael's St. Cecilia at Bologna. This might prove that the altarpiece was done after 1535, and after Girolamo's return from Bologna.

² Vasari, v. 614 sq., and 645.

³ Trent, Castello. Second floor. Above a door in the staircase is a Virgin holding the child, who blesses the kneeling Cardinal Von Cles presented by

was at Faenza, under the patronage of Sabba da Castiglione, for whom he executed a large votive fresco of the Virgin and Child with Saints in the church of the Commenda. It forms the ornament of the high altar niche, and, being designed on the section of a circle, is made to represent the interior of a round and roofless temple, above the balustrade of which the Eternal appears with His angels, whilst, between the pillars, a distant landscape is seen. To the right is St. Catherine of Alexandria, to the left St. Mary Magdalen recommending Sabba, who kneels at the Virgin's feet in the dress of a Preceptor of the Knights of St. John. In the breadth and swing of the contours we recognize the influence exercised on Girolamo by the works of Pordenone, and this is especially visible in the Glory, where the Eternal is wafted forward on the clouds, whilst in the landscape there is more of the Titianesque. The handling is that of a practised craftsman, but hard in some measure by reason of the thickness of the paint and the peculiarity of its tints. Sabba was not content to employ Girolamo, and dismiss him. He liked to consort with artists, and in his "Ricordi" speaks of "Tarvisio" as a man "of quickness and resolution, and of excellent practice in all the secrets of his craft." He was of opinion that in the Madonna of the Commenda Girolamo had shown unusual power, and risen above his usual level.¹ Girolamo produced other

St. Vigilius; an angel in flight raises the curtain of a dais. This composition is supported by a caryatide. Above it is a row of portraits of celebrated men in rounds, with medallions between them bearing the date of 1532. In a neighbouring hall is a frieze of children and caryatides by the same hand, which we should assume to be that of Girolamo da Treviso. There is something of the same character in the frescoes of a room in the first floor already described (ii. 152, n. 2) as possibly by Fogolino. Twelve small panels with half-lengths of prophets in the Ginnasio of Trent are also by Girolamo. (Consult Vasari, v. 137.) Cardinal Von Cles, born 1485, made in 1529, died at Trent on the 29th of July, 1539. (See Vasari, Annot., v. 137.) [* It is true that Vasari states that Girolamo da Treviso painted in the palace of the "old cardinal" at Trent; but there is no mention of him in the numerous contemporary records relating to the execution of the paintings in the Castello del Buonconsiglio. As regards the frescoes in this building which are ascribed to him by the authors we have documentary proofs that they are by Dosso Dossi (see Schmölzer, *Die Fresken des Castello del Buon Consiglio*, pp. 30 *seqq.*). The twelve pictures in the Ginnasio represent philosophers and poets, were formerly in the library in the Castello, and are also by Dosso Dossi (*ibid.*, pp. 34 *seqq.*). Dr. Schmölzer (*ibid.*, p. 44, n. 1) suggests the possibility that Girolamo painted in the Palazzo degli Alberi, near Trent.]

¹ Faenza, church of the Commenda (outside of). In rounds above the arching of the niche are St. Mercuriale and St. Jerome in monochrome; on the pedestal of the throne: "F. Sabba. Cast. Preceptore. Hier. Tarvis. Dict. Faciebat MDXXXIII." The figures are large as life. See Sabba da Castiglione, *Ricordi*, &c., p. 115, 8vo, Venice, 1584.

pictures at Faenza, some of which have perished, one in San Maglorio now ascribed to Giorgione, in which the Eternal appears in the clouds to the Virgin, who bends over the child standing playing with a bird at her knee, and receives the adoration of St. Severus and St. Gregory.¹ About the same period Girolamo laboured with considerable success in many churches of Bologna, decorating the outer walls of palaces, interiors of convents, and sides of chapels. In San Salvatore he left two compositions, which have since been lost, and in San Domenico a Madonna with Saints, which came at last into the National Gallery in London.² In this example we have an illustration of the master's latest transformation. To the large and weighty cast of figure which elsewhere betrays Girolamo's affection for the models of Pordenone a more delicate scantling is substituted; the form is more slender; the drawing is marked with greater precision, and the distribution or drapery tell of a new phase of imitation. Though still a Trevisan, Girolamo here follows the Raphaelesque, and becomes enamoured of the creations of Innocenzo da Imola and Bagnacavallo. He is most Venetian in a landscape distance, in the type and movement of the Virgin who sits behind a hanging raised by angels, or in the infant Christ erect at her feet. He is tenderly affected and Bolognese in the St. James who occupies the right foreground, or the neighbouring St. Joseph. In the left-hand group, St. Paul recommending the kneeling patron, the setting is Venetian, the form Romagnole. But there is a change to notice also in the system of Girolamo's colour, which now resembles that of Romanino in its richness, though it has not his force or clear power. The flesh-tints are full of gloss and warmth and strongly relieved, but still comparatively unbroken, whilst the vestment colours are gay. Though a fine work, there is still

¹ Faenza, San Maglorio. Arched panel, with figures half the size of life; the lunette with the Eternal and angels repainted. A hanging behind the Virgin partly conceals the landscape distance. The flesh-tints are light and rosy. The Virgin holds the child erect on a book in front of her, and points to the right with an outstretched arm. The two saints kneel.

² (1) Bologna, San Salvatore. Presentation in the Temple with St. Thomas of Canterbury, and a Virgin in Glory with St. Jerome and St. Catherine. (Vasari, v. 136.) (2) Above one of the city gates a crucified Saviour between the Virgin and Evangelist. (*Ibid.*, v. 137.) (3) Bologna, San Petronio, Cappella della Madonna. (*Ibid.*, v. 136.) For Giovanni Bat. Bentivoglio. Adoration of the Magi; a large picture with small figures from a cartoon by Peruzzi. (Vasari, v. 137, and Lamo, *Graticola*, p. 35.) See *History of Italian Painting*, 1st ed., vol. iii. p. 398. (4) Palazzo Torfanini, Casa de' Dolfi. (Vasari, v. 137, and Lamo, pp. 22, 29.)

too much conventionalism in it to produce absolute pleasure.¹ In other productions of the time such as the fresco portraits—male and female—at the sides of the arch in Sant'Antonio of San Petronio, we are reminded of the Dossi or Garofalo. In the monochromes of the chapel itself—scenes with life-size figures from the legend of the titular saint—the compositions are good and freely thrown upon the wall, with reminiscences of Andrea del Sarto and Pontormo, but there is so much restoring in all the subjects that half their value is gone.² Girolamo would have remained longer than he did at Bologna, but that he took offence at being neglected in a competition for an altarpiece in the hospital della Morte.³ Between 1535 and 1538 he returned to Venice, where he came into familiar intercourse with the clique of Sansovino, Titian, and Aretino. The latter, in a letter of May 1537 addressed to Francesco dell'Arme, requests to be remembered to his gossip Girolamo; and in a later epistle of August 30, 1538, to Andrea Odoni he relates how fortunate his gossip has been to enter the service of Henry VIII. of England.⁴ During his last stay at Venice Pennacchi had painted many palaces, and amongst others that of Odoni, which in the seventeenth century was inhabited by Antonio Triva.⁵ In the Palazzo Colonna at Rome a fine portrait called Poggio Bracciolini betrays Girolamo's imitation of the Tuscans, Bronzino, Bazzi, and Beccafumi.⁶ In 1542 he was architect to Henry VIII., and employed by him in designing a residence; in 1544 he was raised to the rank of an engineer; and in this new capacity commanded the works of the siege of Boulogne. He was killed

¹ London, National Gallery, No. 623. Wood, 7 ft. 5½ in. high by 4 ft. 10 in., inscribed: "Ieronimus Trevisius. p." This picture is well preserved, was done for the Boccaferri chapel in San Domenico of Bologna (Vasari, v. 137, Lamo, p. 21), was taken to Imola in the last century, and has been in the Northwick and Solly collections. [* We may associate with it an Adoration of the Shepherds in the Dresden Gallery (No. 291 B) and a Madonna with SS. Catherine and Francis in the late Doetsch collection in London (sold at Christie's, June 22, 1895, No. 69; reproduced in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, ser. ii. vol. i. p. 405).]

² Bologna, San Petronio. Cappella Sant'Antonio, inscribed in the monochrome of St. Anthony reviving the dead child: "Hieronimus Trivisius faciebat."

³ Vasari, v. 138.

⁴ Aretino, *Lettere*, i. 99, and ii. 50.

⁵ Venice, Casa Andrea Odoni. See the subjects described in Vasari, v. 135-6, Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 305, and Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. di D. Duro, pp. 52, 53. Compare also Zanetti, *Pitt. Ven.*, p. 213; Anonimo, ed. Morelli, p. 192; and Cicogna, *Iscri. Ven.*, iii. 435-6.

⁶ Rome, Palazzo Colonna, No. 109. Portrait; half-length of a man holding a medal, on dark ground. [* Count Gamba (in *Rassegna d'arte*, ix, 4) ascribes this picture to Francesco de' Rossi, called Salviati.]

by a cannon-ball before that place whilst throwing a portable bridge over one of the ditches.¹

We shall complete these notices of Trevisan painting with a few words upon artists whose names are to be found on pictures. In the sacristy of the Cathedral of Lendinara hangs a panel, once the centre of an altarpiece, containing the Virgin and Child enthroned, with a boy-angel playing a viol at her feet. This panel is Bellinesque and Giorgionesque in style, and copies with but slight variation the Madonna in Giovanni Bellini's altarpiece of 1505 at San Zaccaria of Venice. The execution is warm, soft, and feeble, and betrays an attempt to imitate Giorgione with neglected drawing and touch substituted for contour. This panel bears the name of Domenico Mancini of Venice, and the date of 1511.² In the same style we should cite a Virgin and child in a landscape between full lengths of St. Anthony and St. Catherine assigned to Giorgione, belonging to Mr. Bennett in London³; and a group of two (busts), a man in a broad hat with his arm round the neck of a female, who leans her cheek on his shoulder, in the Scarpa collection at La Motta. On a button which adorns the man's hat we read the word "Mancin." Unfortunately for critical research this piece is so much repainted that its original appearance cannot be guessed at. It is the counterpart of a panel in the Dresden Museum, catalogued as a Giorgione.⁴

¹ Aretino to Girolamo da Treviso, Venice, May 22, congratulating him on the appointment to a salary of 400 scudi from the king of England, on his building of a palace for the same, and his nomination to be one of the king's gentlemen. (*Lettere*, ii. 274 verso.) Aretino to Sansovino from Venice, 1545, in July, describing the mode of Girolamo's death. (*Ibid.*, iii. 158; Bottari, *Raccolta*, iii. 137; and Vasari, v. 138.)

² Lendinara, Duomo, sacristy. Wood, figures three quarters of life. On a cartello fastened to the step: "Opus Dominici Mancini uenitj p. 1511." Brandolese, who mentions the altarpiece (*Del Genio dei Lendinaresi*, ub. sup., pp. vi. viii.) adds that the sides of the triptych, which contained four apostles (in couples), were first removed into Santa Maria Elisabetta of Lendinara and then came into his own possession. They have since been lost.

³ London, No. 100, Upper Ebury Street, Mr. Burton Bennett. Small panel. In the distance is a man on a horse and two other figures, a shepherd and his flock, and a deer. In the foreground are two hares and two rabbits, at the feet of St. Catherine a deer. The Virgin and Child are almost a replica of those at Lendinara, and the treatment is the same. The flesh in some parts, as in the Virgin's head, the child, and St. Anthony, are somewhat damaged. [* Present whereabouts unknown.]

⁴ La Motta, Scarpa collection, No. 33. This repainted picture is under the name of "Francesco Mancini." [* The Scarpa collection was sold by auction at Milan in November 1895. The above-mentioned picture was subsequently in the

In the Hermitage at St. Petersburg is a bust portrait of a man at a window-sill, looking out. He wears a pelisse lined with fur. His sleeve, chequered in red, green, and yellow, hangs over the sill. In his left hand he holds a book, long hair falls over his neck, and a black cap with blue lozenges on its band covers his head. In the distance is a colonnade, and a torso of Venus fills a niche to the right. A medallion on the face of the sill bears a doe or dog as motto, round which we read "MDXI . . . Dominicus. a. xxv." This bust is assigned to Francesco Domenico (?). It is not a very clever or valuable picture, nor is it in such good preservation as to make criticism sure. The signature is partly abraded and retouched. The style is Trevisan and the panel seems an original of which several replicas exist. Of these we may quote one belonging to Mr. William Russell in London, darkened and retouched, with the signature in the medallion: "MDXII Dominicus f. a. xxv"¹; another, somewhat restored, in the collection of Mr. Cheney in London, with, "Fran: Dominici s. e. a. xxv"²; yet another in the Malaspina Gallery at Pavia, with a variation in the distance in which are the modern words: "Antonius a Coreggio. f. 1587," whilst on the sill, but not on the medallion, we read: "Dominicus de Medicis. a. xxv." The last example is repainted, and no doubt when in its original state had the signature of Dominicus like the rest. It is important to note that the technical execution in none of these examples leads us to believe in the genuineness of the date of 1511-12, the style being that of a later part of the century. But there is something of a reminiscence in them all of the art of Domenico Mancini as displayed in the altarpiece of Lendinara. That in each case these works should be assigned to Francesco Dominici arose perhaps from the fact that an artist of that name was mentioned by Ridolfi, and that there are pictures by him (one dated 1571) in the Treviso Cathedral.³ The authorship may have been guessed at with partial correctness, and it is possible that Dominici may be the son of Domenico Mancini.

hands of Signor Sambon in Milan.] The Dresden example is No. 221 in the Dresden Museum. [* It is now catalogued among the works of unknown painters of Venice and the Venetian territory.]

¹ Sold at the Russell sale, December 10, 1884. Redford, *Art Sales*, i. 390.

² Present whereabouts unknown.

³ St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 89. 3 ft. 9½ in. Rhén. high by 3 ft. ¾ in.; all the others of the same size. [* The Hermitage portrait is now officially ascribed to Domenico Capriolo. A version of this composition belongs also to the Pina-kothek at Munich (No. 1119; signed "MDXIII Dominicus f."; beneath a deer and the inscription "A. XXV.") See as to Francesco Dominici Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 309, and Crico, *ib. sup.*, p. 13.

DOMENICO CAPRIOLO



Alinari photo.

THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS.

[Trento, Communal Gallery.]

Again we have to inquire whether Domenico Mancini is the same artist as Domenico Capriolo, their style being not unlike.¹ Capriolo painted a small Adoration of the Shepherds, now in the rooms of the director of the hospital of Treviso; a cartello on the hut bearing the inscription: "Dnicus Chapriolo 1518 p." In the treatment we observe reminiscences of the school of the Pennacchi; the composition is good, the figures delicate in build and in natural motion; the colouring is bright but a little empty, and worked in with a liquid touch. Several panels of a similar character are to be found, one a Holy Family assigned to Domenico Campagnola, and bearing a monogram D, in the Giovanelli collection at Venice; a Virgin and Child in the Correr Museum, a Nativity with life-size figures in the church of the Cappuccini outside La Motta, two Holy Families under the name of Palma Vecchio in the Pitti and Uffizi at Florence, and an Epiphany ascribed to Giovanni Bellini in the municipal collection at Treviso.²

*¹ Domenico Capriolo is never called Mancini in the documents concerning him which we possess. He was a native of Venice who settled in Treviso, where his presence is for the first time recorded in 1518. In the Trevisan Estimi of 1524 his age is given as thirty; but statements of this kind are rarely accurate. He married the daughter of Pier Maria Pennacchi, and on Oct. 3, 1528, he was murdered by his wife's stepfather. See Bampo, in *Archivio Veneto*, xxxii. 416-419 sqq.; Biscaro, in *Atti dell'Ateneo di Treviso*, 1896, pp. 280 sqq.

² (1) Treviso, Hospital. [* Now Communal Gallery.] Small panel. The child, lying on the ground, is adored by a kneeling shepherd and by the Virgin in presence of St. Joseph. Two other shepherds stand by, and an angel flies in the air. Distance, a landscape with small figures. (2) Venice, Casa Giovanelli. Virgin and Child, St. Joseph and a female saint in front of a building. Behind a wall to the left, a shepherd and distant landscape; the ox, the ass, houses, trees, complete the picture. This also is a small panel, retouched in the Virgin and Child. (3) Venice, Correr Museum, half length, figures half the size of life. (4) Cappuccini, outside La Motta, arched panel with life-size figures. In a high ruin, the stable; in the middle, Christ on the ground surrounded by the kneeling Virgin, Joseph, and a shepherd; behind, St. Joseph, a shepherd and a tall tree; in the distance the procession of the Magi, and in the sky angels. (5) Florence, Pitti, No. 254. (6) Uffizi, No. 623.

[* As works by Domenico Capriolo we may further note the Assumption in the cathedral of Treviso (see *antea*, p. 122, n. 1), a male portrait in the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle (inscribed "An. XXXVIII. MDXXVIII. Dominicus Caprioli p.") and a Holy Family formerly in the Mantovani collection at Treviso (signed D. C.) See Cook, in *The Burlington Magazine*, viii. 343; von Fabriczy, in *Repertorium*, xxiv. 156.]

CHAPTER III

PORDENONE

WE have seen how suddenly the Friulan school arose—a modern edifice on old foundations. It expanded with such rapidity that the same artists could recollect how they began with antiquated models to end with those of the revival. Pordenone received the first impressions of his boyhood from Gian Francesco da Tolmezzo and Pellegrino; a little later, he crossed Friulan art with that of the lowlands and learnt at Venice to imitate Palma and Giorgione. But in the course of his subsequent career he felt the influence of Correggio, Titian, Raphael, and Michelangelo, and acquired something from each of these masters without rising altogether to their level.

Few painters have borne so many names. For a long time known as Giovanni Antonio de Pordenone, he assumed the title of "de Corticellis" from his father's native village near Brescia; he was then called "Sacchiensis" or "de Sacchis," and lastly "Regillo" or "Licinio."¹ His father, Agnolo di Bartolomeo of Lodi and Brescia, was an architect and builder habitually living in Pordenone. His mother, dame Magdalen,

¹ He is called Maestro Giovanni Antonio pittore in a record of Oct. 1, 1504, and in later ones till 1517. After that date, and namely in an inscription at Treviso, and in a contract of Aug. 20, 1520, at Cremona, he calls himself "Magister Johannes Antonio de Corticellis." In a deed of purchase of land at Pordenone, dated Nov. 2, 1524, he signs J. A. figlio di M^o. Angelo de Sacchis, and in a contract of Oct. 13, 1525 he calls himself M^o. Giovanni Antonio Sacchiense. The name of Regillo was that which his descendants adopted, as we perceive by a document of 1588, cited by Maniago (*ub. sup.*, p. 343). Vasari and others call him Licinio. [* As a matter of fact, the artist was called simply Giovanni Antonio even after 1517; while in 1506 he signed himself "Zuane Antonius De Sacchis." The names Regillo and Licinio are never given to him in contemporary records.]

lived to see him rise to great repute.¹ The date of his birth is generally, and we may believe correctly, placed in 1483.² He was liberally educated, and is said not only to have been taught drawing, but singing and playing; and he had some smattering of Latin.³ At a very tender age, we think, he was apprenticed; and there is much colour of truth in the suggestion of Ridolfi that he studied with Pellegrino at Udine.⁴ He was married under age on Oct. 1, 1504, to Anastasia, daughter of Maestro Stefano of Belluno, and resided for a year after his marriage in Pordenone.⁵ Where he went to after that is not recorded. When he came back in 1513 it was to marry his second wife, Elizabetta Quagliata; and in the interval, he had probably wandered in Friuli, Venice, and Lombardy.⁶

Ridolfi relates, as a story current in his own time, that Giovanni's first commission was given by a shopkeeper of Pordenone during whose absence at mass he finished a Madonna. Such legerdemain is not usual in beginners; but tradition

¹ See the wills of his father in Maniago (*ub. sup.*, pp. 303 and 304, 305).

[* Cf. Joppi, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv. Misc. vol. xii. pp. 33, 45, 48 sq.]

² Ridolfi, *Le Marav.*, i. 145.

³ Vasari, v. 119.

⁴ Ridolfi, *Le Marav.*, i. 145.

⁵ Oct. 1, 1504. Pordenone: Maestro Angelo da Brescia "Muratore," at the prayer of his son Maestro Giovanni Antonio, pittore, signs a deed assuring a dowry to his son's wife. Same place and date, contract of marriage between Anastasia, daughter of Maestro Stefano di Belluno, and Maestro Angelo da Brescia, in the name of his son Giovanni Antonio, pittore, with a dowry of 100 lire in money and 200 lire in clothes. Dec. 22, 1505. Pordenone: inventory of effects brought to Giovanni Antonio, by his wife Anastasia at her marriage. (Those three records are in the Archivio Notarile di Udine. All other records quoted in the notes to this chapter are from the same collection, and furnished, as we have before stated, by the kindness of Signor Vincenzo Joppi.) [* Cf. Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 31, 37 sqq.]

•• We now know a little about Pordenone's life between 1505 and 1513. In 1506 he was living at Spilimberg, and executed a fresco in the church of the neighbouring village of Valeriano. This painting is still extant; it represents St. Michael between St. John the Baptist and a female saint, and is inscribed "M. Durigo De Lasin a fato far questo S. Michiel per sua Devotione MCCCCVI. adi. 6, Zuane Antonius De Sachis abitante in Spilimbergo." According to Dr. L. Venturi, Pordenone shows himself in this fresco mainly under the influence of Gian Francesco da Tolmezzo. (See *L'Arte*, xi. 457 sq.) In 1508, one Giovanni Antonio is recorded as being an assistant of Pellegrino da San Daniele at Ferrara; it seems very likely that he is identical with Pordenone. (Cf. Joppi, *loc. cit.*, p. 31.)

naturally clings to the salient points in the character of celebrated men; what would have been easy for Pordenone at thirty seems miraculous at twenty, and fragments of a fresco were still preserved in 1859 under the portico of a house to vouch for the truth of Ridolfi's tale. What history has not preserved is the date of this production.¹

Vasari says that Pordenone was driven away from home by an epidemic; and that, whilst it lasted, he spent his time in painting country churches.² About fifteen miles from Pordenone lies the village of Vacile, with a parish church once filled with mural designs. Above the choir-arch is the Annunciate Angel alighting, whilst the Eternal sends the infant Saviour in a ray, and the Virgin receives the message at a desk; ten half-lengths of saints fill the arch soffit, and eight sections of the semi-dome vaulting contain Christ transfigured, the Doctors and Evangelists, Enoch, Elias, and angels. The treatment and technical handling of these frescoes are imperfect. We have remarked in early Friulan works vulgar form and commonplace conception, dissonance and opacity of tone, hard outline and angular drapery. Vacile offers examples of these defects: the Virgin, of a full and regular shape, is disfigured by common and ill-drawn hands; the Saviour is coarsely muscular and squarely heavy; some figures are too large for the rest; flesh-tints of a yellow tinge are hatched with white and red; the shadows are deep and opaque, the dresses of glaring primary tints; exceptional grace distinguishes some of the angels. We shall see that this and other peculiarities are those of Pordenone at San Salvatore of Colalto, where under more favourable auspices and with more experience he still recalls Gian Francesco da Tolmezzo and the early manner of Pellegrino.³

¹ Ridolfi, *Le Marce*, i. 145.

² Vasari, v. 111.

³ Vacile. The frescoes here are not well preserved. The following parts are scaled: arm and hand of the Annunciate Angel, blue dress of the Virgin Annunciate, desk and symbol of the Evangelist St. Matthew, the blue ground behind the figure of David. The head of St. Gregory is spotted, and the red-and-white hatchings are everywhere discoloured. The order of the design in the vaulting from left to right is as follows: Enoch, SS. Jerome and Gregory, the Saviour, SS. Augustine and Ambrose, Elias. In the apex of each section containing the doctors is an angel, and in the lower corners of the same (from left to right) SS. Luke and David, SS. Matthew and Daniel, SS. John and Habakkuk, SS. Mark and Ezekiel, at each corner beneath the Saviour an angel in clouds.

Colalto is an old feudal estate in the neighbourhood of Conegliano. At a very early period its chapel had been adorned with frescoes by an artist of the Giottesque type, but these frescoes only covered the left side and ceiling of the nave; and the remaining spaces had been left distressingly bare. When Pordenone was engaged in the first years of the sixteenth century to complete the cycle he was neither famous nor deserving of fame, but as he proceeded with his task he warmed to it, observed his defects with keen self-criticism, interrupted himself occasionally to seek for new inspirations, and came at last to imitate successfully the Palmesque and Giorgionesque. No one need ask how this process was gone through; the frescoes tell us that the change took place; they bear no dates, and the lords of Colalto have more to do than to search their mouldering archives for records of Pordenone.

Three compositions strike us on entering the chapel—the Epiphany, Annunciation, and Flight into Egypt on the right-hand wall. With truer action, the first of these subjects is still but a repetition of Gian Francesco's design at Barbeano. Striking disproportion between the small, slight figures forming the circle of the Holy Family on the left and the heavier build of the Magi who stand to receive the blessing, illustrates thus early one of Pordenone's most frequent imperfections. The readiness of movement in the young king who takes an ewer from a page, or in the foremost rider of the suite, who curbs a foreshortened jibbing horse, scarcely compensate for want of poise in distribution. Opaque shadow, white-and-red hatching, and staring primaries, betray the unpractised hand of a beginner; yet bold drawing and warm general intonation give promise of future excellence.

The Annunciation, greatly injured in all its parts, replicates the poses and attitudes of the fresco at Vacile.

In the Flight into Egypt we are startled by the mock solemnity and unnatural posture of St. Joseph, and the glaring contrast between the bony dryness of his frame and the overplumpness of the Virgin and her four attendants. We observe also that form is defined with much hardness, and drapery is cast in superabundant rectilinear folds; but the Virgin and Child are prettily grouped, and great care is lavished on the

rich detail of landscape, or on delicate minutiae of children and birds and trophies in the pilasters parting the subjects from each other. What pleased the contemporaries of Pordenone was the daring of his perspective, his instinctive feeling for rendering quick motion, and his taste in ornamentation. We see the dawning of his talent in each of these directions at Colalto. But his manner, with its lively disparities of shape and quaint exaggerations of costume and headdress in the fashion of Palma Vecchio, is in the main Friulan.

The Meeting of Christ and Martha fills the right-hand lunette of the choir. Thought and spirit are evinced in the mode of placing the Saviour and his two apostles between the prostrate females on one hand and the humble males on the other; and if technical skill in treatment fails to strike us as yet, there is undoubted progress in arrangement. Not so, however, in the Raising of Lazarus, immediately beneath the lunette. Here Christ stands in benediction in the middle of the picture; but, being thrown back by perspective into the distance and thus necessarily reduced in size, his person loses its due importance. Lazarus, too, struggling out of the winding-sheet with the help of his friends, instead of being the chief actor in the scene, is concealed almost entirely by the hind-quarters of a man in front, whose bold foreshortening is as striking as it is unfit for the place into which it is thrust. The composition is frittered away by the introduction of a dwarf near the Saviour, and hardly rescued from absolute condemnation by a pretty episode to the left, where a kneeling man talks of the miracle to a child inwardly struggling between fear and curiosity. It was no uncommon thing for Pordenone to commit breaches of pictorial decorum, but his habitual repetition of them invalidates his claim to rank in the first class with his contemporaries. In the meanwhile he continued to improve in drawing, modelling, and chiaroscuro; his drapery took a better mould, and his style, following that of Pellegrino in its expansion, became imbued with a more modern spirit.

Increased mastery is apparent in the Four Evangelists at round openings in the vaulting of the choir, as well as in the Angels and Prophets at the bases of the triangular sections. Stern energy of mien in the saints is skilfully counterbalanced

by grace and pleasing masks in the heavenly messengers, and, except in the excessive marking of the outlines, we are reminded of the principles of treatment peculiar to Correggio. The ceiling is earlier by some years than that of Pellegrino in Sant' Antonio of San Daniele, yet superior to it in more than one respect—superior to it in vigour of tone, relief, and projection of shadows.

Far ahead, again, of anything done by Friulans up to this time, though still but a fanciful transformation of an old Friulan design, is the Last Judgment behind the altar in the choir. Christ, pointing with his right hand across his breast to the abyss, holds with his left the banner of victory, treads upon the globe with his left foot, and presides over Paradise. At his sides are four great seraphs bearing the symbols of the Passion, to the right the Baptist, to the left the Virgin heading the celestial host, beneath the clouds on which this glory reposes four angels darting forward and sounding the coming of the Judgment. Beneath this, and divided into two by the sarcophagus of a noble of the Colalto family, are the partially obliterated legions of the condemned and blest, the former led by a pope covering his face in great despair.

Throughout this composition, and particularly in its upper part, the skill with which the space is distributed is considerable; the forms, though colossal, athletic, and strained, and frequently defective in drawing, especially of the extremities and articulations, are always in movement of extraordinary daring. Light is concentrated upon the figure of the Redeemer, and damped in surrounding objects by a clever gradation of neutral shades and deepening tints of drapery colour, so that the balance, which fails in action and setting, is compensated to some extent by tone. The treatment is more frank than in the earlier numbers of the series, and the flesh, with its golden shimmer, is well relieved by the harmonious chords that surround it. The style is a mixture of the boldness of Signorelli and Correggio, with the affected bends and exaggerated contours of Palma Vecchio.

Having got thus far at San Salvatore, Pordenone paused. We are led to think so by the change which came over his style—a change which seems to involve assimilation of new elements and a certain lapse of time. In 1507, as we saw,

war threatened to break out between the Emperor and Venice ; and war was something more than usually serious for the people of Pordenone. For ages the town had been governed as an Austrian fief by a captain holding the archduke's commission. There was no good feeling between the inhabitants and the surrounding country in time of peace ; hostilities meant siege, assault, and capture. Pordenone surrendered to the Venetians in 1508, and was given to the condottiere Bartolommeo d'Alviano. It reverted to the Imperialists by fortune of battle in 1509, then again in 1511, and remained in their hands till 1514. But then they were expelled, and d'Alviano resumed possession. During the whole period of the struggle between Maximilian and Venice, that is, from 1506 to 1513, there is no trace of our artist in Pordenone. We may believe that some of his time was spent in the lowlands¹ ; we may suppose that he began at the church of San Salvatore, then left it, and finally resumed his labours in the peaceful days of the truce. We can thus fancy that, having finished the parts we have described, he now commenced the left side of the choir, which he completed about 1513. It is there that we detect an alteration in the practice of his art, an alteration presupposing personal contact with great Venetian masters.

At the sides of a window to the left in the choir, and beneath a fresco of Christ at the Limbus, which escapes criticism in consequence of its bad state of preservation, are two most interesting subjects—the Dumbness of Zacharias and the Visitation. In the first, Zacharias sits at a table in a landscape before an arched and highly ornamented portico ; near him is a man in a turban pointing to a scroll on which he asks the name to be written ; he is accompanied by a boy in the puff sleeves and variegated dress of the age, who precedes a nurse with the child and two attendants. There are none of Pordenone's usual contradictions in this picture, which is full of gentleness and composure and nice individualism. A very pleasing interest is given to the man leading the boy, a most graceful youthfulness to the boy himself. The nurse, a handsome slender woman of modest air with a winning glance, forms a charming group with the pretty, well-fed babe. No exaggerations of plumpness

* 1 Cf. *antea*, p. 133, n. 6,

or dryness strike the eye, and nature is consulted simply and naturally. We cannot but perceive that the types which were in Pordenone's mind as he painted this incident were those of Palma and Giorgione.

The Visitation shows us three figures altogether in the spirit of the last; the Virgin with outstretched arms embracing Elizabeth, who smiles at her greeting, and a noble profile of a female to the Virgin's left—all in a landscape with a portico as before. Here the style is still more expanded in the Giorgionesque fashion, the Virgin maternally in the swell of her portly but healthy flesh, the contours given with great freedom, drapery of a large cast though still Palmesque in the breadth of the surfaces and the shallowness of the angular breaks. A masterly half shade throws St. Elizabeth out of the focus of the highest light; warm, transparent flesh, modelled largely yet with soft transitions, dress tints of great harmony and force, a subtle play of atmosphere, illustrate in an agreeable way the cleverness of Pordenone's adaptation of principles derived from the high-class Venetians.¹ We shall have occasion to speak of several pictures like these last frescoes at San Salvatore. Of the

¹ (1) San Salvatore of Colalto, Adoration of the Magi. There are many parts of this fresco scaled away and abraded. Scaled away: part of the mantle of St. Joseph; abraded: the blues of the Virgin and old king's mantle, the distance with the procession and three angels on the upper part of the pent-house. On an imitated stone to the right in the picture and near the jibbing horse we still read the first word of Pordenone's name: "Joannes." The rest is obliterated. (2) Annunciation. Discoloured: the head of the angel, the dress and head of the Virgin. The background is partly gone and partly repainted. (3) Flight into Egypt. All the upper part of the distance is spotted by damp. Martha invites Christ to enter, Christ in the centre with two apostles, Martha prostrate to the left with other females; a male prostrate to the right, in the distance a view of the castle of Colalto. The blue sleeve of Martha's dress is gone. (4) Raising of Lazarus. This fresco is injured by efflorescence, there are but fragmentary outlines of some children in the background. (5) Vaulting: The dress of St. Luke is obliterated, the sleeve of St. Matthew also: St. Mark is greatly damaged by damp. (6) Last Judgment. Abraded or colourless: group of saints to the right of the Saviour, the Virgin's blue dress, St. Peter's yellow mantle and red tunic, two angels with trumpets, and the sky. The elect to the left are all but obliterated. (7) Christ at the Limbus. Though this fresco is almost gone, we can see it is composed in the spirit of Pellegrino's at San Daniele. (8) Dumbness of Zacharias. The blue dress of the nurse is repainted in oil. Two elliptical fragments of intonaco in the arch above Zacharias are gone. (9) Visitation. The Virgin's veil is discoloured, the lower part of St. Elizabeth's dress repainted.

same kind but not contested, are the panels of the Transfiguration once on the altar of the chapel, and now in the castle, of Colalto. In the centre, the Redeemer between Enoch and Elias with the three apostles on the foreground, figures of curt stature one quarter of the life-size; to the right and left, half length, large as life, four saints—Prosdócimo, austere and stolid, with small pinched features in a head of bony projection sinuously but precisely outlined; Peter, square in face, low-browed, with an antiquated mask like that of Pellegrino's early time; the Baptist, young and well conditioned; St. Jerome, dry and lean—Palmesque reminiscences. This is a specimen of Pordenone's ability in throwing life and movement into composition and giving a golden hue to full and fluid flesh-tone.¹

The masterpiece of this period is the Madonna with saints in the church of Susigana, a manor of the Colalto family; and there Pordenone attains to a successful combination of the Giorgionesque, Palmesque, and Friulan. Against a blue sky dotted with white clouds a roofless semi-dome is thrown, faced with pillars culminating in rich capitals, and divided by cornices. On an elevation in this ruin sits the Virgin gracefully holding and affectionately contemplating the naked babe in her arms. He clings with one hand to her veil, throwing his head round to look at St. Catherine, a grand matronly person of somewhat sluggish nature. On the left of the picture, near St. Catherine, a clumsy athlete in a strained posture represents the Baptist, whilst to the right a plump youth with bushy hair stands by the side of a dry and skinny St. Peter. At the foot of the throne a boy-angel in modern dress plays the viol, the precursor of Pellegrino's in the altarpiece of Cividale. There are no pieces of Pordenone's early time which more completely embody his peculiarities and defects. The finest part is undoubtedly the Virgin, whose appearance is very gentle and Giorgionesque. There is something essentially Venetian in the weight and at the same time in the affected delicacy of movements in the hands and fingers of St. Catherine; and this impression is not diminished when we consider the costume, its studied reflec-

¹ Colalto, Transfiguration. The red mantle of Enoch is new and the mantle of Elias is removed. St. Prosdócimo's red pivial is new and likewise part of one eye and temple. The mantle and hand of the Baptist are repainted.

tions, and the care with which the substance and make of stuffs are reproduced. The composition is good and well arranged; the figures are relieved by deep tone on the lighter ground of the distance with an effect the more clever as the dresses have as much variety of tint as the stones of the semi-dome; the outlines are both accurate and finished, a rare quality in the master, and the drapery is cast with an amplitude hitherto unequalled; the colour is harmonious, rich and softly fused without extraordinary heaviness of impasto; but there is too much disparity in the build of the personages; too startling a contrast between muscularity and fleshiness and composure or sudden action; altogether out of character in so grave a scene is the straggling motion of the legs and arms of the infant Christ who is as much too small in stature as he is too brisk and unnatural in motion.¹

Pordenone returned to his native place at the opening of 1513, and, we saw, took for his second wife Elizabeth Quagliata, a widow of some fortune who showed her devotion to him by vesting the whole of her property in his person. From this time forward commissions overwhelming in number and importance poured in upon him.² In 1514 he painted the Glory of St. Anthony and Saints about an antique Madonna in Sant' Antonio of Conegliano, the last of which is preserved in a ruined state in the garden of the Casa Manzoni. The following autumn found him at Villanova, a village within three miles of Pordenone, adorning the church of Sant' Odorico. In 1515 he finished the Virgin of Mercy in the cathedral of Pordenone; at Rorai Grande, in 1516, he covered the whole of the choir with subjects; at Travesio he completed a St. Christopher on the façade of the church, and at Udine a Virgin, Child, and Angels in the loggia of the town-hall. For 1519-20 we have the frescoes of Treviso, part of those in the nave of Cremona cathedral and perhaps the altarpieces of Torre and Moriago. During the first

¹ Susigana. The altarpiece here is injured by damp and by restoring. It is on wood, with figures of life-size. The flesh is bleached by salts and varnishes. On a cartello at the Virgin's feet we read: "Joan Ant. Pordenone."

² April 4, 1513. Pordenone: Elizabeth Quagliata settles her property on Pordenone, her husband. May 19, 1513. Pordenone: Pordenone buys a field for 12 ducats. Aug. 3, 1513: Elizabeth Quagliata appoints Pordenone her agent. The record of May 19 is also in Maniago (*ub. sup.*, 330).

of these years he was exclusively employed in Friuli—for a while on the Livenza, then in the villages round Pordenone or the hamlets west of the Tagliamento. His name was carried at last beyond the boundaries of the hill-country, and he became famous in the Venetian provinces.

We need only touch upon the frescoes of Conegliano and Villanuova to say that they were the natural sequel of those which had been previously carried out at Colalto. From what remains of the four saints in the Manzoni garden, we can discern that they illustrated the most chastened aspect of the master's art. In a youthful Magdalen, a stern St. Ubaldo, a calm St. Augustine, and portly St. Catherine the painter rings the changes as of old, depicting gentleness in the first and noble composure of mien in the second—the last an instance of his uncontrollable habit of putting matronly shape into posture and introducing affected gracefulness into gesture; in rendering form and giving transparence to colour he exhibits progress without forgetting the lessons of Palma Vecchio.¹

At Sant' Odorico of Villanuova, where a series of scenes from the New Testament perished under whitewash, the vaulting of the choir is covered with the traditional subjects of the Doctors, Evangelists and Prophets, which would call for no special notice but that they reveal to us Pordenone's increasing ease and freedom of treatment, and a gradual concretion of the character-

¹ Conegliano. The church of Sant' Antonio has been demolished and the glory of Sant' Antonio perished (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, pp. 78 and 201). The saints in fresco mentioned in the text are much injured. The figures, large as life, are at the sides of an older Virgin and child, much damaged in a sort of square recess. They stand in couples under arched porticos. The blues in the dresses of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Catherine are extensively scaled. The St. Augustine is injured and spotted in the head. The letter T, four times repeated in the lower border of the frescoes, and the flame between the letters are the sign of St. Anthony. In the hands of two angels beneath the central Madonna is a tablet with the words: "Lud. Salodiensis Can. Rego. Lat. Ex Voto." The angels are all repainted except the heads; on the border beneath the tablet, "Joannis An.....tonii opus. . . ." The date, now abraded, is given by Maniago (*ub. sup.*, 201) as 1514.

It is said in Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 149) that Pordenone painted a Rape of Ganymede on the front of the Casa Cometti at Conegliano. This house, No. 395, Piazza dei Noli, is still decorated in the upper story with figures in niches, of Abundance, Prudence, and other allegories. According to Maniago (*ub. sup.*, pp. 77-8, 202), these frescoes were dated 1520—a date which no longer exists. If we judge by the style, the author is Francesco Beccaruzzi or Lodovico Pozzo.

istic features of his style.¹ At the very time of their execution, Pellegrino was working at his second ceiling in Sant' Antonio of San Daniele; and it is very obvious that, whatever the relation may have been between the two artists at an earlier period, Pordenone was now in every respect ahead of him.

In a diary in Pordenone's own hand, he tells, with some self-satisfaction, how he finished a "nicely coloured" picture in the Duomo of Pordenone representing St. Joseph playing with the infant Christ. Payments made by Giovanni Francesco di Tiezzo in June 1515 for this interesting composition are recorded; and the panel itself is in its original place on the first altar to the right in the aisle. The distance is a landscape with blue cones of hills and large bluffs varied with farm-buildings and flocks. Through the depressions of the ground a mountain torrent runs. The Virgin in calm composure covers with her cloak Francesco Tetio, his wife, and three of their family, whose portraits Pordenone had taken in separate canvases before introducing them here. Near the Virgin, St. Christopher, with his feet in the torrent, supports the heavy weight of the infant Christ, grasping with one hand high above his head, with the other low beneath the hip, an unhewn bough. His face is thrown upwards so that he can see the Saviour seated on his shoulder and holding on to his hair. On the other side St. Joseph carries the child in his arms. A warm tone pervades the fluid lights and pastose shadows of the flesh, of which one sees the broad preparation overlaid with semi-transparent and rubbings. In the amiable air of the oval-faced Virgin, Pordenone reminds us much of the high-class Venetians, and even of Titian; it is his gentlest and most comely type. Lotto and Paris Bordone affected the dry muscularity which we

¹ Sept. 10, 1514. Pordenone: the villagers of Villanuova, near Pordenone, contract with Giovanni Antonio, pittore, to paint the choir (*cuba*) of the church of Sant' Odoorico for 48 ducats (Maniago also publishes this record, *ub. sup.*, 307). [** Cf Joppi, loc. cit.*, pp. 31, 39 *sq.*] The Doctors are enthroned in the centres of the four sections of the vaulting; in the corners beneath each figure an Evangelist and a Prophet. The flesh-tints are bleached and discoloured, the blues throughout scraped away and the nimbuses obliterated. St. Augustine and St. Ambrose are damaged by efflorescence; new are the face of St. Jerome, the green mantle of St. Gregory, the blue mantles and red tunics of St. John (who is otherwise in bad condition) and St. Luke, the red dress of David, the red sleeve of Isaiah, and the hair of St. Mark. There are still traces of a St. Christopher on the façade; the rest was whitewashed (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, 201; see also Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 146).

find in the St. Christopher; and the faun-like boy on his shoulders has all the archness of the infants of Correggio. The spiral action of St. Joseph, who looks at the spectator and smiles as he dandles the babe, seems stolen from one of those natural but indescribable movements by which mothers bring merriment into the faces of their nurslings. The only faults to be noted are a certain rawness in the transitions of the flesh, and want of atmosphere in the distance; but these are almost lost in the general gayness of the tints.¹

Equally bold and successful is the slight and sketchy fresco which Pordenone, in a few summer days, threw upon the wall under the loggia of the town hall at Udine.

The holy effigy acquired absolute veneration in course of time, and when that part of the loggia in which it stood was altered in the seventeenth century, a grant was made from the public purse to remove and restore it. In recent days only it was disfigured with a silver crown adapted to the Virgin's head. What particularly characterizes Pordenone is the complicated twist of the Saviour's masculine form by means of which the head, hand, and knee are all made to converge to one point as if for the purpose of showing how cleverly the features and foot can be foreshortened.²

¹ Dec. 15, 1514. Pordenone: will of Giovanni Francesco detto Cargnelutto di Tiezzo figlio di M^o. Colao di Piazza, in which he orders his heirs to spend 30 to 50 ducats on an altarpiece for Santa Maria of Pordenone (altar of the Virgin of Mercy) with the subject described in the text. May 8, 1515. Pordenone: contract of Pordenone with Giovanni Francesco di Tiezzo to paint the altarpiece in question for 47 ducats before Easter next following (Maniago, pp. 306, 307). June 25, 1515. Pordenone [* cf. Joppi, *loc. cit.*, p. 31]: receipt of Pordenone for 11 ducats on account of the above. This is an arched panel with figures large as life. The sky is opaque from restoring. There are pieces scaled out of the farm-houses in the distance to the left, and others in the dress of the Virgin. The only separate portrait of the five is the middle one of the group of three under the Virgin's cloak to the right. It is a bust of a woman of twenty-five on dark ground with a collar of pearls round her throat, warm of tone, and of fluid thick impasto. Another of these portraits described by Maniago (*ub. sup.*, p. 61), preserved with the one described in the Casa Montereale at Pordenone was sold some years before 1871.

A document of this time which does not relate to art is preserved. It is dated Pordenone, June 11, 1515, and is a receipt of Pordenone's for the price of a drawing made of a piece of ground respecting which there were judicial proceedings.

² Sept. 8, 1516. Udine: payments. Sept. 23, 1642. Removal of the fresco (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, 312, 313). The fresco is now in two fragments, one with the

PORDENONE



Alinari photo.]

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD.

[Udine, Museo Civico.

The decoration of Rorai Grande differs from that of other country churches in this, that the centres of the sections in the vaulting of the choir, instead of containing the Doctors of the Church, are filled with subjects in medallions—half-lengths of the Evangelists and Prophets being placed in the corners. In one medallion the Virgin gives the girdle to St. Thomas, the Eternal floating with outstretched arms above the framing, and the apostles standing in groups below. In a second, the Flight into Egypt is repeated with slight variety from San Salvatore of Colalto; then comes a straggling composition of the Sposalizio, and a pretty Presentation in the Temple. Of the Evangelists and prophets, one or two may be selected as typical of the rest—St. Jerome, a man of powerful build and stern appearance, St. Matthew, youthful, fleshy, and plump—Pordenone as usual bold in his treatment, but oscillating between wide extremes reminiscent of Correggio and Pellegrino. It is no doubt in consequence of his rapidity that his contrasts of light and shade are so massive, and that, trusting much to the ground for light, his tints are full of a gay transparence. We are far away from the days of red and white hatching, of opaque shading, and staring primaries. Before he left Rorai Pordenone had covered the whole of the high chapel with incidents from the Passion, and from the legend of St. Lawrence, but, like the façade of Travesio, this cycle was obliterated by neglect and whitewash.¹

During 1519 Pordenone was invited to Treviso by a gentleman of the Ravagnino family to compose a series of mythological

Virgin and Child, and another with three mutilated angels playing instruments. The surface in many places is bared to the preparation. The pieces are now under the loggia of the town house of Udine. [* At present they are in the Museo Civico.]

¹ June 3, 1516. Pordenone: contract of Pordenone with the men of Rorai Grande to paint the choir and its vaulting with the Four Evangelists and Doctors and the Mystery of the Assumption, scenes of the Passion and incidents from the legends of St. Lawrence, the arch of the choir with the Annunciation for 57 ducats. [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 32, 40 *sq.*] The ceiling, which alone remains, is injured throughout by damp; and the colour is obliterated in the corners of all the sections. The blue grounds in the rounds and some of the mantles are repainted. The red tunic of the Eternal and the dress of an apostle in the round of the Virgin giving the girdle are new. The Marriage of the Virgin is all but destroyed. [* As a matter of fact, Pordenone did not execute all the frescoes at Rorai which he had pledged himself to paint. The decoration of the choir was therefore in 1521 completed by Marcello Fogolino. Cf. *antea*, ii. 149, n. 1.]

subjects for the front of his palace. It was a noble work, for which he asked the moderate sum of fifty scudi; yet Ravagnino protested against the charge, and refused payment. It was agreed that Titian should be consulted. He came from Venice for the purpose, and was so struck with the beauty of the painting that he told Ravagnino not to press for a valuation.¹

About the same period two men of high ecclesiastical dignity in Treviso—the bishop, Rossi, and his vicar, Malchiostro—showed their munificence by founding chapels for themselves and their dependents in Trevisan churches. Malchiostro's chapel in the Duomo of Treviso was finished in 1519; he took advantage of the joint presence of Pordenone and Titian to entrust to them the decoration of the walls. After some deliberation the scheme most congenial to them was found to be this, that Titian should design the Annunciation on the altar, whilst Pordenone completed the subject by depicting the Eternal descending amidst angels in the ceiling. The rest of the space was to be left to Pordenone to fill with scriptural and legendary incidents. During this negotiation Pordenone probably paid a visit to Venice, where Titian held a high place in public estimation. The Assunta of the Frari had just then been finished, and Pordenone, who had every reason to be satisfied with Vecelli's recent acknowledgment of his talent, might naturally feel inclined to see some of his contemporary's latest masterpieces. If, in later years, jealousy and rivalry arose between the two painters, there was a time, as we now perceive, when they were united by friendship, or at least by professional esteem.

The Malchiostro chapel is a rectangle with a cupola and semi-dome. To the right of the entrance a circular opening gives light to the space; beneath it is a figure of St. Liberale, protector of Treviso, in a niche. On the right is Titian's Annunciation, with St. Peter and St. Andrew on the side-walls in the semi-dome curve. St. Liberale, in armour, is

¹ Ridolfi, *Le Marav.*, i. 147. The subjects were: Iphigenia and Diana; Venus giving a shield to Æneas; Bacchus, Vulcan, and Mars. But between this and the date of the frescoes of Borai there are records of Pordenone in his native place. Feb. 19, 1517. Pordenone: record showing that he was at Pordenone. Jan. 14, 1518. Pordenone umpire at Udine. Feb. 4, 1518. Pordenone gives a power of agency to Ser Bertolo Sabino.

accompanied by an angel, who points to a vision of the Virgin and Child floating in a circular halo in the heavens—an allegory suggestive of the rescue of Treviso from the perils of a siege ; on the left the Adoration of the Magi and the Visitation ; in the angles below the entablature the Four Doctors in medallions ; above the entablature a simulated balustrade and an open sky, in which the Eternal with his angels sends the Spirit to the Annunciate Virgin. A niche in the balustrade contains a carved bust of Malchiostro, beneath which are the lines :

“Brocardus Melchiostrus Parmensis
 Cañ. Tarviš. Sacratiss. dicatum
 Una cum fornice ceteroque ornata
 Sua impensa fecit.
 Bern. Rubeo Antist. Tarvis.
 Bene de se merit.
 Tunc Bononiam sapienter ac fortiter prolegato regente.
 Ann. Dom. MDXIX mens. Oct. F.”

On a tomb in the chapel :

“Rever. Brocardus Melchiostrus
 Virginis Deiparæ dicavit.”

And on a tomb in the Epiphany :

“Brocardi Mal —
 Cano Tar.
 cura atque
 Sumptu —
 Jo. Ant. Corti —
 cellus P.
 MDXX.”

If Pordenone contrasts favourably in anything with Titian it is in the cleverness with which he executes fresco. We can easily imagine that he knew he could not show his skill to better advantage than by pitting his wall-painting against the altarpiece of his competitor. He was no doubt perfectly aware of the dangers which beset him in the task of covering the globe of a cupola with a single colossal figure. In whatever position he might take that figure, supposing it to fill the

greater part of the space at his command, he would have to perform extraordinary feats of drawing. Far from shrinking from difficulties, he courted them, and as he represents the Eternal floating down from heaven with outstretched arms in the direction of the altar, he had to calculate that the head, hands, and feet at the verge of the space must necessarily be nearer the spectator's eye than the torso which is in the centre. In the same way he had to determine the form of numerous angels, so that they might appear from below to keep their proper shape, gambolling half hid amongst each other or behind the clouds. His success in this endeavour was great and decisive. In spite of their large size and fleshiness, the angels are very charming in face, and the life which pervades them is so great that they produce an impression not unlike that of coils of writhing serpents. Making use of the rays thrown upon the ceiling by the circular window, Pordenone gives greater depth to the sky on one side than on the other, and manages the contrasts so that light and shade are in equipoise throughout, either by an exact quantity of each in one figure, or by giving more to one and less to another. Atmosphere, mellow modelling, nice gradations, and a golden shimmer are united to a playful elasticity of movements; and effects are thus produced which remind us of Correggio and Titian, more especially of Titian in the *Assunta*, by the subtle variety with which cloud greys are brought out against each other. The Eternal, a bald and vulgar mask with a long beard and herculean torso, is one of the master's most daring attempts at foreshortening, ill drawn and full of incorrectness in extremities, but causing us to forget in its life and motion the faults which it displays. With great judgment the red tunic is made to cling to the frame, whilst the broad folds of the mantle, resting on the mist or floating in the air, are relieved in deep and brilliant blue on the less intense tint of the sky. We analyse the parts and find them all imperfect in something, but the aspect of the whole is grand and imposing.

Under similar difficulties, and with not less mastery of handling and perspective, Pordenone depicts St. Liberale with the angel in the ruins of Treviso. Careless of the sharp curve of the niche, he gives us a background with a round temple and



Allard photo.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI.

[Tiepolo, Duomo.

embattled buildings, the tower of Treviso, a pyramid, and crumbling porticoes. St. Liberale, in his cuirass and mail, walks majestically in an orange cloak borne on the breeze, whilst the colossal messenger of heaven, in startling action and vehement gesture, points upwards to the vision.

In the Adoration, the old king, of great size, kneels in the very middle of the foreground doing homage to the Virgin on the right; two others are grouped about him, with riders after them and two porters to the left, one of whom carries a striped sack, whilst the other, turning his back, spends his giant strength in closing a trunk with his knee. A pleasing portrait of a man with falling hair and bending head in rear of the infant Christ is made to do duty for St. Joseph. Highly characteristic of Pordenone is the curious twist in the Virgin, the disproportionate smallness and the strain of the child, the affluence of dress in the Magi, the vulgar strength of the humbler dramatis personæ. Life, motion, and modern realism make the picture attractive, but, as in the Resurrection of Lazarus at Colalto, so here, the principal figure is lost in the massive proportions of the minor actors in the scene. At no very distant interval of time Paolo Veronese was to arrange this form of composition in a more dignified shape, whilst the Bassanos were to reduce it to more commonplace vulgarity.

The remaining frescoes in the chapel are treated boldly, but with the obvious inferiority of a subordinate; and such critics as are inclined to distinguish in them the hand of Pomponio Amalteo have only to remember that Pomponio was born in 1505, that he could not handle fresco in this fashion in his fourteenth year, and that, if he really had a share in the decoration, it was at a later part of the sixteenth century.¹

Pordenone himself may have done more at Treviso than is

¹ Ridolfi, *Le Marav.*, i. 147; Maniago, pp. 79, 204, 205; Crico, *Lettere sulle belle arti Trevigiane*, ub. sup., p. 27. The Four Doctors are much injured and spotted—one all but gone. In the curve of the semi-dome the distance is injured by damp, and the left-hand corner has lost its intonaco. The Vision of the Virgin and Child is partly abraded, partly obliterated. The blue drapery of the angel is damaged. In the Adoration of the Magi (life-size) the flesh-tint of the Virgin is discoloured, the mantle reduced to the ashen preparation. The cushion on which the child rests is scaled; the middle distance to the left and the town to the right are effaced. The Visitation in the lunette to the left is likewise injured.

usually supposed. In the Dead Christ at the Monte di Pietà—a picture which enjoys a great though adventitious celebrity as a genuine Giorgione—we find some angels with the weight, action, and neglected drawing peculiar to those in the cupola of the Malchiostro chapel.

We may presume that a man so peculiarly ductile as Pordenone would find great pleasure in extending his acquaintance with the artists who had filled or were filling the edifices of North Italy with their pictures. He had been influenced, and therefore pleased, by the works of Titian, in contemplating which he admired varieties of colouring and conceptions of character far more subtle and dignified than his own. We can easily believe also that to wander in new scenes, study more masters, and decorate edifices in large and important cities like those of Lombardy, would have more charm for him than to spend months in the remote hamlets of Friuli. He had scarcely returned home in February 1520 than the passion for travel seized him anew,¹ and he suddenly journeyed to Mantua, where the “magnifico” Paris of Ceresana invited him to adorn the Palazzo del Diavolo with frescoes. The speed with which this palace was built had given rise to the legend that fiends set it up in a single night. The rapid manner in which Pordenone covered its front with a picture of Parnassus and heathen episodes might well contribute to confirm this popular tale. The court of the Gonzagas at this period chiefly employed the Costas and Bonsignori, and was on the eve of securing the services of Giulio Romano. It seems to have disdained the large and colossal fable painting of the impetuous Friulan; but he little cared, it would seem, for a patronage ill-suited to his independent spirit, and, attending only to the matter in hand, he varied such leisure as he got by looking at the masterpieces of Mantegna. It was in consequence of the name which he acquired at Mantua that he was requested to visit Cremona; it is at Cremona that we see how much he had paid attention to Mantegna.²

¹ On June 11, 1520, he was at Torre, near Pordenone. See *postea*, p. 179, n. 1.

² Vasari, v. 113; Ridolfi, *Le Marav.*, i. 160; and Maniago, pp. 80, 209, and 320; but see also the contract at Cremona, in Maniago, pp. 318–22. The

Pordenone met the superintendents of the cathedral of Cremona by appointment on August 20, 1520. He entered into an agreement with them to paint some recesses above the arches of the nave and a large space over the inner portal. But a few years had elapsed since the nave was begun by Boccacino; it had been continued by Altobello, Giovanni Francesco Bembo, and Romanino. Three of the recesses near the portal remained to be filled in, and these were the first allotted to our artist.

In punctual obedience to the terms of his contract he completed Pilate delivering Christ to the Jews on October 9, the Procession to Calvary, the Preparation for the Crucifixion, and the Crucifixion itself in the following September. It is characteristic of his energy that, though he was bound to produce the cartoons and submit them for inspection before they were transferred to the wall, he was not prevented by this from finishing the first of his compositions within six weeks. One of the conditions to which he submitted was that his work should not be inferior to that of the Ceresana palace at Mantua, another that he should not claim to continue the series unless the first fresco should be approved. He had not been two months at work before sounds of praise were heard from every man's mouth. Such an art as this Cremona had never seen; it had such an effect on Cremonese artists that they all learnt to imitate it.

Unhappily Pordenone's wall-paintings were sadly ill-treated by time and worse by restorers; and the absence of colour in some figures is as detrimental to their general effect as the refreshing of outlines in others. Yet there is no grander episode in any of the master's frescoes than that in which Pilate washes his hands before the people, and one of the chief priests derisively points at the Saviour as he is dragged away before the mob. The frequent want of compactness in arrangement or action which marks many of Pordenone's designs is to be found in the mounted captain forcing back the crowd, his most powerful realism and command of vehement motion in the Virgin stumbling on the road, or the Saviour scourged by the soldier. There is great disproportion between the nearer and more

subjects described by Ridolfi are Parnassus with the Gods and the Muses, Diana with one of her dogs, satyrs in monochrome, and beneath the roofing a frieze of children.

distant personages. Unpleasant but masterly is the third scene, where the executioner loosens the rope to nail the wrist of Christ to the beam; and terrible ferocity is exhibited in the guards who fight—some of them with knives—for the garment. The Saviour and thieves are strong foreshortenings even for Pordenone, precursors of those which Tintoretto carried out with so much daring and success.

The Crucifixion displays an art based on that of the old Friulans, but modified first by Pordenone's greater talent, next by his dramatic energy in rendering form and movement. It is more masculine, more vivid and grandiose than that of Pellegrino, and superior in its adaptation of Giorgionesque principles to anything produced by Romanino. It casually recalls the Leonardesque, and particularly Bazzi, in such groups as that of the fainting Virgin.¹

Autumn, 1521, found Pordenone at home attending to local commissions. We discover him in the spring of the following year painting a gonfalone for the villagers of Valle and an altarpiece for the church of Strada; a little later at Udine adorning the Tinghi palace. On the front of this edifice, where Neptune and a syren support a pillar surmounted by a cardinal's hat, Vasari recognized the arms of Pompeo Colonna, the friend of the Tinghis; he further describes the clever distribution and perspective of the sham architecture, the various divisions of the space with its copious ornament and its statues in niches, a combat of giants with Pallas, the fall of the giants, and Olympus. Of all this we see but the ruins, the syren, Neptune, Pan, Minerva, gambols of monsters, friezes with sacrifices, and other mythological incidents. The Tinghi family is extinct, and their palace at last became an inn.²

¹ Cremona. The contracts are in Maniago, *ub. sup.*, pp. 318-24. In addition to the parts mentioned in the text, six prophets in the spandrels below the recesses (medallions) are by Pordenone. The whole of the frescoes have scaled, especially in the skies, which are all brought down to the red preparation; and in addition to this, the outlines have been traced anew and the surfaces are in a great measure repainted—effect doubtless of the grand cleaning and repainting carried on in 1747 at the Duomo of Cremona as described by Zaist., *Pitt. Crem.*, i. 26. The Crucifixion especially is in very bad condition. The figures are all much above life-size. See also Calvi, *Notizie, ub. sup.*, ii. 93, 94.

² Feb. 24, 1522. Pordenone: deed of agreement between Pordenone and the men of Valle to paint a gonfalone with a Dead Christ supported by an angel

PORDENONE



Alinari photo.]

[*Cremona, Duomo.*

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS AND A DONOR.

During a second visit to Cremona, which lasted till the end of December 1522, Pordenone executed a vast Deposition from the Cross on the wall to the right of the high portal in the Duomo, and an altarpiece for the chapel of the Schizzi. On nine colossal and heavy figures which make up the first of these subjects, he left the perfect stamp of his manner, dealing in the most violent exaggerations of action, the strongest indications of passion, the most athletic cast of form. In these strong but vulgar impersonations we have the models admired and copied by the facile hand of Rubens, and in that of the Redeemer in steep foreshortening an inspiration from Mantegna's well-known Christ "in scurto." The altarpiece, though flayed and stained, offers the usual type of his Madonnas, a comely, fleshy matron with a handsome boy-angel playing between St. Donninus and St. Paul; whilst the donor kneeling at one side recalls the grave and dignified Venetians in Titian's *Madonna di Casa Pesaro*. But in his reminiscences of Titian and Mantegna, Pordenone can no more claim to possess the science of the one than the colour of the other, and in both instances he raises his art above the common only by the prestige of a bold, free hand and easy outlines.¹

At no great distance from Cremona, where Pordenone spent nearly two whole years, lay the cities of Parma and Correggio, at each side for 12 ducats, of which sum one-half to be paid in wheat. April 14. Pordenone receives part of his fee for an altarpiece painted by him for the church of SS. Giacomo e Filippo at Strada. [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 32, 42 sq.] June 5. Pordenone gives a power to the notary, Girolamo Rorario.

Vasari praises the frescoes of the Tinghi palace in vol. v. pp. 112 sq.; see also Ridolfi, *Le Marav.*, i. 151, who says some of the designs were engraved by Odoardo Fialetti. See also Maniago, pp. 72, 198, 199, and 313. The house is now No. 1849, Contrada Santa M. Maddalena. Three new windows broken into the front wall have done much harm to the decoration. Inside the house we find paintings of gambols of children on gold ground and landscapes; they are poor, and by artists of a later period.

¹ Dec. 30, 1522. Cremona: payments to Pordenone for the Deposition from the Cross (Maniago, pp. 322-4). This fresco is in no better condition than the others. The blue mantle of the Virgin is scraped away (the figures are over life-size). In a lunette above the Deposition is an imitated niche with a Sacrifice of Isaac. The altarpiece (wood, figures of life-size) is justly praised by Vasari (vi. 493), but it is covered with wax droppings, and is damaged by flaying and repainting. Of the frescoes supposed by the Anonimo (Ed. Morelli, p. 35) to have been done by Pordenone in the refectory of the Minorites (Sant' Agostino) at Cremona, we know nothing.

one of them the birthplace, the other celebrated for the works, of one of the greatest painters of the sixteenth century. We can scarcely believe that the peripatetic Friulan, if he had not done so before, did not now visit these cities and study the masterpieces of Allegri. We should think it likely, too, that he would not stop there, but that in his passion for wandering he would proceed to Florence to see with his own eyes what was true of all that was told of the skill exhibited by Michelangelo, Raphael, and del Sarto.¹

As towards the spring of 1524 Pordenone went up into the hills west of the Tagliamento and took up his abode near the castle of Spilimberg, he produced a series of vast distempers for the organ of Santa Maria, in which there are distinct reminiscences of the Correggiesque and Michelangesque. It is not that we discern more startling foreshortening, action, or perspective than of old, but that there is something unusually grand in the conception and character which suggests familiarity with the modern masters of central Italy.

In the Assumption, where the Virgin is wafted upwards from the floor of a long arcade, and the apostles are gathered together about the tomb in attitudes of extraordinary diversity, we are reminded of Andrea del Sarto and Pontormo; in the Fall of Simon Magus, who drops from on high, head foremost but away, St. Peter on the left foreground seems adapted from Titian's Assunta; in other respects Pordenone is himself, and at his best. In a Conversion of St. Paul the horse in full front seems struck as by a thunderbolt, and rears, with one foreleg out of the picture, throwing his rider in helpless tremor. There is a surprising dash in the outlines of the figures and their drapery; and—most appropriately—the vanishing points lie low to suit the elevation at which the canvases are placed.

The mere enumeration of Pordenone's works immediately after this is imposing. Before leaving Spilimberg he finished an altarpiece and five small scenes from the life of the Virgin

¹ The following show that Pordenone was home again early in 1523. May 8, 1523. Pordenone: Pordenone purchases land for 60 ducats. August—December 1523. Pordenone being absent, his wife Elisabetta purchases certain lands in his name.

on the well of the organ at Santa Maria, and some frescoes in the castle¹; in the spring of 1525 he painted the façade of the church of Valeriano; in the following summer (1525) the choir of San Pietro of Travesio, and soon after, saints on piers in the Duomo, and an altarpiece in San Gottardo of Pordenone. In 1526 he adorned the front of a chapel at Blessano, and delivered a Madonna with Saints to the parish church of Varmo. A Nativity and other scriptural subjects in the churches of Valeriano and Pinzano, the well of the organ, and an Annunciation in San Pietro Martire of Udine were the labours of 1527; and last, not least, though of uncertain date, are the frescoes of the parish church at Casarsa, and those outside San Martino of Valvasone.

In comparison with the wide and imposing cycle at Travesio that of Valeriano is a slight and unimportant one.² Pordenone,

¹ See Maniago, p. 308, for proof of Pordenone's stay at Spilimberg in the summer of 1524. [* Cf. Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 33, 43 sq.] The canvases of the organ are distemper, and in poor condition. In the Assumption the background and sky, the blue dress of the Virgin, and the lake-coloured mantle of an apostle in the foreground, have lost their colour. In the Fall of Simon, St. Peter's dress is gone, and the sky and architecture are spoiled by repainting. The glory in the Conversion of St. Paul is repainted so that the repaints cover the lances of the soldiers in the middle ground. The reds are all renewed, also the leg of St. Paul. Of the small panels once forming the well of the organ: (1) the Nativity of the Virgin is ruined; (2) Sposalizio, some heads only are kept; (3) Epiphany, all gone except the Virgin and Child, the old king, and fragments of other figures; (4) Flight into Egypt, bare; (5) Christ disputing in the Temple, bare. These panels are now in the sacristy. There is nothing else by Pordenone in the church, but he is said to have painted in the castello, on the gates, and in a private house, and to have finished a Madonna between St. Roch and St. Sebastian (Vasari, v. 113; Ridolfi, i. 152; Maniago, pp. 67, 194, 195, 308). The Madonna is missing. There is a head in a round in a pediment above the gate of the castle of Spilimberg. The façade in which the gate stands is also full of frescoes, but we have seen (*antea* in Dario) that they are older than Pordenone's time.

² Oct. 1, 1524. Valeriano: agreement to paint the façade in Maniago, p. 309. The front is a gable, with remnants of a frieze of children. In the centre are two angels holding a crown between them, all that remains of a fresco of the Madonna; to the left of these are fragments of an Epiphany. In the niche above the portal are remains of an Ecce Homo; left of the portal St. John the Baptist between St. Florian (upper part preserved) and St. Stephen (almost obliterated); right of portal injured by a long vertical split and by abrasion, a colossal St. Christopher. The frescoes were probably painted in the spring of 1525, as Pordenone was at Pordenone all the winter, *e.g.* Nov. 2, 1524. Pordenone:

we remember, had designed the ornament of the façade at Travesio in 1517; he now filled up the walls and ceiling of the choir, leaving the arch to be completed in 1532. In some respects the difficulties with which he had to contend were similar to those he found at Treviso, but complicated by numerous divisions and spaces of larger area. The choir—an octagon with a lancet window—has seven fields and coved lunettes, giving a furnace shape to the vaulting. Two faces to the right and left are doubled for a Conversion of St. Paul and an Epiphany. Three single ones between these two contain the Last Supper, the Pietà, and the Martyrdom of St. Paul; in the seven lunettes are the Fall of Simon Magus, and scenes from the legend of St. Peter; in the coves, scripture subjects in medallions on a mosaic ground with ornaments of leaves, birds, quadrupeds, and children, the pendentives cleverly packed with angels helping to support the clouds of a glory. In the centre of this glory, and therefore in the middle of the furnace vault, the Saviour stands all but naked on the mist, the breeze winding a flap of his blue mantle across his hips. With one hand he holds the cross, with the other he points to the higher heaven, where the Eternal issues forth with his head and arms outstretched, breathing out the Spirit. About the Redeemer, but in a lower sphere, groups of prophets are lulled by angels playing a concert above them. Into this paradise St. Peter is wafted up from earth in reverent attitude of prayer. We are accustomed now to the daring action and energetic foreshortening of Pordenone; we expect from his exuberant fancy a supernatural display of vehement movement, projecting muscle, and giant proportion. He dallies at Travesio with the greatest difficulties of art, and he does so with a confident and neglectful ease bordering on presumption. Success, however, is assured by exceptional skill in distribution, a strong concentration of light on the three principal figures, a judicious veil of passing shade in some of the prophets, and a masterly modulation of cloud-greys and vestment-tints. In the midst of this gorgeous

Pordenone buys certain lands. Feb. 1, 1525, and May 3, 1525. Pordenone: Pordenone buys certain lands. [• The above-mentioned frescoes must have been finished somewhat earlier than the authors suppose, as Pordenone acknowledged having received payment for them in 1524 (see Maniago, *ub. sup.*).

medley the flesh-tone shines with a charming brightness in a vapour glow worthy of Correggio.

Count Fabio Maniago, in describing these pieces some ninety years ago, felt justified in alluding to the good state of their preservation; but efflorescence and scaling have since impaired their beauty, and a great number of the compositions are altogether obliterated.¹

In the next period of his career Pordenone seems to have modified in some measure the colossal nature of his style. We have an example of this in the Glory of San Gottardo, now in the town house of Pordenone, where majesty in the principal figure is combined with an unusual simplicity of form in two assistant saints.² Another instance of the same kind is the Virgin of Mercy which was painted—probably about this time—for a member of the family of Ottobon at Pordenone. Canova purchased this picture, with a quasi-replica in the form of a

¹ Jan. 7, 1526. Travesio: payments to Pordenone, 112 ducats (Maniago, 316). Of the frescoes in the octagon of the choir, the conversion of St. Paul is all but gone; the Epiphany, central part, without intonaco, and the rest scaled; Last Supper, head of Christ gone; Pietà, all but gone. Of the Martyrdom of St. Paul, the saint and executioner alone remain. The scenes in the lunettes are: (1) Fall of Simon Magus, intonaco almost all dropped out. (2) St. Peter before the Judge, the intonaco in the right corner gone. (3) St. Peter visited by the angel. (4) St. Peter meeting Christ, left side injured. (5) St. Peter before the Judge. This and (6) the Funeral and (7) the Resurrection of Tabitha (?) are obliterated. The frescoes in the sides have figures of the life-size, those in the lunettes figures of half the life-size. The subjects in the medallions of the coves are: (1) Moses receiving the Tables. (2) Sacrifice of Isaac. (3) David with the Head of Goliath. (4) Jonas. (5) Lot's Wife turned into a Pillar of Salt. (6) Judith and Holophernes. (7) Samson and Delilah (?). In the vaulting the sky is discoloured and leaden, the choir of angels to the left is discoloured, the forehead of the prophet to the right is bared, and the clouds beneath the glory are abraded. The whole of the series is damaged by efflorescence and damp. In Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 147) Travesio is called Treves.

² Oct. 13, 1525. Pordenone: deed of agreement between the Brotherhood of San Gottardo, San Sebastiano e San Rocco (Cappuccini) and Pordenone to paint an altarpiece for the high altar of the church of San Gottardo (now razed) to represent (on canvas) S. Gottardo between SS. Roch and Sebastian, with three scenes from the lives of the saints in a predella for 70 ducats. [* See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 33, 45.] The altarpiece is now in the commune of Pordenone; the figures are life-size, the St. Sebastian much damaged, and the ceiling of the portico repainted. There are two boy-angels playing instruments at the foot of the throne; the predella is gone. Several frescoes in San Gottardo perished when the church was destroyed by fire (Maniago, p. 61).

gonfalone, at Rome; and both were transferred to his chapel at Possagno in the Trevisan march. Subsequently the first of these Virgins became the property by exchange of the academy of arts at Venice.¹ What specially distinguishes the figures—and they are numerous—is an almost absolute freedom from exaggerations of proportion and posture; and this is also noticeable in the two frescoes of St. Erasmus and St. Roch on the piers of the Duomo at Pordenone. In both these saints the outlines are uncommonly pure and the treatment remarkably correct. St. Erasmus leans against the edge of a niche with one hand on his head, the other behind his back, his worn face indicating pain. The peculiar torture which he underwent is suggested with clearness but without revolting realism by a small windlass at his feet. The slender form is admirably studied from nature. St. Roch, as we learn from a fragment of Pordenone's journal, is a portrait of himself, with long hair divided in the middle, a well-chiselled nose, an expressive mouth and eyes. In direct contradiction to the impression which his works produce, this portrait is kindly and winning and gives us no clue to that ferocity which induced Boschini to write:

“Le to' bravure fu da homo da ben;
Che infin el to' penel giera la spada.”

but the same impression, or very nearly, so is created by the so-called likeness of the master by himself at the Uffizi in Florence, a bust almost smothered in smears.²

¹ Venice Academy, No. 321. Canvas, m. 2·80 high by 2·99, engraved in Zanotto's *Pinacoteca dell'Accademia Veneta*, to which see also the text. The Virgin is on a pedestal, her mantle held up by angels, and two saints at her sides, the beato Simon Stock and the beato Angelo in monkish dress. In a gallery fronting the pedestal, but lower than the foreground, a monk is half seen looking up in prayer, and seven members of the family of Ottobon kneel and stand; on the foreground are the two chiefs male and female of the family. The picture is much injured. The counterpart of this piece at Possagno is a gonfalone, with only two kneeling saints, a canvas with figures of life-size much damaged and restored. On the obverse of the gonfalone are two saints standing (and now scarcely to be distinguished, owing to repaints, as a work of Pordenone).

² Pordenone, Duomo. Frescoes of life-size, the St. Erasmus, spoiled by dirt and spots; the St. Roch, with left hand and sleeve injured. Beneath the St. Erasmus the words: “S. Erasmus Eps. Iōes Antonius.” Maniago (pp. 62, 187) records a date

PORDENONE



Alinari photo.]

THE VIRGIN OF MERCY.

[*Venice Academy.*

There is not one of the canvases and frescoes executed between 1524 and 1527 that does not illustrate a phase in Pordenone's character, but none of them have any special novelty. They may be dismissed with the general remark that though many are injured in condition, and some damaged beyond redemption, they show no symptoms of a decline in power, and, whether produced for remote villages or in more populous places, they are all conscientiously and ably treated.¹ A higher interest clings alone to the wall-paintings of Casarsa.

of 1525 which is now illegible. In the spandrels of the niche are medals with profile heads in them, at the corner of the niche to the left a mitre. On the step upon which St. Roch rests his right foot an inscription of later date than the fresco has been scratched in with a nail to the following purport: "M^o. Luis fiol de M^o. Zuan Ionardo da Pezana (?) a fãt fare p sua devocione, 1523 die duo decimo mēsis novembris fuit. . . . (?) Magna. . . . (?) copia. Adio oportuit nos a dorno fra . . . et" an inscription which Maniago refers to the quarrel between Pordenone and his brother, giving it in the following terms: " . . . Novembris ne tam magna neq̃ copia . . . oportuit nos e domo fratris exire ne pondere premere-mur. Joannes faciebat." But Pordenone and his wife were only obliged to leave the paternal house in 1533, as we shall have occasion to see. There is not much importance to be attached to the date of 1523, as we perceive, but it may be that the two figures were not done at the same time. It is also to be observed that Maniago in giving the inscription, says, erroneously, it is beneath the St. Erasmus. That the St. Roch is Pordenone's own portrait is stated in a fragment of his diary in Maniago (p. 62). The portrait at the Uffizi, No. 373, is a life-size bust of a man in a yellowish cap, a hand on a parapet. This hand is quite new, and the rest of the picture is more or less repainted. See, for Pordenone's character, and the verses quoted in the text, Boschini, *Carta del Navegar*, p. 201.

¹ Blessano. In this village we still see the remnants of a fresco with the Flight into Egypt on a house once consecrated to holy purposes. An angel leads the ass, and St. Joseph, in rear of the animal, supports the child in benediction on the Virgin's lap. To the right and left are heads belonging to two abraded groups of brethren and children. The angel is half gone, the Virgin's mantle partly dimmed, partly effaced. With difficulty one reads the date "MDXXVI."

April 5, 1526. Varmo: agreement between the men of Varmo and Pordenone to paint "palam partim in pictura partim in sculptura" for three hundred ducats (Maniago, pp. 314, 315). [* Cf. Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 36, 46 *sqq.*] This is a highly ornamental altarpiece (canvas) in the parish church, with life-size figures. In a central compartment, under an archway, the Virgin is enthroned, with the child erect on her knee. Three angels at foot play or tune instruments. This canvas has been cleaned with corrosives and retouched. To the left St. Lawrence, with the gridiron, and St. James (rubbed and spotted); to the right St. Anthony the abbot and St. Michael, archangel, with Satan under his feet weighing the souls (same condition as the rest). All this is in a rich wooden altar-frame, with an Eternal in a pediment, and the Angel and Virgin Annunciate in volutes at its sides, and a bas-relief of Christ supported by angels in a predella. This must

In the parish church of this border town Pordenone filled the choir with incidents from the legend of the finding of the cross, and covered the sections of the vaulting with figures of the Doctors, Evangelists, and Prophets. In the arch-soffit and piers he introduced the usual number of saints; but little more than half a century after their completion the frescoes were subjected to a necessary repair, so that most of the compositions, excepting those of the ceiling, have lost all claim to originality. It is a very striking feature in the stern impersonations at Casarsa that they display a chastened

once have been a very fine picture, with figures of the compact character natural to Pordenone in these years. A copy of the altarpiece is in the Casa Colloredo Mainardi at Goritz.

June 30, 1527. Valeriano: receipt of Pordenone for fifty-three lire on account of his painting above the altar (Maniago, p. 309). This is a fresco of the Nativity (life-size) between SS. Anthony and Floriano in the church of the Hospital of Santa Maria, and a Flight into Egypt. The execution is rapid and somewhat neglected. The Flight into Egypt is composed of figures one-third of life. Of the same period we have frescoes of St. Sebastian attended by other saints and a kneeling patron in the church of Pinzano; the simulated pilasters also filled with saints; an ill-preserved series. About St. Sebastian we have St. Nicholas and the archangel Michael (repeated from the altarpiece of Varmo), St. Stephen, and St. Roch. In the pilasters and arch St. Floriano, St. Lucy (half-length), St. Urban, and St. Apollonia. The lower part of all the figures is obliterated, the shadows of the St. Sebastian bleached, the sky changed in tone, the head of St. Stephen injured, also the eyes of St. Lucy. In the same church, on a wall to the right of the portal, is a Virgin of Mercy with patrons under her cloak (her blue mantle abraded), a mutilated fresco with figures large as life—all this in Pordenone manner and of this time (1525-6). In the same style we have fragments of a Madonna on the front of an edifice now used as a mill in the vicinity of Valeriano. The arms of Savorgnano are in the border of the fresco.

Mar. 30, 1527. Udine: minute of meeting of Council in which it is resolved to give Pordenone the painting of the well of the organ. Oct. 28, 1527. Contract. Jan. 5, 1528. Payment (Maniago, p. 312). There are seven canvases (distemper) in all, two—SS. Hermagoras and Fortunatus carried to the Tomb, and St. Hermagoras performing Rites of Baptism—in a very bad state from repaints, in the sacristy of the Duomo; the rest in the organ-loft. The compositions are good and lively, and freely treated. They have all been reduced in size. The Annunciation in San Pietro exists, but is so repainted as to be scarcely recognizable as a work of Pordenone. The Eternal forming a lunette to that picture also exists in the choir, but full of stains and dirt (Vasari, v. 112). Documents illustrating the time of the production of these pieces exist as follows: Mar. 31, 1526. Pordenone: purchase by Pordenone of a field at Aviano. Dec. 15, 1526. Udine: Pordenone is elected umpire between Giovanni Martini and the syndics of the parish of Mortigliano to value Giovanni's altarpiece of carved oak.

simplicity and a quiet grandeur much more nearly related to the creations of Fra Bartolommeo and Raphaellesque than any that Pordenone had produced elsewhere. He represents the Eternal appearing in heaven and looking down upon the Redeemer in glory with a calm dignity in face and form and a noble selection of proportions which are altogether wanting in those of Treviso and Travesio. His style is purified of many vulgarities and exaggerations. Angels forming the glory are thrown together with novel variety and grace, some as children supporting the circling clouds, others as choristers at the sides. In youthful masks and shapes like that of the evangelist Matthew, who sits on the mist with St. Jerome, redundancy of flesh is cleverly avoided, and Correggio's tenderness is attained in the friendly look and sentimental bend of the head. When we revert to Pordenone's familiar type in the St. Jerome, realism is refined by expression. In St. Ambrose we have the majesty of Fra Bartolommeo. No decoration of the kind by Pordenone is so completely masterly in distribution or so spirited in treatment.¹

¹ Casarsa. A great part of these frescoes were renewed by artists of Pordenone's school, the style of the restoration being that of Pomponio Amalteo in his later and feebler period of 1576; yet even the restored parts are in a very bad condition. But first as to the state of the ceiling of the choir. The blues are all gone, *e.g.* in the skies and grounds, the blue dress of the Eternal, of St. Jerome, of the angel at St. Jerome's back, of St. Matthew, of the angel in the apex of the section containing St. John, of the dress of the doctor near St. John, and the angels at the doctor's and St. John's feet. Besides these disfigurements we notice discolouring or abrasion above St. Matthew, in the angel at the apex of the section, whose sleeve is repainted, in the yellow ground about St. Matthew, in fact in many places too numerous to be described. In the piers and soffit of the choir-arch we have, to the left, a saint by Pordenone, except the head, which was renewed by the more modern hand of Pomponio; above this, half-lengths of St. Agnes (Pomponio), of St. Barbara (Pordenone)—green dress repainted—and, as we go round the soffit to the right face of the piers, St. Agatha, St. Catherine, St. Apollonia (injured), St. Rosa (injured), St. Lucy (injured)—all Giorgionesque and by Pordenone; then St. Margaret and a full-length of a bishop (Pomponio).

Taking the five sides of the choir from right to left, we have: (1) The Vision of an Angel to Constantine, greatly damaged in every part: the distance, with figures, by Pordenone, the angel and foreground figures by Pomponio. A large corner to the right of the whole fresco has lost its intonaco, and on the left is a bare stone which once had an inscription. (2) Face with lancet window; all bare. (3) Face behind altar; all bare. (4) Face with lancet window, the slants containing four saints in medallions (by Pomponio). (5) Christ appears to Heraclius carrying the cross. It is impossible to describe the intermixture

It was in 1528 that Pordenone first came to Venice to undertake a work of large dimensions and ambitious design.¹ There was an obvious tendency in Venetians of the time to neglect fresco for oil. Of the two great artists who had used that medium at the beginning of the century, Giorgione was dead and Titian was overwhelmed with commissions. Sebastian del Piombo was hesitating whether he should not return to Rome, and Palma Vecchio was no longer in existence. Churches and palaces of recent architecture stood waiting for internal and external adornment. It had not yet been proved by experience that fresco was more perishable than canvas; and no frescante was known to surpass Pordenone in the north. We may feel surprise, not that the great Friulan should have been employed, but that he should have been employed for so short a period. The subjects with which he filled the tribune of the now modernized church of San Rocco were similar to those which he had chosen on many previous occasions—the Eternal, the Doctors, Evangelists, and Prophets, and the Transfiguration; they were carried out so as to elicit praise even from Vasari. He did not paint fresco alone, and two panels which he executed are still at San Rocco—a colossal effigy of St. Martin sharing his Cloak, and St. Christopher carrying the infant Christ—both

of Pordenone's original work and Pomponio's without a diagram. The figure carrying the cross is so injured as to be scarcely discernible. This fresco is further injured by a door having been broken into it. All these subjects are parted by ornamented pilasters with gambols of children. In the lunettes: (1) The Empress Helen kneeling at the Pool of Bethesda; the distance only is in the manner of Pordenone, the rest in that of Pomponio's school. (2) Resurrection of a Man at the Raising of the Cross. Here also the distance only is in Pordenone's manner. (3) Bare. (4) Christ in the act of being nailed to the cross. The figure of Christ might be by Pordenone, and his are the figures in the distance. The fresco is almost worn away. (5) Deposition from the Cross. The Virgin to the right with the Marys seems by Pordenone. In the body of the church there is a fresco in a bad state, with life-size figures (the upper part only visible) of the Virgin and Child between St. Louis of France and another saint. This abraded piece is by Pordenone.

In San Martino of Valvasone, not far from Casarsa, there are frescoes by Pordenone on the façade: Christ at the Tomb, between the Virgin and St. John and two angels—half-lengths, large as life, but almost worn off the wall. There is also a colossal St. Christopher; an inscription beneath the latter illegible. It is impossible now to say that these frescoes are by Pordenone; and they might be by Pomponio.

*¹ Cf. *postea*, p. 163, n. 1.

in his broadest and most Titianesque manner;¹ but all this did not give Pordenone such credit as to induce him to settle at Venice.

He spent spring and summer of 1529 in his native town, and only left it in October for Piacenza.²

Several persons there disputed with each other for a share of his labours. A noble, the cavalier Barnaba Pozzo, entrusted to him the design of the front of his palace; others who had votive chapels in the church of the Madonna di Campagna asked him for frescoes, and the "rectors" insisted on his covering the cupola with scriptural and heathen episodes. A current anecdote is that, on his arrival at Piacenza, Pordenone was required to furnish a specimen of his skill, and that this specimen is the fresco near the portal in which St. Augustine, enthroned, rests his hands on volumes held before him by boy-angels. He gave a very high finish to the surface and tinged the flesh with a very bright rosy tone, but it is curious, if the story be true, that he should have been careless and conventional in the drawing of the angels, and that his trial-piece should thus be less successful than those of a later date.³

¹ Venice, San Rocco, contract with Pordenone, May 9, 1528 (Maniago, p. 206). [* Apparently this document does not refer to any work done by Pordenone in San Rocco, but merely proves his presence in the Scuola di San Rocco at Venice on that day. As early as Mar. 21, 1527, Pordenone received payment for paintings executed in the church of San Rocco (Ludwig, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxvi., Supplement, p. 125). Soon afterwards he went to Udine (see *antea*, p. 159, n. 1).] The frescoes have been described by Vasari (v. 115 sq.) and all subsequent historians till the close of last century. But Vasari, in his hasty manner, assigns to Pordenone Tintoretto's Miracle at the Pool of Bethesda. The panels of St. Martin and St. Christopher hang high up on one of the walls of the church and seem even at the distance to have been in part retouched. They are very fine specimens of Pordenone's ability in foreshortening and his power in chiaro-scuro. The perspective shows that the figures were to be seen from below.

² Pordenone was at home in November 1528, as we see in a record in the archive of Udine, dated Nov. 2, in which his presence there is attested. Besides, we have the following: "Jan. 5, 1529, Pordenone: Pordenone gives a power of agency to his brother, Baldassare. Jan. 19: Pordenone witnesses a deed. July 26: Pordenone purchases a leasehold of a mill in Rorai Grande, which was feud of the castle of Pordenone. The record states that he received possession by taking in his hand of the earth, stones, and grass in the place. Oct. 13, 1529. Pordenone: Pordenone appoints Prè Massimiliano Basilio of Pordenone to be his agent.

³ Piacenza. The records which prove that Pordenone was in Piacenza in 1529, and had not yet finished the decoration of the Madonna di Campagna in March,

One of the chapels of the Madonna di Campagna contains very pretty compositions of the Birth of Mary and the Epiphany, with the Flight into Egypt and the Nativity in lunettes, angels in the cupola, and saints and prophets in the piers. The glow of their colour and the depth of their shadows, their grouping, movements, and masks, are all reminiscent of Sebastian del Piombo.

Still more effective, but of the same class, and suggestive of similar reminiscences, are the paintings of the second chapel, where the Sermon, Marriage, Torture, and Martyrdom of St. Catherine are the principal features of attraction. By far the most important composition is that of the Sermon, which embodies more completely than any other the various features of Pordenone's style. It illustrates his habit of taking a very close view of the foreground, so as to obtain a sharp diminution in size in the personages within the plane of delineation. It shows considerable skill in applying perspective to architecture, in focal concentration of light, and harmonious combination of chords. It differs from earlier efforts by a sterner and deeper key of tone, strong effects of shadow, and less than usual gaiety of tints in dresses. Every figure is momentarily yet very energetically in action. St. Catherine in the middle ground, with the train of her mantle in one hand, raising her arm on high, her copious hair loose on her shoulders, the philosophers around her. One of these stoops to the ground to look out a quotation, another on a stool with his foot on one volume, his elbow on another, turns his back to the spectator, but glances round at his neighbour, who rests one foot on a tressel and an elbow on his knee, whilst he makes deductions on his fingers. Others, again, meditate or

1531, is in Maniago, p. 324. The frescoes done for Barnaba Pozzo are mentioned by Vasari (v. 114), and described by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 161, 162). The subjects were the Fall of Phaeton, Actæon watching Diana at the bath, the Judgment of Paris, the Embrace of Justice and Peace, Children with Palms, and Skirmishes in monochrome. Vasari's story of Pordenone's marriage at Piacenza seems a myth, yet there was a tradition that the Virgin, in the Marriage of St. Catherine at the Madonna di Campagna, was a Pozzo, and that Pordenone had painted himself in the same piece as St. Paul. (See Vasari, v. 114, and Garilli's *Raffaello, Pordenone e Lomazzo*, 8vo, Piacenza, 1861, p. 15, cit. in Cittadella, *Notizie*, p. 604.) The fresco of St. Augustine is life-size, the lower part in bad condition. Vasari errs in describing it as tavola (v. 114 and vi. 493 *sq.*). That it was Pordenone's trial-piece is stated by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 160).

PORDENONE



Alinari photo.]

[*Piacenza, Madonna di Campagna.*

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI.

gesticulate as they converse, expressing surprise and conviction. All are in the fashion of del Piombo. At a balcony, the king looks down and gives a threatening command ; and in the opening of an archway is the Madonna di Campagna, built but a few years before on a fine Bramantesque plan.

But Pordenone reserved his strength for the cupola of the drum, introducing prophets and sibyls of a large size into the sections of the octagon vaulting and panellings with mythological incidents into the frieze below the entablature. Additional gaiety and finish are given to the design by a border of children sporting with dolphins and rabbits on a blue ground under the edge of the lantern ;¹ ornament covers the bands separating the larger fields from each other, and medallions interrupt the series of the frieze at regular intervals. Whilst the principal scenes in the drum are treated allegorically, with a view to the appropriate filling of the triangular sections, the panellings contain regular compositions in which we discern Neptune and Amphitrite, the Rape of Europa, the Drunkenness of Silenus, Bacchus with Fauns and Satyrs, Hercules strangling the Serpents, Jupiter hurling Lightning at the Giants, Diana hunting the Boar, Venus and Adonis. The beauty of the architecture and the purity of its lines no doubt roused Pordenone to an exceptional effort, and led him to combine in an uncommon degree the sublimated rules of his art. At Piacenza he is a painter in the higher sense, with taste and fancy and power as a composer and distributor of space, unusually versatile in means and subtle in combination, measuring and calculating all, and, under some unknown stimulus, uniting colour to form so as to produce that mixture of the Michelangesque and Venetian which we see in del Piombo. He is to be distinguished from the latter only by a greater predominance of the Venetian element. With a force which almost equals that of oil, he colours his frescoes in warm and luscious shades of flesh and vivid tones of dress, harmonizing the most intense primaries with the exact complements of secondaries and tertiaries in scientifically precise quantities, relieving the whole by such effects of shadow as none but a man of his education and country would have ventured on. He sacrifices

* ¹ The Museo Civico of Piacenza contains nine sketches by Pordenone for this border. (See Pettorelli, in *Rassegna d'arte*, viii. 175 sqq.)

light for the sake of richness, acquiring in a low but burning key an extraordinary intensity of power.¹

It seems almost natural to suppose that it was from Piacenza, and at this time, that Pordenone went to Genoa on the invitation of Andrea Doria. We cannot judge of his frescoes in the gardens of that prince's palace which have been lost, but we know enough of the story of the Palazzo del Principe to determine the period of its adornment. It had belonged to the family of Fregoso, and was given to Andrea Doria in 1522. After its restoration by Montorsoli in 1528 Pierino del Vaga was ordered to arrange the interior, and during the performance of this duty he was spurred to exertion by the competition of Pordenone and Beccafumi. A man of Doria's wealth and station would probably insist on the rapid completion of his palace; and it is not unlikely, for that reason, that Pierino's labours and those of his rivals should have been at an end towards the close of 1531. We have the positive certainty that Pordenone spent some part of 1532 at Travesio, and we

¹ Piacenza, Madonna di Campagna. In the chapel to the left as you enter, the subjects are taken as stated from the life of the Virgin. The Nativity is injured by efflorescence, the Epiphany is injured in the lower part, and some of the saints in the pilasters are new. The second chapel, with scenes from the life of St. Catherine, has also suffered somewhat. The altarpiece (canvas, figures of over life-size), of the Marriage of St. Catherine is dimmed and blackened by time and dirt. In the Dispute the man stooping to look out a quotation (left foreground) is disfigured by the abrasion of the colour of his tunic, and the renewal of his red mantle. In the lunette above the Dispute, St. Catherine is decapitated—a well-arranged composition of many figures. In the opposite lunette St. Catherine is saved by an angel from the torture of the wheel, and led away by another angel. Some of the surrounding figures are prostrate, others are mere spectators. There is much life and movement in the scene. In the cupola are saints and angels, on the pilasters a series of small compositions and eight allegorical figures. In the spandrels of the lunettes are four half-lengths of saints, and gambols of children or birds and animals or instruments in the borders. The condition of the drum is bad, and the lower parts of the main sections especially are injured by damp. Parts of the dresses are scaled away, and where efflorescence shows itself the colours are bleached or blackened. The piers alternate with pillars in supporting the entablature, and contain figures of saints truly described as by Soiaro, who finished the scenes from the life of the Madonna in the body of the drum. Four Evangelists in the pendentives are by Soiaro. The church of the Madonna di Campagna was erected in 1522. (See Gualandi, *Memorie*, ser. i. p. 164.) Maniago (p. 210) states that there is a deposition of Christ in the church of Corte Maggiore, near Piacenza, by Pordenone, and an Eternal with the Four Doctors and Evangelists in the church of the Minorites.

know of no subsequent occasion at which it would be likely that he should travel so far west and south as Genoa.¹

Following the master's wanderings as we have done, and resting occasionally to contemplate the fruits of his industry, we have had but little occasion to glance at his private character. We saw that he was twice married, but we learnt nothing of his married life; we have a dim conviction, derived from the multiplicity and energetic stamp of his designs, that he was a man of impetuous temper and strong passions, but the portrait of himself in the cathedral of Pordenone contradicts rather than confirms the impression produced by his manner. We now enter upon a phase of his existence in which a certain light is thrown upon his inner life; and—curious enough—this is the very time in which he seems to have been least productive.

In 1532 he finished the frescoes of San Pietro of Travesio; in 1533, as there is some plausible ground for believing, he painted on one of the gates of Conegliano, but we are unacquainted with his labours in 1534. We know, on the other hand, from numerous records that he resided during the whole of this period in Friuli.²

His father Agnolo had made a will in 1527 in which he devised the whole of his property to his three sons, Giovanni

¹ Genoa. See Vasari's lives of Pordenone Pierino del Vaga, and Beccafumi (v. 117, 616, 645, and 649), and Ridolfi, i. 160. See also in all guide-books the inscription on the face of the palace, which closes with the words: "instauravit MDXXVIII." Pordenone's frescoes represented children unloading a boat and Jason departing in search of the Golden Fleece. They were in a garden gallery, which no longer exists.

² March 2, 1533. Travesio: receipt of Pordenone, "Per conto de la paga di 1532 duc. 25" (Maniago, p. 310). The arch of the choir is whitewashed, but the soffit and piers still contain fragments of figures and ornament in rounds, and a St. Roch and St. Sebastian all but obliterated. March 19, 1533. Pordenone: Pordenone takes possession of a leasehold-feud of the castle of Pordenone (Maniago, p. 344). Conegliano: above one of the gates of Conegliano is a winged lion surmounted by a figure of Justice. Beneath the lion is an inscription with the date of 1533. But the painting is so injured that no opinion can be given as to the correctness of the tradition which assigns it to Pordenone. There is a general look of Pordenone in the work as it stands, but the hand might be that of Amalteo, or any other follower of Pordenone's school. April 21, 1533. Pordenone: Pordenone appoints his factor, Battista Zoppoli, his agent. Nov. 30. Pordenone buys a copyhold.

Antonio, Bartolommeo, and Baldassare. The only condition which he imposed was that Giovanni Antonio should give a picture to the church of San Marco representing the Trinity between St. Bartholomew and St. Paul. In April 1533 Pordenone married for the third time, and took for his wife Elizabeth, sister of Pier Antonio Frescolini, a notary of Pordenone. He went to live with her in the house of his father, where Baldassare seems also to have lodged. Just about this time Agnolo died, and it became necessary to break up the paternal establishment and divide the property. Over this division the two survivors, Giovanni Antonio and Baldassare, quarrelled; Baldassare pretending, by virtue of some document of doubtful validity, to be Pordenone's partner, and to have a right to remain with him in the house of their father, Pordenone denying the partnership altogether. Both were willing to avoid the scandal of publishing their differences, and submitted their claims to arbitration; but, before the award was given, Pordenone took advantage of Baldassare's absence to leave the house and transport his furniture to the dwelling of his brother-in-law, Frescolini. This roused the anger of Baldassare, and set him a-thinking how he could return into the joint possession of which he had been deprived. Pordenone and his friends, on the other hand, meditated transferring all they had to another jurisdiction, and for this purpose hired a barge and crew from Venice. On January 2, 1534, Baldassare appeared before the podestà, and declared that Ser Francesco de' Frescolini had just arrived from Venice in a vessel manned by strangers with the intention of removing the property which his brother had carried away; he begged that steps might be taken for the protection of his person and chattels pending the arbitration. Pordenone and his relations were highly incensed at this proceeding, especially as Baldassare, in his statement to the podestà, had charged them with fraud and violence. They shrank, however, in view of the publicity which had been given to their plans, from committing an open breach of the law. For several days they kept their men in idleness, whilst Baldassare prowled in the vicinity. It was a state of things that could scarcely end to the credit of either side. On the 9th of January, as Pordenone stood at the door of the Frescolini

house with his cousin Ser Francesco, he saw Baldassare coming by. There was a prying look about him which induced Pordenone tartly to inquire what he was looking at. Denying that he was looking at anything in particular, and perhaps dreading a personal encounter, Baldassare hastened past, but had not gone many paces when Frescolini rushed forth, and, with a drawn sword in his hand, challenged him to fight. He also drew, and was preparing to defend himself when the bargemen, who were loitering about the place, came out in arms and almost surrounded him. There was some hustling and thrusting of knives and swords, with cries of "Ammazza!" "Ammazza!" which sent a chill into Baldassare's bones. He turned from his cowardly pursuers, and ran towards the bridge of Pordenone, where he, too, had concealed some trusty followers. The bargemen, following in hot pursuit, had hardly reached the bridge when they were met by a discharge of matchlocks, under which one of them, named Pascalino, fell.¹

The people of the town cried shame at this outrage, and some of them accused Pordenone of a deliberate intention to assassinate his brother; but the podestà of Pordenone, to whom Baldassare had hurried after the event, was disinclined to give credit to his complaint, and refused to act without further evidence. It was clear that a man had been murdered, but by whom? Neither Pordenone nor the Frescolini was arrested in consequence of his share in the affray, charges and counter-charges were made, Baldassare accusing the bargemen, whom he called "bravi," of an attempt to kill him, the Frescolini singling out a shoemaker named Enrico as the assassin of Pascalino. The original cause of quarrel was referred anew to arbitration, and submitted for that purpose to a lawyer of standing named

¹ Two wills of Agnolo exist. The one is dated Pordenone, March 20, 1525, in which he leaves all his movables, except his silver, to his wife Magdalena. He calls himself here, "Magister Angelus quondam Bartholomæi de Lodesano districtus Brixie" (Maniago, p. 303). The other is dated Jan. 6, 1527, and here he calls himself "A. q. Bart. de Lodesanis de Cortiselis" (Maniago, pp. 304-5). [* Cf. Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 33, 44 *sq.*, 48 *sq.*] Of Bartolommeo, who is called in the will "fabrum murarium," we have a record dated March 7, 1524, in which he contracts to build the church of Sant'Andrea of Castions, of which Pordenone afterwards painted the tribune (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 152). The church was demolished. We know nothing of Baldassare's profession. Agnolo calls his sons, "ejus filios legitimos ac naturales."

Gradenigo. On the 17th of January a reference was published declaring Baldassare's claims unfounded, ordering the sale and division of the property in dispute, and binding all parties to keep the peace under a penalty of 300 ducats. The bargemen disappeared from the scene without being pursued, and the shoemaker was never brought to trial. It has been stated that on a subsequent occasion Pordenone and his brother drew upon each other, and that the former was wounded in the hand. There is no testimony to confirm the story; but it is pretty obvious that the painter's residence in his native place must now have lost all attraction, and that if he remained it was because he could not make up his mind to what part of Italy he should go.¹

In the meanwhile he married his daughter Graziosa to Pomponio Amalteo, and he found leisure to resume his usual labours. In the course of a few months he finished a Trinity for the church of the Santissima Trinità at San Daniele and began a large altarpiece for the cathedral of Pordenone.²

The Trinity is still preserved in the Duomo of San Daniele.

¹ The earliest record in respect of this quarrel is an unpublished one dated Pordenone, Oct. 16, 1533, in which Pordenone and his brother Baldassare appoint referees to settle their differences, viz. Signor Pompeo Bicchieri and Ermolao Franceschini. Two other unpublished records are the following: Jan. 15, 1534. Pordenone: in consequence of a quarrel and controversy between Giovanni Antonio, pittore, and Baldassare his brother, sons q. M^e. Angelo Sacchiense—quarrels arising out of the succession; and because the said Baldassare pretended that he had a right under a certain deed of partnership to reside in the house of his said brother, refer their claims to the Dottore Girolamo Gradenigo. Jan. 17, 1534. Award of Gradenigo as described in the text. The contract of marriage between Elizabeth Frescolini and Pordenone is in the archive of Udine, together with the foregoing. It states that she is the sister of P. A. Frescolini the notary, that she brings Pordenone a dowry of 200 ducats, viz. 100 in coin, 50 in furniture; 50 are to be paid in three years. The remaining proofs of the narrative will be found in Maniago, pp. 82-4, 325-9. [* Cf. Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 34 *sq.*, 56 *sq.*]

² June 29, 1534. Pordenone: contract of marriage between Graziosa, daughter of Pordenone, and Pomponio, with a dowry of 300 ducats besides effects. Aug. 10: Receipt of Pomponio for his wife's dowry (Maniago, p. 347). Jan. 22, 1535. San Daniele: receipt of Pordenone for the Trinity of the Brotherhood of the Santissima Trinità, witnessed by Pellegrino da San Daniele, see *antea*. May 14, 1535. Pordenone: payments for the unfinished painting of St. Mark (Maniago, p. 318). Another payment, made on the 8th of June, is mentioned in Maniago (pp. 82-4).

It is one of the familiar subjects of the Middle Ages modernized by the skill of the sixteenth century—of luscious tone, ably relieved by shadow, powerfully designed and put together and charming in the variety of its details. We seldom see the Eternal so nobly presented supporting the Saviour on the cross, or angels so lightly poised in air.¹

The Glory of St. Mark, a large composition of twelve figures, represents the saint, attended by acolytes, reading the service from a book held by a bishop, whilst a youth awaiting consecration kneels at his feet. To the right St. Jerome reverently advances with a cross in his hand, and St. Sebastian stands colossal in a curved posture; to the left St. Alexander on horse-back sits in armour with an aged St. John the Baptist before him, and three seraphs play instruments in the middle of the foreground. Above this scene hovers the form of the Redeemer carried by cherubs, sweeping through space like a passing vision. Had Pordenone completed this picture, it would have been one of the best of his later days, for the exaggeration in the size and movement of the St. Sebastian is amply outweighed by the life and feeling in the rest of the *dramatis personæ* and the majestic ease with which the apparition of Christ is presented. Ridolfi truly remarks that, though but a sketch, it displayed the mastery of a great talent; but, we ask, why did it remain a sketch?²

Not even the wish to complete so large and important a work as this could, it is evident, counterbalance in Pordenone the desire to leave a place where the quarrel which he had with his brother embittered his existence. He had for some time, we may believe, made up his mind to retire to Venice, the most suitable residence for one of his ability; he was only kept back, we should think, by a feeling of discomfort that a man of his name and standing should be so much lower in the social scale than Titian. Titian had been knighted; he was the

¹ San Daniele, Duomo. Canvas, life-size. The painting is scaled in places, and requires new canvassing.

² Pordenone, Duomo. Arched canvas. Twelve figures above life-size. The heads in the distance, St. Alexander and the two youths behind St. Mark, are all unfinished; but the figures want the final touches, and the draperies are still in the first preparation. The distance is a row of pillars.

favourite of Charles V., and this was gall and wormwood, not to be borne. In this emergency, assistance came from an old and tried patron for whom Pordenone had designed some of his best frescoes.¹ Girolamo Rorario, a notary holding the office of Papal Nuncio and connected with the Hungarian Court, used his interest with King John, who then resided at Warasdin, to persuade him that, next to Titian, there was no greater artist in the world than Pordenone. It would be a proof of taste, he may have urged, if, vying with Charles V., he should raise a man of this mark to the rank of a noble. John listened with favour to Rorario's representations, and in April 1535 forwarded to Pordenone a patent of knighthood for himself and his descendants. From that moment Pordenone could claim to be Titian's rival; he had a right to social distinction as well as celebrity in art; he left the altarpiece of the Duomo unfinished and settled at Venice.²

¹ The frescoes of Casa Rorario at Pordenone have perished, with the exception of a figure of Atlas, a colossal fragment of grand style. The house is now called Casa Gaspardi, and the fresco is to be seen by entering the garden of Signor Silvestro Fortunato. Rural Scenes in the same edifice, probably by some assistant, have been taken as fragments to the town-hall of Pordenone (see Maniago, pp. 189-91).

² Maniago (pp. 316-17) gives the patent, dated "Varadini, 24 Aprilis, 1535." As to remains of frescoes at Pordenone, it may be as well to record the following stray notes. Pordenone, San Francesco: here Pordenone is said (Ridolfi, i. 150, and Maniago, pp. 63, 187, 188) to have painted a fresco of St. Francis receiving the Stigmata and two panels with the Virgin and Evangelist. The fresco perished at the demolition of the church. The figures have been cut out with circular saws and preserved in the town-hall of Pordenone; they are dimmed by age and ill treatment, and seem to have been originally by Pordenone's assistants. Frescoes in Santa Lucia (Ridolfi, i. 151) and in San Giuliano (Maniago, pp. 192) have perished; the latter falling with the building which contained them; those of the front of the Casa Varaschina (Contrada del Duomo, No. 337, Maniago, p. 65) are of Pordenone's school. A picture in Casa Cattanei (Maniago, p. 65) later in Casa Conti a San Quirico has not been seen by the authors. Gone or missing are the following: (1) Christ. (2) A portrait of Charles V. in Casa Ravenna at Pordenone. (Inventory of Casa Ravenna in Udine archiv. dated 1645.) (3) Belluno, Duomo (Ridolfi, i. 153). Tavola with the Saviour appearing to the Magdalen. (4) Frescoes at Cordenon (Ridolfi, i. 146). (5) Frescoes and altarpiece at Fontanelle—the latter representing SS. Peter and John, and Tiziano, bishop of Oderzo (Ridolfi, i. 146, 147). [* Ridolfi was mistaken in ascribing the altarpiece to Pordenone; it is identical with the Glory of St. Peter by Palma Vecchio, now in the Venice Academy.] (6) Venzona, Sposalizio, Epiphany, and Circumcision on the shutters of the parish church organ (Ridolfi, i. 152). Of the Sposalizio and Circumcision there are copies by Pomponio in the Duomo of San Daniele and feebler ones in

As might have been expected, Venice offered every possible encouragement to that sort of labour which Pordenone was best able to bestow. Large mural designs, with which he covered the palaces of Martino d'Anna, the Mocenigos and Morosinis, the Brotherhood of San Francesco de' Frari, and the cloister of San Stefano, were evidence of the eagerness with which his services were sought.¹ In the opinion of contemporaries, the designs were exceedingly talented; and comparisons were doubtless made in public between the bold and rapid frescante from Friuli and the grand oil-painter from Cadore. Nor is it difficult to conceive that Pordenone, under these circumstances, should

the Manfrini collection at Venice. [* Now dispersed.] (7) Porzia (Maniago, p. 192). The frescoes there are by disciples of Pordenone. At Ceneda there are frescoes in the town house assigned by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 148, 149) to Pordenone. They are all but obliterated, but were painted by Pomponio. The fresco at Avoleto (Maniago, p. 184) representing a St. Christopher on the front of the church, was not seen by the authors. The absence of Pordenone from Pordenone in the years following 1534 is proved by numerous records in the archivio of Udine in which purchases of land are made in his name by Pier Anton. Frescolini, i.e. in 1535, 1536, and 1537.

¹ (1) Casa d'Anna, at the Traghetto di San Benedetto on the Grand Canal, called Casa Viara by Boschini (*Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. di San Marco, p. 96), and originally Casa Talenti, contained Curtius leaping into the Gulf, an Annunciation, Mercury foreshortened, a battle-piece, and Pluto and Proserpine (Dolce, *Dialogo*, p. 62). The latter group was all that remained in Boschini's time, but it was seen also by Zanetti, *Pitt. Ven.*, note to 217. (See also Vasari, v. 115, Sansovino, ed. Martinioni, p. 212, Ridolfi, *Le Marav.*, i. pp. 153, 154, Dogliani, *Delle Cose notabili, ub. sup.*, p. 34, and Cicogna, *Iscr. Ven.*, iii. 364.) There was a print of the Curtius, which probably still exists. (2) Casa Mocenigo, near the Carità, had figures in antique dress, Time and Amor, on its front (Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. di D. Duro, p. 37). (3) Casa Morosini, on the Grand Canal—a S. Geremia (Vasari, v. 114), was soon injured by time—but in the seventeenth century still showed a Pallas expelling the Vices (Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. di C. Reg. p. 67). (4) San Francesco de' Frari. The ceiling of the scuola in nine compartments was painted by Pordenone, with St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, the Four Evangelists, and four Franciscan saints, Buonaventura, Louis, Bernardino, and Anthony of Padua in half-lengths (Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. di San Polo, p. 47; Ridolfi, i. 162). In Zanetti's time the pieces were taken down into the body of the building (*Pitt. Ven.*, p. 219). [* Two of these paintings—the half-lengths of SS. Buonaventura and Louis—were in the collection of Mr. Capel-Cure of Badger Hall, Shropshire, which was sold at Christie's in May 1905; see C. J. Ffoulkes in *L'Arte*, viii. 284 sq. They now belong to Sir Claude Phillips.] (5) Santo Stefano. In the cloisters of the convent Pordenone painted twelve frescoes, with subjects taken from the Old and New Testaments. These still exist, but in such condition as to be worthless to art-students. The same may be said of a fragment of fresco on the wall of Santo Stefano, facing the Campo of that name.

have fancied that his title, his cleverness as a craftsman, and his popularity as a man of striking presence and good breeding, made him the equal of Titian. But apart altogether from the respective merits of the two men, Pordenone had just grounds for believing that he might be successful against his most powerful competitor. Titian was in the full enjoyment of the favours showered upon him by Charles V., by the Dukes of Urbino, of Mantua, and Ferrara, but he was in disgrace with the rulers of the Venetian State. Years had elapsed since he had given his word to paint the Battle of Cadore in the hall of Great Council; but he had constantly neglected his promise, and given precedence to the orders of Charles V. It was no wonder that when the "sages" of the council determined to finish the ceiling of the library, which afterwards became the Sala del Scrutinio, they should look round for an artist from whom they might expect rapid and punctual service. They engaged Pordenone, and he justified their confidence by completing the decoration in a comparatively short time. In the summer of 1536 there was not a line of this ceiling drawn; in March 1538 the whole of it was finished. The Council was so satisfied that in June 1537 they deprived Titian of his patent in the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, on the plea of neglect, and in November 1538 ordered a picture of Pordenone for the Hall of Great Council. We may guess with what irritation and anger all this was regarded by Vecelli. He was so angry that Pordenone thought he might be induced to threaten his life, and worked, as rumour told, with his sword by his side, that he might more surely ward off the blows of assassins; and yet there was probably as little ground for Pordenone's apprehensions as for Titian's jealousy, for Titian was really without a rival in talent, and nothing in his character gave ground for supposing that he could stoop to the baseness of hiring *bravi*.¹

¹ See in Lorenzi (Giambattista), *Monumenti per servire alla storia del palazzo ducale di Venezia*, 4to, Venice, 1869, the following records. June 23, 1537 Decree of Council ordering Titian to refund the proceeds of the *Senzeria*, for the time that he has not worked at the "*bataglia terrestre*" in the Sala del Gran Consiglio (p. 219). Feb. 26, July 3, Aug. 18, Oct. 16, Nov. 20. Payments for the decoration of the library, and amongst them a payment to Pordenone (pp. 210, 213, 215). See further. March 28 and Aug. 30, 1537. March 27, 1538 (pp. 218, 219, 221), for later payments. See also proofs that the ceiling was all

The frescoes of Pordenone at Venice have all perished ; and the Hall of the Scrutinio was gutted in the fire of 1577 ; but had all these paintings been preserved they would not exalt Pordenone above Titian. In the only field which they jointly occupied, Pordenone strove to equal, but never actually equalled, Titian. At San Giovanni Elemosinario we have his St. Roch comforted by an Angel, with St. Catherine behind him turning her face affectedly towards St. Sebastian, whose hands are fastened high above his head. The cleverness with which St. Roch is foreshortened is indubitable ; the drawing has flexibility and correctness, there are Correggiesque rotundity and modelling in flesh and affectation in pose, and the colouring pleases by its warmth and ruddiness ; but, notwithstanding all this, Pordenone is still below Titian.¹

Even the Glory of St. Lorenzo Giustiniani at the Academy—a picture of a much higher class than that of San Giovanni Elemosinario—is not to be put on a level with the great creations of Vecelli. There is no doubt of the beauty of the composition designed for a special place on the Renieri altar at Santa Maria dell' Orto in Venice. We can see that a supreme effort is made to produce a grand impression. Inspired gravity dwells in the ascetic Lorenzo, life and motion in the saints that attend him, precision and finish in the contours and modelling, but there is no life in the holy conversation ; the figures are, as usual, gigantic and without elevation, and it is a mummery to present such athletes in holy garb. Where Pordenone shows

by Pordenone, in records of April 20, 1563 (p. 314), and Dec. 20, 1577 (p. 413). The last record shows how Pordenone's pictures were burnt. Consult also Vasari, v. 116 and vii. 440 *sq.* ; Doglioni, *Delle Cose notabili*, *ub. sup.*, p. 34 ; and Ridolfi, *Le Marav.*, i. 154-8. What is now shown in this hall is comparatively modern, and was probably done by Giulio del Moro. The order to Pordenone for a picture in the Sala del Gran Consiglio is dated Nov. 22, 1538 (Lorenzi, *ub. sup.*, p. 223). He died before carrying it out.

¹ Venice, San Giovanni di Rialto. Pordenone's altarpiece, an arched canvas, with figures of life-size, on an altar to the left of the entrance, was executed, according to Vasari (vii. 440 *sq.*), after the completion of the frescoes in the palace. It is to be noted that, on the outer wall of the chapel which contains this piece, there are traces of a medallion with a bishop in it, a fresco in Pordenone's manner. We shall also remark that Vasari attributes to Pordenone not only the St. Roch and St. Sebastian, but also Titian's St. John giving alms (v. 116). On the stone, beneath the figure of St. Roch, are the words : "Io. Ant. Por."

real mastery is in the handling. The warm high lights are contracted to the smallest possible space, so as to cast into a sort of twilight an intermediate surface tone blended with nice gradation into grey half-tints and still greyer shadow. In this way a Correggienesque "sfumato" is produced, which differs strongly in grain and tinge from the broad and fluid richness of the tinted dresses; but there is a wide chasm between this conventional process and the straightforward manliness of Titian's pastose touch.¹

At his best, Pordenone remains second to Titian. When careless he sinks to a still lower level; and of this we have a striking example in the Annunciation of Santa Maria degli Angeli at Murano, where indeed we may suppose that the master is in a great measure represented by his journeymen.²

No painter has left us so few easel canvases as Pordenone, except, perhaps, Baldassare Peruzzi; but this is a natural consequence of the peculiarity of his genius. Ridolfi and Sansovino, in the sixteenth century, registered a small number of his pictures in palaces and private galleries at Venice, but even at that comparatively early period works of art were often named at random.³ Of the Giorgionesque and Palmesque time we are

¹ Venice Academy, No. 316. Arched, canvas, m. 4.10 high by 2.25, inscribed on the pedestal of the saint's throne: "Ioannis Antonii Portunaensis." The figures are larger than life. [* Dr. Ludwig (in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxvi. Supplement, pp. 124 *seq.*) suggests that this painting is identical with one which, according to an arrangement made in 1532, Pordenone was to paint in settlement of a debt of 100 ducats, the claim for which had been bequeathed to the friars of Santa Maria dell'Orto.]

As to other pictures assigned to Pordenone in the Academy of Venice, No. 311, Angels on Clouds, is by Paris Bordone or some one of his school. [* This painting is now officially ascribed to Bordone.]

² Murano, Santa Maria degli Angeli. This large canvas represents the Virgin surprised kneeling at a desk. The angel flies, is followed by a train of archangels and seraphs, on clouds, and in the upper air is the Eternal. Through an opening one sees a landscape in which the angel leads Tobias. Vasari (vii. 441) and Ridolfi (i. 158) state that the canvas was done by Pordenone after the nuns of Santa Maria had rejected one by Titian on account of the greatness of its price about 1537. See the engraving in D. Vincenzo Zanetti, *Del Monastero, &c., di Santa Maria degli Angeli*, 8vo, Venice, 1863, p. 180. The picture is feeble and much disfigured by repaints.

³ The list of pictures by Pordenone at Venice is large. There are notices without details as to subjects of his easel pieces in the Palazzo Delfino (Sansovino,



Alinari photo.

[Venice Academy.]

GLORY OF ST. LORENZO GIUSTINIANI.

somewhat dubiously reminded in the Sibyl of the Munich Gallery whose marble flesh contrasts so strongly with the gorgeousness of her drapery. There is so much of the Giorgionesque in the piece that it is called Giorgione; and numerous replicas of the same kind are classed amongst the works by the master of

Ed. Mart., p. 375) and the Tassis collection (*ibid.*, p. 377). But further, the following: (1) Magistrato della Ternaria dell'Oglio. St. Mark, Justice and Temperance (Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. di San Polo, p. 10). This is by Bernardino Licinio. (2) Palazzo Girolamo e Barbon Pesari, Campo di San Benedetto. The Samaritan Woman at the Well, the same picture that we find assigned to Giorgione at the Royal Academy in London. (3) Portrait of Benedetto Pesaro. (4) Portrait of Girolamo Pesaro, his son (Sansovino Ed. Mart., p. 376). (5) Signor Vincenzo Zeno. Nude of a Female (Ridolfi, i. 168). (6) Casa Navagero, Conversion of St. Paul. (*Ibid.*) (7) Casa Bernardo Giunti. (*Ibid.*) (8) Signor Jacopo Ponte, Resurrection of Lazarus. (*Ibid.*) (9) Signor Biagio Lombardo. Drawing of David preparing to engage Goliath. (*Ibid.*, p. 169.) (10) Renier collection, dispersed by lottery in 1666. Portrait of a Doctor with Books (Sansovino, Ed. Mart., p. 378). (11) Casa Domenico Ruzzini. Three Heads in one frame (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 168). (12) Picture bought at Venice by Basil Fielding, English Ambassador. Subject, Christ carried to the Tomb (Ridolfi, i. 168).

The list of lost or missing pictures assigned to Pordenone outside Venice is also large, viz.: (1) Cremona. Conti Triulza, but once in the church of San Pietro al Pd. Cartoon of a dead Christ (Maniago, p. 271). (2) Piacenza, Signori, Chiappini; Cartoon of a St. Augustine (Maniago, p. 27). (3) Mantuan collection, at Mantua. A Lady tuning a Lute; three portraits in half-length (Invent. of 1627, D'Arco, ii. 160). See this subject assigned to Pordenone, but really by one of his imitators at Hampton Court in notes on Bernardino Licinio. [* The portrait group at Hampton Court is identical with the picture mentioned in the Mantuan inventory of 1627. See Law, *The Royal Gallery of Hampton Court*, p. 26.] (4) Antwerp, collection of d'Uffel. (1) Virgin and Child adored by St. Joseph and St. Francis, life-size. (2) Virgin, Child and St. Jerome, all but life-size. (3) Portrait of Bernardo Pozzo with a cat's-fur pelisse and a glove in his hand. (4) A Venetian matron with a jewel at her bosom, a leopard's skin on her shoulder, and a book in hand; both half-lengths. Also (5) Another matron with bare neck in rich dress and "testiera di fiori in capo" (Ridolfi, i. 168, 169). (6) Verona, Casa Bonduri. Half-length of St. John in a landscape on copper (Dal Pozzo, *Pitt. Ver.*, p. 290). (7) Casa Fattori. A Portrait. (*Ibid.*, p. 291.) (8) Casa del Conte Ercole Giusti. A portrait of Pordenone. (*Ibid.*, p. 299.) (9) Casa dal Pozzo. A Portrait in a Pelisse. (*Ibid.*, p. 308.) (10) Casa de' Signori Cortoni. 1°. St. John Evangelist, life-size; 2°. Deposition from the Cross, with many figures, above life-size; 3°. Cleopatra dying from the Bite of the Asp (Ridolfi, *Le Marav.*, ii. 304). (11) Brescia, Casa Barbisoni (Chizzola, *Pitt. di Brescia*, Brescia, 8vo, 1760, p. 163). (12) Prague, collection of Rudolf II. Naked Female by "Bordanon" (L. Ulrichs in *Zeitschrift für B. Kunst.*, ser. i. vol. v. p. 140). (13) Collection of Charles I. at Whitehall. Pordenone, by himself, after the Life playing upon the Lute (2 ft. 9 in. high by 3 ft. 3 in.). Bathoe's catalogue, 1757. (14) Collection of James II. in London. By Pordenone, his Wife and Daughter playing on

Castelfranco.¹ Another excellent specimen is the daughter of Herodias with the head of the Baptist on a plate in the Doria Palace of Rome, a characteristic rendering of robust and portly female nature, with a graceful affectation in the bend of the head, and something seductive in the glance of the eye. Of this too there is a good replica in the Baring collection in London, and a modern adaptation once in the Berry (Grimani-Calergi) Palace at Venice.² More important in size and one of the few creations of the master in which gentleness and grace are combined is an altarpiece originally in a church at Noale, near Treviso, but now in the Quirinal, representing St. George and the Dragon. It is an arched panel with figures large as life in a landscape done in a manner adopted later by Paris Bordone.³

the Virginals." Bathoe's catalogue, *ub. sup.* [* The two last-quoted records refer to one and the same picture, which is identical with the portrait group by Bernardino Licinio, now at Hampton Court (No. 630). See Law, *ub. sup.*, p. 26.] (15) Collection of the Duke of Buckingham (temp. James I.). 1^o. Samson and the Philistines, 20 figures (5 ft. high by 7 ft.). Bathoe's catalogue, *ub. sup.* 2^o. The Return of the Prodigal Son (5 ft. 5 in. high by 8. ft. 11 in.).

¹ Munich, Pinakothek, No. 1110. This Sibyl appears to be the same registered in the Canonici collection at Ferrara (1632) as follows: "Half-length of a lady by G. A. Pordenone, intended for a Prudence, has her right hand on a mirror, the left at her side" (Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi*, p. 108.) [* This picture is now officially ascribed to Titian and is also universally accepted as a work by him. It stands very close to the Flora in the Uffizi, and to the picture in the Louvre, supposed to represent Alfonso I. of Ferrara and Laura de' Dianti.]

² Rome, Palazzo Doria, No. 388. Canvas, half-length, life-size. To the left a female; picture of a low key, a little empty and raw, but this is owing in part to restoring. Baring collection, 2 ft. 4 in. broad by 2 ft. 11 in. [* Now collection of the Earl of Northbrook.] Here the hand of the daughter of Herodias holding the plate with the head in it, is not to be seen. This piece is injured by restoring and retouching. The Berry copy is modern; it was sold with the collection in 1865. One of these three pieces was in the collection of Queen Christine. (Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi*, p. 454.)

[* As remarked by Morelli (*Die Galerien Borghese und Doria-Panfilii*, pp. 403 sq.), the type of Salome, the shape of the servant's ear, the draperies and the colour-scheme, point to Titian as the author of this work. It is also ascribed to him in the current catalogue of the Doria Gallery. A fourth version of this composition is in the collection of Mr. Robert Benson, of London.]

³ Rome, Quirinal. Panel, 9 ft. high by 6 ft. 2 in. arched; on a scroll to the left: "I. A. Reg. Pord. f." Probably the same described by Maniago at Noale (p. 207). The picture has been abraded by cleaning, and has lost its golden glazes and some of the surface of the impasto. St. George on horseback tilts in the middle of the picture at the dragon with his lance; in the landscape to the right is the female saint kneeling. [* It will be seen that this painting reminds the authors of Paris

Another altarpiece of large dimensions though much injured is the Madonna between St. Ilarius and St. Paul in the church of Torre, in Friuli, a canvas of a broad sketchy character illustrating the Palmesque style of the years 1515-20, remarkable in some of the flesh parts for great blending and a polished enamel surface. Of the same period probably is the Virgin and Child between St. Anthony, St. Leonard, St. John the Baptist, and St. Catherine in the church of Moriago at no great distance from Treviso.¹

On more than one occasion Pordenone's skill was displayed in life-like and expressive delineations of patrons in altarpieces. Such excellence presupposes more than usual facility in seizing the characteristic features of sitters; and yet there is no painter

Bordone. As a matter of fact, it shows so close an affinity to the style of this artist that there can be no doubt that it is his work, as Professor A. Venturi was the first to point out (*Tesori d'Arte*, p. 7). The present signature is a forgery, and traces of that of Bordone are still visible under it. For the history of the picture, which is now in the Vatican Gallery, see Bailo and Biscaro, *Della vita . . . di Paris Bordone*, p. 148 *sqq.*]

¹ Torre, church of. Monumental altarpiece on canvas (life-size), with the Virgin and Child between St. John the Baptist, St. Anthony the Abbot, SS. Ilarius and Titian. The Eternal amidst angels in a half-round pinnacle, St. Sebastian, the Madonna, St. Agatha and another saint in rounds, in a predella. The Virgin is fleshy, the saints reminiscent of Palma and Correggio. Where the colour is preserved, for instance in the Baptist on the right, it is warm, fluid, and highly enamelled. There is a complicated strain in the two children at the foot of the nurse playing viol and tambourine. The sky is all new, the Virgin's blue dress is ruined, the arm scaled, the hair and forehead covered with repaint. The belly of the child is injured and there are spots scaled off in the distance to the left. The profile of St. Anthony is repainted, the same may be said of the hand and part of the cheek of St. Ilarius to the left, and the yellow dress of the angel playing the tambourine. The figures in the predella are ruined. The Eternal is modern, probably by Calderari. A record in Maniago (pp. 66, 195, 307, 308) says this altarpiece "fu fatta dal cel. pit. Q. Ant. quondam Angelo l'anno 1520." Yet we know that Pordenone only lost his father after 1527. [* Pordenone once promised to deliver an altarpiece for the church of Torre by Easter, 1520. Having, however, been unable to do so, he at Torre, on June 11, 1520, gave an undertaking in writing to finish the painting before Christmas of the same year. Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 32, 41 *sq.*]

Moriago, church of, choir. Arched, wood, figures of life-size. Virgin and Child between SS. John the Baptist, Catherine, Leonardo, and Anthony the Abbot in an arched portico. Two angels play instruments at foot.

The surface is much injured by flaying and repainting. In the Penna Gallery at Perugia a copy of Titian's Perseus and Andromeda at Madrid is erroneously assigned to Pordenone.

of whose likenesses so little is recorded. Contemporary chronicles and later historians dwelt enthusiastically upon the salient features of his style, and praised his daring as a draughtsman and frescante; they preserved or transmitted but sparing notice of his portraits. Still, it is to be presumed that he was at home in this as well as in other branches. Comparatively modern writers have described his "Benedetto and Girolamo Pesaro" in the palace of that family at Venice, and a "man unknown" in the Renier collection. In a Mantuan inventory of 1627 he is bespoken as author of a picture representing a female tuning a lute, and three persons in half-length at her sides. Ridolfi alludes to his Bernardo Pozzo (of Cremona) and two ladies in the Van Uffel collection at Antwerp, and Chizzola, in his Brescian guide mentions a portrait of a friar. None of these pieces have been traced.¹ In the public and private galleries of England and the Continent there are not a few solitary half-lengths or busts catalogued under Pordenone's name. We should expect to find in these something like the talent conspicuous in the master's religious compositions; but this is by no means so; and we perceive that collectors have been deceived by the signature of Bernardino Licinio or have been led into error in assigning to Pordenone what has no affinity to Pordenone in manner. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that genuine portraits are miscalled, and of these we might suggest such a list as the following:

Vienna, Czernin collection, No. 38. Canvas, 4 ft. 8 in. broad by 3 ft. 6 in. This is a half-length of a doge in state dress. On the upper corner of the warm brown background to the left, but partly concealed by over-painting, are the words: "Andrea Gritti Doge in Venetia"; low down to the right "Titianus EF."; the whole in initials. If these words are forged, the forgery is an old one. Dr. Waagen (*Kunstdenkmäler in Wien*, p. 303), curiously enough, states that this is the Doge Francesco Venieri (he held the chair from 1554 to 1556) and contradicts himself by adding the style is that of Titian in his ninetieth year (1567). He ignores the inscriptions altogether. Be this as it may, the

¹ See *antea*, p. 176, n. 3. [* As already stated, the picture mentioned in the Mantuan inventory of 1627 is identical with a portrait group by Bernardino Licinio, now at Hampton Court, No. 630.]

picture exhibits Pordenone's feeling and treatment as contradistinguished from Titian's. To life and animation in the features are superadded that peculiar weight and coarseness, especially in the hands, which distinguish the Friulan. We have also Pordenone's vehement touch, his buff, even tone of flesh, his large and resolute sweep of brush, without the broken surface, delicate modelling, glazings, or fine sense of *chiaroscuro* peculiar to Titian. It is a good portrait for Pordenone, but not equal to one by Titian. That Gritti should have sat to the master who in 1536 made such a noise at Venice would seem natural enough.

Paris, Louvre, No. 1593. Canvas, half-length; m. 0.99 high by 0.82 broad. This also is called Titian, and represents a bearded man in black with one hand on a pier, the other on the hilt of his sword. It was bought of the Marchioness Sanesi by Cardinal Mazarin at Rome. The easy attitude and noble mien of this individual are well rendered with Pordenone's massiveness. The hand again is heavy in flesh and finger, a very marked characteristic of the painter's want of refinement. The drawing is not as simple, the colour not as fresh or as natural as Titian's; it has not his subtle elasticity and relief, but rather a hot sort of evenness which approaches hardness. The portrait is, in fact, a very fine product of Pordenone's brush.

*London, Baring collection.*¹ Canvas. Life-size half-length of a man with his hand on a table, on which rest an hour-glass and books. In the upper corner to the left: "Est mori nobis de cõe debitū" to the right below: "A. s. æ. 37 MDXXI." This is assigned to Titian, and is not free from abrasion and retouching, but is a fine specimen like the foregoing.

Two half-length portraits assigned to Pordenone in the Colonna Palace at Rome are ill named; one is by Morone, the other below even Morone's powers.

Such pictures as are catalogued in the public galleries of Florence, Turin, or Rovigo are either by Palma Vecchio or Bonifazio, or others of less note.² At Dresden and Berlin,

¹ Now collection of the Earl of Northbrook.

² Florence, Uffizi, No. 619. Wood, oil. Bust of Judith with one hand on the hair, another grasping the beard, of Holophernes' head. Judith is bareheaded and bare-necked, with flowing locks, her form relieved on a dark ground. The picture has been flayed and stippled and thus greatly damaged. It was once evidently rich in tone and exquisitely carried out, but not in the manner of Pordenone so much as in that of Palma Vecchio, to whom it ought probably to be assigned. Same Gallery, No. 616. Conversion of St. Paul. Canvas oblong of

Pordenone is confounded with Bernardino Licinio or with the Cremonese Campi. At Munich, where one piece, assigned to Giorgione, suggests his name, others are improperly catalogued as Pordenone. There is scarcely an authentic canvas in England except that of the Baring collection.¹

Pordenone's last and greatest commission was given to him by Ercole, the second Duke of Ferrara, for whom he designed subjects from the *Odyssey* for embroidery in arras.

sixteen figures half life-size; a lively composition in the style of Bonifazio. No. 585. Canvas, knee-piece, life-size; portrait of a man bare-headed with a short black beard, his right hand on a book leaning on a table, a handkerchief in his left; distance, a wall and sky. This piece is injured, the hands being greatly damaged. The work is that of some follower of Paris Bordone, such as Francesco Dominici, Lodovico Fiumicelli or F. Beccaruzzi.

Florence, Pitti, No. 52. "Sacra conversazione" in the style of Giambattista Zelotti.

Rovigo Gallery, No. 4. Canvas, figures half life-size. St. Agnes enthroned between St. Lucy and St. Catherine (see Bernardino Licinio). No. 156, a female saint in contemplation, a small panel of Giorgionesque manner and time.

¹ (1) Berlin Museum, No. 196. [* Not now shown.] The Woman taken in Adultery. Half-lengths, canvas, 3 ft. 2½ in. high by 4 ft. 6 in. broad; spoiled by old repaints—by an imitator of Pordenone, or one of the Campi. The head of the Saviour and adulteress are almost new. (2) Same Gallery, No. 165 [* now on loan to the Reichskanzlerpalais at Berlin]. Christ washing the Feet of the Apostles. Canvas in the manner of a follower of Bonifazio, reminiscent of Rocco Marconi, Savoldo, or Beccaruzzi. (3) Munich, Pinak., No. 1084. A Concert; nine figures half-length singing in chorus. This picture, much altered by repainting, suggests the name of Florigerio or other Friulans of his stamp; and recalls the Modenese and Ferrarese of the following of Garofalo and the Dossi. [* Now officially ascribed to Florigerio.] (4) Frankfurt, Stædel Museum, formerly No. 32 [* not now shown], from the Barbini Breganze collection, and formerly belonging to Canova. Portrait of Cardinal Bembo. This piece is too much repainted to warrant an opinion. (5) St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 116. A Male and Female in converse. This piece is technically below Pordenone's powers, rawish in tone and outline, and hard in the transitions. It is well preserved and probably an early Cariani. (6) Nos. 117 and 118. Hercules and the Dragon and Theseus and the Centaurs are small pieces in the style of Campi when imitating Pordenone. (7) London, Stafford House. The Woman taken in Adultery; nine half-lengths of life-size, by some late Venetian. (8) National Gallery, No. 272. Fragment of a figure, of colossal size. Canvas, 4 ft. 11 in. high by 3 ft. 9 in.; originally in a Venetian church. A heavy and not favourable specimen of the master. (9) Alnwick Castle, from the Manfrini collection. Seven portraits of a painter and his family, said to be the likeness of Pordenone and his children—knee-piece, a good specimen of Bernardino Licinio (see *postea*). (10) Burleigh House, seat of the Marquis of Exeter. Adoration of the Magi, now assigned to Pordenone, formerly and with more correctness to Bassano (Jacopo da Ponte). Bassano here shows clearly enough how he adopted Pordenone's manner, as he

These Ridolfi had the good fortune to see and to describe. At the close of 1538 the Duke expressed a strong desire to speak with Pordenone, who was induced, with some difficulty, to quit Venice. It was fated that he should never see the beautiful city again. He left at the end of December, and on his arrival at Ferrara put up at the Angel inn, where he was set to work by the Duke's order upon certain large "perspectives"; but he had not been many days employed when he fell sick and died.

shows it in his Flight into Egypt and other pieces in the Gallery of Bassano. It is the same style as that of the Epiphany (No. 93 in the National Gallery of Scotland, under the name of Titian [* now under that of Bassano]), or a Christ at Emmaus with the same nomenclature in the sacristy of the church of Cittadella, or a Nativity and Adoration of the Shepherds (No. 467 in Hampton Court Palace), and a similar subject properly called Bassano in the Ambrosiana at Milan. By looking at these pieces in succession we see the gradual expansion of Jacopo da Ponte's style before he entered into the later and better-known phase of his art. (11) National Gallery of Scotland, formerly No. 131. [* Not now shown.] Christ on the Mount: a Lombard picture. (12) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, No. 135. Marriage of St. Catherine: a poor copy of a picture at Hampton Court attributed to Titian (No. 638). [* Now catalogued as a work of the Venetian school.] (13) In the same collection. Venus and Cupid: very poor, and not even by an immediate follower of Pordenone. [* Now officially ascribed to the Flemish school.] (14) Hampton Court, No. 30. A portrait-bust of a man in a black cap in long hair and beard: much injured, but still in Pordenone's manner. (15) Same Gallery, No. 69. A Knight, half-length, not genuine. The same opinion is to be held of (16) No. 158, a Senator; (17) No. 564, Judas betraying Christ; (18) No. 851, a Female in a helmet. (19) No. 152, Family of Pordenone. This, as is well known, is by Bernardino Licinio, who is also the author of (20) No. 630, a Lady playing on the Virginals. (21) No. 466, a Holy Family, is by a poor follower of Paris Bordone. (22) Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow. Virgin and Child: seems copied from that of Antonello (No. 13) at the Berlin Museum. The name of "Lycinii" in the border is false. A very poor work. (23) Manchester Exhibition, No. 217, belonging to F. Perkins. Portrait of a Young Man, dated 1528. This is by Bernardino (see *postea*). (24) London, Earl Brownlow. Portrait of a Man with an open music-book; inscribed: "MDXXIII Anno ætatis sue LV P. Lycini. P."—not seen. (25) London, Mr. Cheney. Copy of the Belvedere Apollo. We omitted to notice this work at Mr. Cheney's. Not seen likewise. (26) Late Bromley collection. Two portraits of men and two of women. (Waagen, *Treas.* iii. 378.) (27) Collection of Alton Towers. Death of Peter Martyr. (*Ibid.*, iii. 383.) (28) Madrid Museum, No. 288. Virgin and Child between St. Anthony of Padua and St. Roch. This picture seems more in the manner of Francesco Vecelli than of Pordenone, to whom it is assigned. [* Morelli was no doubt right in ascribing this picture to Giorgione (*Die Gallerien zu München und Dresden*, p. 282). It is a later work than the Castelfranco altarpiece, of which it, however, still contains distinct reminiscences.] (29) Same Gallery, formerly No. 849. [* Not now shown.] Death of Abel. Assigned to Pordenone and reminiscent of his style; but we should like to see this piece again.

The progress of his malady was so rapid that there was no time to send for Pordenone's wife or any of his relatives. When Giacomo Tebaldi, the Duke's agent at Venice, came to bring the widow fifty scudi from his master she fell into a paroxysm of grief; and there is nothing more affecting than Tebaldi's letter telling how bitterly Elizabeth Frescolini complained that she was left alone in the world with a child to come and four to feed. It was an awful source of misery to her to think that her husband had died away from her so suddenly and so suspiciously. Her friends, and perhaps Elizabeth herself, believed that he was poisoned; and historians only repeat the charge which was made at the time. But it was never proved that he perished by foul means. He breathed his last in a room at the Angel inn, and was buried without pomp in the church of San Paolo at Ferrara, on January 14, 1539.¹

Pordenone and Pellegrino both had imitators, as men of their fame and popularity needs must—some disciples in the school, others students of exhibited works—none remarkable. We shall name only a few of them:

Bernardino Licinio is frequently confounded with Pordenone, to whom he was distantly related; but he was far behind that master in every branch of his art. The probabilities are that he was born about the beginning of the sixteenth century, that he was educated in Friuli, and afterwards inhabited Venice. He was well acquainted with the men of his craft in North Italy, and once took the likeness of Palladio, and there are traces of his wanderings in the Lombard provinces.² His earliest

¹ The proofs are in Marchese Campori's "Il Pordenone in Ferrara," in *Atti e memorie delle R.R. Deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie modenesi e parmensi*, ser. i. vol. iii. pp. 271-80, Modena, 1865. Baldassare survived his brother Giovanni, Antonio and we have a record, dated March 18, 1542, in Pordenone, in which Baldassare appoints Ascanio Cesarino and Pomponio Amalteo his agents in an action against Prè Teofilo Frescolini for recovery of certain parts of the property of Giovanni Antonio. The action was tried by the vicar of the bishop of Concordia.

² Temanza, *Vita del Palladio*, pp. 284-9, and other authorities, quoted in Maniago (*Belle Arti Friul.*, p. 92). [* As a matter of fact, Bernardino Licinio was not a Friulan, nor was he a relation of Pordenone's. He belonged to a Bergamasque family, many members of which were settled in Venice and Murano; and among these a considerable number were active as artists or craftsmen. Of Bernardino we hear for the first time in 1511, when he witnessed

pictures are dated 1524; his latest 1541; he did not refuse commissions for religious pieces, but his strength lay in portrait. He was fond of family groups, putting together round a table, or in appropriate spaces, a painter with his pupils, a father with his wife and children, a mother with her son and attendants, a lady at an instrument, with accompanying singers and listeners; he occasionally represented single personages, male or female, in the fashion of the period. Of these we have examples frequently catalogued under the name of Pordenone, often inscribed with his own. One is an heirloom to which Temanza alludes in his life of Alessandro Vittoria, long preserved in the Manfrini Palace at Venice, and now at Alnwick; it represents an artist and his pupils at a board. Another, a mother receiving her son in presence of two spectators, is in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg; a third with a family of nine or ten persons, dated 1524, is in the gallery of Hampton Court, the counterpart of one of the same kind in the Borghese Gallery at Rome. At Alnwick a purple ruddiness overspreads the faces, which are coloured in a comparatively soft, rich tone; at St. Petersburg we are reminded of Cariani by the careful smoothness of the handling. The Hampton Court group is flayed and repainted, but shows marks of a bold, free touch and a more effective treatment than at Rome.¹ The models of Bernardino

a will at Venice; he must therefore have been born somewhat earlier than the authors suppose. Several other records prove his presence at Venice up to 1549. See Ludwig, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxiv., Supplement, p. 44 *sqq.* The portrait of Palladio, mentioned by Temanza, is now in the Royal collection at Windsor Castle; it is signed: "B. Lycinii opus. Andreas Paladio a. annor. XXIII. MDXLI." Cf. Von Hadeln, in *Repertorium*, xxxii. 182 *sq.*

¹ (1) Alnwick, seat of the Duke of Northumberland. The painter (half-length), a bearded man, stands behind the table, a mutilated statuette in his hand; to the left a youth holds up a drawing on which is written: "Vardè si sta ben sto disegno"; to the right another youth carries a statuette in his right, and points with his left to a drawing on the table, on which is written: "Le deficile sta arte." Three spectators are in rear, one of them smiling. On the table is an ink-bottle and carved work in fragments. This piece, alluded to by Temanza in his life of Alessandro Vittoria, was in the Manfrini collection, and subsequently belonged to Mr. Barker in London. (2) St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 120. Wood transferred to canvas, 2 ft. (Rhenish) high by 2 ft. 9 in., half-lengths; distance to the left, sky. This is also a soft picture of Bernardino, reminiscent of Palma Vecchio. It is here catalogued Pordenone. The white bodice of the lady in the middle of the picture is repainted. [* This painting is now officially ascribed to Bernardino Licinio.] (3) In the same Gallery (No. 119), 6 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high by 4 ft. 11 in. (Rhenish), Adoration of the Magi, is not by Licinio, but is a later copy of the Adoration (No. 93) in the National Gallery of Scotland. Cf. Waagen, *Die Gemäldesammlung in der k. Ermitage, ub. sup.*, p. 67. (4) Hampton Court,

are not merely those of Pordenone—they are also Palmesque and Giorgionesque—and this accounts for the error of collectors who confound his works with those of Pordenone. His flesh is usually of a dull red, and of a raw and shiny evenness in surface. The types are conventional and common, the faces cold and inexpressive, the drawing incorrect, the hands, feet, and articulations coarse. The figures are heavy and fleshy. In short, the defects of Pordenone and Palma are combined in Bernardino in a very disadvantageous manner.

Of his single portraits, a fine specimen is that which belongs to Mr. Frederick Perkins in London, dated 1528, a young man resting his right arm on a wall and his left hand on his hip; the head in its framing of locks gently inclined. To this Giorgionesque canvas we may add one more reminiscent of Lotto or Cariani—a bust of a youth in a black silk dress in the collection of Signor Felice Schiavoni at Venice. Fair in arrangement and lively in movement is the lady playing on a spinet at Hampton Court, and turning, as she plays, to speak with a man behind her, whilst an old lady on the other side listens. Though injured by abrasion, the colour is pleasant, and shows less uniform ruddiness than usual.¹

As a composer of religious incident, we first become acquainted with Licinio in a canvas bearing his signature and the date of 1530, at the museum of Rovigo—a very poor and spiritless

No. 152. Half-lengths, life-size, under the name of Pordenone. There are ten figures about a table, and a little dog. On the upper corner to the left the date "MDXXIII." The surface is injured by old cleaning and retouching. The picture was in the collection of Charles I. at St. James's (see Bathoe's catalogue, 1757) and was originally at Mantua (D'Arco, *ub. sup.*, ii. 165). (5) Rome, Galleria Borghese, No. 115. Canvas, life-size; nine figures. On the upper corner to the left: "B. Lycinii opus." [* Also inscribed: "Exprimit hic fratrem tota cum gente Lycinus et vitam his forma prorogat arte sibi." As Dr. Ludwig has shown (*loc. cit.*, p. 56) this picture represents Bernardino's brother, the painter Rigo Licinio, with his family.] (6) In the same Gallery, much in the style of Bernardino's school, but of a common class, No. 171. Virgin and Child and young Baptist between SS. Joseph, Anne, Jerome, and Catherine.

¹ (1) London. F. Perkins, Esq. No. 217 at Manchester. Canvas, knee-piece, life-size, with brown ground; on the wall to the left, on which the arm reposes: "Stephanus Nani Ab Auro XVII. MDXXVIII. Lycinius P." The figure is in a dark gabardine with grey fur collar of front; in right hand a glove; touched all over with point stippling. [* This picture is now in the National Gallery (No. 1309).] (2) Venice, Felice Schiavoni. Half-length, life-size, on dark, cold ground, of a young man, in black silk, bare-headed, his face bent to the left, a white chemisette, one hand on his breast, pointing with the forefinger of the right hand. [* Present whereabouts unknown.] (3) Hampton Court, No. 630. Half-lengths; the man to the left in a striped cap, the dame to the right injured in the hair.

BERNARDINO LICINIO



Alinari photo.

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THE ARTIST'S BROTHER WITH HIS FAMILY.

[Rome, Borghese Gallery.

Glory of St. Agnes between SS. Lucy and Catherine.¹ Better of its kind is the Virgin and Child with the kneeling St. Francis in a landscape, under the name of Polidoro at the Uffizi (No. 1288), a picture of some attraction in the figures of St. Francis and the Virgin, but vulgar in masks and uniform in the redness of the flesh parts.² Still more worthy of attention is the Virgin and Child with St. Jerome, the Baptist, a female saint, and two patrons, in the collection of Lord Wimborne, a series of half-lengths, in which the former recall Pordenone, and the latter Pellegrino in the Pallesque style which marks his Madonna of 1529 at Cividale. In spite of neglected drawing and false drapery, this picture charms by a certain softness of colour and chiaroscuro. A colder execution distinguishes the Holy Family with St. Anthony of Padua in the Manfrini Gallery—one of Bernardino's creations which once adorned the church of the Isola di San Clemente at Venice.³ Licinio's masterpiece in religious composition is the Virgin and Child enthroned amidst Saints, a large altarpiece in the Frari at Venice, a composition in the usual form, strongly reminiscent of Friulan school models, with something Titianesque in the pose and mien of some of the attendant saints. The broad handling and sombre tone, the free drawing, give an unusual charm to this work, which rivals in completeness a similar production of the year 1535 in the church of Saleto, near Padua.⁴

¹ Rovigo, Gallery Com., No. 4. Canvas, figures less than half life-size, inscribed: "Joanes Trivisanus abbas S. Cypriani quem genus Mariana colit hoc munus dedit, MDXXX." To the right: "Licinii opus." Much injured and dimmed by restoring.

² Uffizi, No. 574. St. Francis kneels and presents the cross to the Child (a very ugly one); distance, landscape. The flesh is warm, reddish, and uniform.

³ (1) England, collection of Lord Wimborne, previously in the Manfrini Gallery at Venice. Wood, half-lengths, figures life-size. The two patrons, busts on the edge of the picture, are recommended by the Baptist and a female saint, the patroness richly dressed; distance sky and hills, the clouds retouched. The draperies are very poor. (2) Manfrini collection, No. 40. Figures under life-size; canvas. Virgin and Child with the young Baptist, St. Joseph, and the kneeling St. Anthony of Padua, in a landscape, recalling the picture at Brescia, which we shall notice hereafter (see Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. della Croce, p. 52, and the later guides up to the close of the eighteenth century). [* This painting is now in the collection of Signor B. Crespi di Milan.]

⁴ (1) Venice, Frari. Wood, full-lengths, life-size. At the sides of the throne ten saints, amongst them SS. Francis, Anthony of Padua, Andrew, and Jerome, inscribed: "Bernardini Licini opus." (2) Saleto, church of. Canvas, figures life-size. Virgin and Child on a pedestal between St. Sylvester and St. Lawrence, inscribed: "Bernardinus Licinii opus 1535." The child recalls Palma Vecchio; the colour, roseate, but dry and flat, is reminiscent of that of Paris Bordone. The drapery is ill-cast.

We revert to Licinio as a portrait-painter in a likeness of a lady, dated 1533, at the Dresden Museum, a large-waisted dame with chestnut hair combed flat under a wide turban, who sits in a slashed red dress, and wears green gloves. The pattern on the turban and shoulder-straps is something like a yellow passion-flower, the chemisette is white, the neck and bosom are adorned with a collar and chain. The trick of this and other pieces of a similar kind is that the dress is put in with rapid sweep of brush on the coarse grain of the canvas, whilst the flesh is pummed smooth and modelled to a polish; but modern repainting contributes greatly to diminish the value and interest of this production.¹ In better condition is a knee-piece at the Imperial Gallery of Vienna, dated 1541, representing Ottaviano Grimani before he had emerged into full manhood and become Procuratore di San Marco. Here the brownish background alone is daubed anew, and Licinio's raw, shiny, sanguineous complexion is seen in all its force.²

Sometimes we find this master confounded with Paris Bordone, as in the portrait of a man at the Venice Academy (No. 303), sometimes with Palma Vecchio, as in the Virgin, Child, and Baptist in the Vescovado at Milan, and the half-length of a lady in the gallery of Augsburg.³ He is constantly

¹ Dresden Museum, No. 200, assigned to Pordenone [* now to B. Licinio]. Canvas, 3 ft. high by 2 ft. 7 in., restored in 1861. The signature on the niche behind the figure is partly obliterated, but reads "P. Licini f. MDXXXIII." The opening P. is a mutilated B. A piece has been added to the top and bottom of the picture.

² Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 221. Knee-piece, canvas, 3 ft. 11 in. by 2 ft. 11 in., inscribed on the brown and repainted ground: "Otavianus Grimanus Sempiterna Societate Prior. Annor. XXIII. MDXLI," and on the stone upon which the figure rests a book: "B. Lycinii. opus."

³ (1) Venice Academy, No. 303. M. 0.75 high by 0.59. Bust on light ground of a nun with her left hand on her bosom, inscribed on the ground and above two escutcheons: "F. A. XLVYII A. A. XV." This portrait is Pordenonesque in style, of a raw reddish flesh-tone, not without blemishes from restoring. [* It is now officially ascribed to B. Licinio.] (2) No. 164, in the same Gallery, assigned to Bernardino, is, as we have seen, by Fogolino. (3) Milan, Gallery of the Archiepiscopal Palace, No. 36, assigned to Palma Vecchio. [Now in the Brera, and ascribed to Licinio.] St. John the Baptist, with the lamb in a landscape, receiving the blessing from the infant Christ on the Virgin's lap. The composition is an imitation of Palma, the execution and forms are Licinio's. (4) Augsburg Museum, No. 296. Wood. Lady at a parapet with the right hand pressing her bosom, the left reposing on a book, bare-necked, her hair in a white cloth. The figure is that of a young woman almost in full front and little under life-size. The surface of the panel is charged with repaints, the flesh reduced to a brickly tone. This is one of Bernardino's pictures in which he comes nearest to Palma Vecchio. [* Now in the Pinakothek at Munich (No. 1496, as Licinio).]

taken for Giorgione, for instance, in the Adoration of the Shepherds in the Duomo Vecchio at Brescia; in the Daughter of Herodias receiving the head of the Baptist in the Sciarra Palace at Rome, and a replica of the same episode in the Leuchtenberg collection at St. Petersburg; in the Venus, Love, and Mars of the Hausmann collection at Hanover.¹ A portrait ascribed to Giovanni Bellini in the Brignole Palace at Genoa seems to be his.²

¹ (1) Brescia, Duomo Vecchio, under Giorgione's name. In front of a house, in a landscape, St. Joseph presents one of the shepherds to the Infant on the Virgin's knee; another shepherd is in prayer to the left. Wood, figures three-quarters of life-size, the panel horizontally split in two places. Presented to the church by Signor G. R. Averoldi (see F. Odorici's *Guida di Brescia*, 1853, p. 28). Here, too, the composition recalls those of Palma, but the execution is Bernardino's. The figures are paltry and incorrectly drawn, and tinged with his red flesh-tint. (2) Rome, Galleria Sciarra. Wood, figures under life-size. The daughter of Herodias, with an affectedly bent head, holds the dish on which the executioner drops the head in presence of a female. It is needless to recapitulate the features of Licinio's style which mark this piece. [* This picture is now in the collection of the Barone Lazzaroni in Paris. Modigliani, in *L'Arte*, vi. 380.] (3) St. Petersburg, Leuchtenberg collection, No. 38. Wood, figures almost life-size, 2 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ (Rhen.) high by 3 ft. 7 in. The same composition as that in the Sciarra Palace, but with one figure of a female in addition (left). This is not so good a specimen of Bernardino as the foregoing; it is hasty, neglected, and probably of his older days (cf. Waagen, *Die Gemäldesammlung, &c., zu St. Petersburg*, ub. sup., p. 375). [* The Leuchtenberg collection is now dispersed, and the editor has no clue to the present owner of this picture. It is reproduced in *L'Arte*, vi. 381.] (4) Hausmann collection in Hanover, No. 189. Canvas, life-size, 4 ft. high by 5 ft. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. On a red cloth on the ground Venus (injured), with the winged Cupid playing on his back to the left; in rear to the right a knight kneeling in armour, with a dagger in his left and leaning his right on his sword. The distance of landscape has been renewed by a Fleming. The colours and drawing are Bernardino's, the forms weighty and fleshy. This piece has also been assigned to Paris Bordone and Pordenone. [* This picture is not now exhibited in the Provinzialmuseum at Hanover, which contains the late Hausmann collection.]

² Genoa, Palazzo Brignole. See *antea*, i. 180, n. 2.

Other pictures assigned to Licinio are: (1) Pavia Malaspina Gallery. Portrait, knee-piece of a lady with a book in her left hand standing with her elbow on a pier; brown ground, red dress; on the pier: "1540. Die 25 Feb." This portrait recalls Licinio and Cariani. The surface is too much altered by repainting to allow of a correct opinion. (2) Berlin Museum, No. 158. Canvas, 3 ft. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. high by 3 ft. 9 in., from the Solly collection. A ball-player and his pupil. A Venetian or Friulan picture, perhaps by Calderari. [* Now officially ascribed to Calderari.] (3) Same Gallery, No. 170. [* Now on loan to the German Embassy at Constantinople.] A man in a black fur pelisse teaching a boy. Canvas, 2 ft. 9 in. high by 3 ft. 4 in., from the Solly collection. This, again, is different from No. 158, and recalls Cesare Vecellio. (4) Vienna, Harrach collection, No. 245.

Of Bernardino's kinsman Giovanni Antonio Licinio, who is said to have died in 1576 at Como, we know nothing¹; of Giulio Licinio, another relative, we learn almost as little. Giulio is said to be the nephew of Pordenone, and in the course of his wanderings to have visited Rome.² In the church of Roganzuol

Wood, 2 ft. 11 in. high by 3 ft. 11 in. Virgin and Child, with a female saint in prayer. This may originally have been by Licinio, but does not go by his name; it is very much repainted. (5) Venice, Lady Layard. Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph, left, a saint with the banner and palm; distance, landscape. This is a small original work by Licinio. (6) Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow, State bedroom. Half-length of a female in a yellow turban, with a glove in one hand and a book in the other, in front of a red curtain. Canvas, life-size. The character of this work points to a Ferrarese, perhaps Dosso Dossi or Garofalo. [* Present whereabouts unknown.] (7) Same collection. Virgin, Child, St. Joseph, and Mary Magdalen. Half-lengths, in front of a parapet on which is written: "B. Lycinii." A coarse falsification. [* Bought at the Hamilton Palace sale by the Hon. Percy Wyndham.]

In addition to those mentioned above the following are also works by Bernardino Licinio: (8) Bergamo, Galleria Lochis, No. 197. Portrait of a Lady. (9) Berlin, collection of Herr V. von Loga. The Virgin and Child with SS. John the Baptist and Peter. See von Hadeln, in *Monatshfte für Kunstwissenschaft*, iii. 279 sq. (10) Grenoble, Museum. The Virgin and Child with SS. James, John the Baptist, Jerome, and a donor. Signed: "MDXXXII B. Lycinii opus." (11) Milan, Brera. The Virgin and Child with the infant St. John (from the Battistelli collection). (12) Milan, collection of Signor B. Crespi. The Virgin and Child with the infant St. John the Baptist. (13) Rome, Galleria Barberini. Heads of Christ and the Twelve Apostles. (14) Sandhurst Lodge, collection of the late Sir William Farrer. Portrait of a Young Man, holding his hand on a skull. (15) Venice, Academy. Portrait group.]

Missing: (16) Venice, Procuratie Vecchie. Two frescoes: "Sotto il volto del Portico." Justice and dignity. School of Pordenone (Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. di San Marco, p. 79). (17) Venice, Magistrato della Ternaria all'Oglio. St. Mark between Justice and Temperance (Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. di San Polo, p. 10). (18) Scuola di Sant' Ambrogio e San Carlo de' Milanesi alli Frari. St. Ambrose on horseback, "del fratello del Pordenone" (Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. di San Polo, p. 46). (19) Venice, San Marco degli Angeli, tav. Virgin and Child between St. Lawrence and Ursula with Lorenzo Pasqualigo kneeling. Boschini (*Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. della Croce, p. 26) assigns this to the school of P. Bordone.

¹ Maniago, *ub. sup.*, i. 91 and 344, and Renaldi, *ub. sup.*, p. 43. [* This painter was not a Licinio; he was a nephew of Pordenone, and is recorded as living at Pordenone in 1533 and 1547. A portrait by him, signed Antonius Portunauensis, is in the Museo Civico di Milan. See Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, p. 57.]

² Giulio Licinio was the son of Bernardino Licinio's brother Rigo. Born about 1527, he was still living in 1584. For some time he worked as painter to the Emperor Ferdinand at Graz. A signed picture by him is in the church of Lonno, near Bergamo. See Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, pp. 52 sqq.; Morelli, *Die Galerien zu München und Dresden*, p. 34, n. 1.

in Cadore, for which Titian painted an altarpiece, the walls and ceiling are filled with frescoes assigned to Vecelli and Pomponio Amalteo. On the side against which the altar rests are the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, Christ giving the Keys to St. Peter, and fragments of other subjects. Elsewhere we have the Fall of Simon Magnus, the Crucifixion of St. Peter, and a battle-scene; in the vaultings, the Woman taken in Adultery, the Death of John the Baptist, and other episodes and single figures. It was perhaps because these frescoes bore the school stamp of Pordenone that they were given to Pomponio; they are not in that painter's usual style, but by a disciple of the same school who studied Raphael's designs. The battle-scene is derived from Sanzio's Attila, and the Miraculous Draught from the cartoons; the colour is more sombre and red in shadow, the contour more incisive and incorrect than Pomponio's. Giulio, if taught by Pordenone, and subsequently a visitor in Rome, might have done such things as these. He is ascertained to have lived in his latter days at Augsburg, and there are vestiges of large distempers representing Pluto, Venus, and Janus, in Pordenone's fashion, on the face of a house in the Philipppinewelser Strasse, but there is really nothing authentic preserved except an inscription in Maniago's work, from which we ascertain that the artist was still at Augsburg in 1561. He is supposed to have died there, and it may be assumed that Zanotto errs when he suggests that Giulio is the author of the allegories executed in 1584 in the hall of the library of the ducal palace at Venice.¹

Giovanni Maria Zaffoni, more generally called Calderari, is one of those who carried the style of Pordenone to the close of the sixteenth century. He was a bold executant in the fashion of Pomponio Amalteo, Beccaruzzi, or Fiumicelli, and an imitator of Paris Bordone as well as of Pordenone. He is not known out of Friuli, but there he practised from 1534 to

¹ See Zanotto, *Guida di Venezia*, 8vo, 1863, p. 115, and Maniago, *ub. sup.*, p. 212, who copies from de Piles' *Abrégé* an inscription on a house at Augsburg with Giulio's name and the date 1561. The frescoes on this house are all new, except the much-injured ones of Pluto and another deity. The treatment is sharp and incorrect in a low manner imitative of Pordenone and Tintoretto. [* It is proved by a contemporary record that Giulio Licinio, on Aug. 19, 1556, was commissioned to execute three paintings for the ceiling of the Libreria di San Marco; these pictures were finished early the following year. In March 1560 we find the artist still at Venice; and we also possess records of his presence there in 1574, 1579, 1580, and 1584. See "Archivalische Beiträge" in *Italienische Forschungen*, iv. 139 *sqq.*; Ludwig, *loc. cit.*; Zanetti, *Della pittura veneziana*, p. 249.]

1570.¹ One of his best and earliest works is the well of the font in the cathedral at Pordenone, on the four sides of which he painted the Birth of John, his Sermon and Decapitation, and the Baptism of Christ. These are small but lively compositions, thrown off with a rapid hand and without much attention to drawing, and coloured in the red and uniform flesh tints which characterize almost all the followers of Pordenone. They were done in 1534. In 1542 he finished the Nativity with various saints and a patron in armour in prayer, a tempera which still exists in the church of Pissincana in Friuli, and which Ridolfi took for a Pordenone. His frescoes in the Cappella Montereale in the Duomo of Pordenone are dated 1555, and he filled the church of Santissima about the same period with a complete cycle of scenes from the Old Testament. A later series of the same kind is that in the village church of Montereale, valued posthumously in 1570 by Pomponio Amalteo; but on this occasion Calderari obviously left a great part of his duties to assistants.²

Of an earlier period than Calderari, but taught in the school of Pellegrino, is Luca Monverde, who was born at Udine in 1491 and died before 1529.³ We may believe that he remained a long time in the atelier of his master, for we hear only of a few church banners for which the commissions are preserved; and

¹ He died in 1563. Joppi, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv. Misc. xii. Supplement, p. 32.

² March 15. Pordenone: payment for the Baptism in San Marco of Pordenone (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, p. 346). (1) The Nativity of Pissincana is mentioned by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 152). The Virgin adores the child, and is surrounded by SS. Gregory, Michael, Francis, and Bernardino; and the piece is inscribed: "1542. I. M. P. F." 1555. (2) Pordenone, Duomo. Cap. Montereale: Sides: 1°, Christ at Emmaus; 2°, Christ appears to the Magdalen; 3°, Assumption; 4°, Visitation; 5°, Descent of the Holy Spirit; 6°, Christ and the Doctors; 7°, the Ascension. Lunettes: 1°, Presentation in the Temple; 2°, Adoration of the Shepherds; 3°, Adoration of the Magi; 4°, obliterated. Ceiling: 1°, Birth of Christ; 2°, Presentation of the Virgin in the temple; 3°, Marriage; 4°, obliterated. Final payment in 1570 (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, p. 214, 346). These frescoes are all in very bad condition. (3) Pordenone, church of the Santissima: choir and aisle. Here are from twenty-five to thirty frescoes from the Old Testament, and beneath a figure of St. Lucy is the following inscription: "Hipolitus Maroneus formæ hujus templi inventor, hoc sacellum sic ornavi jussit MDLV." (See Maniago, *ub. sup.*, p. 245.) (4) Montereale, church of, frescoes in choir, with scenes from the New Testament, valued in 1570. (See Maniago, *ub. sup.*, pp. 92, 213, 347, 348). [* Cf. Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 33 and 85 sq.]

³ Luca was born somewhat later than the authors suppose, for he did not become of age between 1515 and 1517, but was still a minor in 1519. He died between Aug. 12, 1525, and Jan. 21, 1526. See Joppi, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv. vol. xi. pp. 77 sqq.

we have nothing extant except the large altarpiece of the Madonna and Saints, done in 1522 for Santa Maria delle Grazie at Udine. The figures in this piece are mostly well-proportioned. Some are in postures, others in natural attitudes. The child dances on the Virgin's lap like some of Pellegrino's angels. The spare colours and dim red flesh, the careful drawing and unshaded modelling, reveal a timid craftsman; and it is difficult to agree with Vasari that Monverde would have been excellent had he not perished early.¹

Sebastiano Florigerio is the same young artist whom we saw Pellegrino attempt to attach to his person by a marriage with his daughter Aurelia. It was agreed in 1527 that Florigerio should stay two years with his master before he married, and that his services during that time should be unpaid. It is not certain that the match took place; but Florigerio was still, we may believe, helping Pellegrino when he worked at the altarpiece of Cividale in 1529. Four years earlier he had been allowed to accept an order for an altarpiece in the church of Santa Maria di Villanuova, near San Daniele, and subsequently, perhaps, he finished for the fraternity of the Calzolari at Udine the Con-

¹ Luca Monverde was the son of Bertrando Monverde of Udine. We have records of himself and his family as follows: June 28, 1498. Udine: Francesco de' Ricamatori lets a house in Borgo Gemona of Udine to Bertrando Monverde. April 7, 1505. Udine: will of Donna Monverde q. Stefano Polanis, furrier of Udine, widow of q. M. Giacomo de' Caprileis, tailor. She leaves to her nephew, Luca q. Bertrando, three ducats, and the rest of her property to Leonardo, her son. Oct. 16, 1515. Udine: grant of leave to the tutors of the minor Luca q. Bertrando Monverde of Borgo Gemona at Udine to sell a field. June 25, 1517. San Daniele: witnesses to a will, M^o. Bernardino di Maestro Giacomo da Udine, painter, and M^o. Luca q. M^o. Bertrando "el Monver," inhabitant of Udine. The coming of age of Monverde between 1515 and 1517 makes his birth fall pretty certainly in 1491. [* Cf. *antea*, p. 192, n. 3].

The altarpiece in Santa Maria delle Grazie at Udine represents the Virgin and Child on a throne, and at foot SS. Roch, Gervase, Protase, and Sebastian. At the base of the pillar to which St. Sebastian is bound is the date M^oXXII, and on the base of the panel: "Fraternità di San Gervasio fece fare essendo Cameraro M^o. Climente et Bernardo Fachin prior." The figures are life-size—the panel split horizontally in many places, and the figures injured. The worst preserved parts are the Virgin and Child, the best SS. Protase and Gervase. The whole work is that of a follower of Pellegrino (see Vasari, v. 108). Feb. 18, 1532. Udine: Luca contracts for a gonfalone, with St. George and a story from his life, for the brotherhood of San Giorgio of Udine, for thirty-two ducats. Jan. 7, 1524. Udine: in the shop of Luca, the said Luca lets a shop beneath his own in Mercato Vecchio. Jan. 15, 1524. Udine: Luca promises to paint a gonfalone with the Madonna for the church of Santa Marizza. Aug. 12, 1525. Luca sells one of his fields. 1529. Luca is recorded as dead. (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, pp. 181, 299.)

ception with SS. Sebastian and Roch, which now hangs in the Venice Academy. It is a striking peculiarity of this piece that its treatment recalls both Pellegrino and Luca Monverde. In regularity of proportions and propriety of arrangement the figures might have been put together by Martini, and the character of their form and outline is much akin to that of the altarpiece of 1529 at Cividale, but the posture of St. Sebastian and the excessive uniformity of the flesh-tints betray the hand of Sebastiano. In a large canvas, representing St. George and the Dragon, ordered for San Giorgio of Udine in January 1529, we detect the progress of Florigerio's art. Vasari justly praises the resolute movement of the hero tilting at the monster, the force of action in the damsel, who raises her arms in token of thanks to Heaven for succour; he admires the landscape, the Baptist looking up, the choir of angels, and the Virgin adoring the child in glory. The pose, foreshortenings, and fleshy forms now remind us more of Pordenone and Pomponio Amalteo than of Pellegrino; and something in the weight and strain of the figures suggests reminiscences of the Vercellese school of Lanini or Gandolfini; but the flesh-tints, in their sombre rawness and their cold transition from yellow light to reddish shade, as well as the vestment colours in their depth and harshness, are almost as much Veronese as Friulan.

A short time after Florigerio received the commission for this picture he left Udine for Padua, where he lived till 1533. His altarpiece and frescoes in San Bovo are destroyed, with the exception of a Christ dead on the Virgin's lap, and a Deposition which have been extensively repainted; his monochromes in the portico of the Palace of the Capitano (built by Falconetto in 1532) have perished, and there remains but an altarpiece in bad condition at the Venice Academy to illustrate this period of the artist's career.¹

A tragic incident marked Florigerio's return to Udine. He fought in 1539 with a tailor named Giovanni Pietro of Moggio, and had the misfortune to kill him. He fled for refuge to Cividale, where he afterwards resided and practised, and the *vendetta* was only compromised in 1543. From that time till his death, the date of which is unknown, Florigerio seems to have lived at Udine.² Amongst his lost or missing productions

¹ Cf. *postea*, p. 195, n. 1.

² The above account of Florigerio's life contains some errors. The fight with the tailor occurred some ten years before 1539; he was banished from Friuli for the murder on May 11, 1529. He subsequently went to Padua, and later to Cividale, where he was settled in 1538. In 1543 he moved to Conegliano. (See Joppi, *loc. cit.*, p. 67 *sqq.*)

are several portraits, one of them that of Raphael, father of a craftsman who deserves to be remembered.¹

Giovanni Battista di Raphael Grassi, to whom we just alluded, is described by Vasari as an excellent master, from whom he received most of his notices on Friulan art. His first commission was an altarpiece in San Cristoforo of Udine valued by Giovanni da Udine in 1547. In 1551 he was one of four competitors for a contract for the altarpiece of Santa Lucia of

¹ Florigerio. Vasari says of him that he lived about forty years (Vasari, v. 110). He was alive in 1543. His birth dates, for this reason, in the first ten years of the century. The earliest date respecting him is unpublished. Aug. 28, 1525. San Daniele: Maestro Sebastiano promises to paint St. John the Baptist and St. Joseph for the Brotherhood of Santa Maria of Villanuova. Nov. 27, 1527. San Daniele: Sebastiano di Giacomo di Bologna, da Conegliano, signs a contract of marriage with Aurelia, daughter of Pellegrino da San Daniele. (See *antea*.) Jan. 26, 1529. Udine: contract of Florigerio to paint the altarpiece of San Giorgio at Udine for 28 ducats. 1533: frescoes at San Bovo of Padua (Brandolese, *Pitt. di Pad.*, p. 76; Rossetti, *Il Forastiere*, p. 105). Monochromes on portal of Palazzo del Capitano at Padua, in which are still fragments of the inscription: "...loriger.. MDCCCCXX." (Brandolese, *ub. sup.*, p. 176). Nov. 1539. Cividale: contract to paint a gonfalone for the Brotherhood of Santo Spirito. July 21, 1542. Cividale: power for an arrangement between the relations of Giovanni Pietro Sarte of Moggio and Florigerio. June 19, 1543. Cividale: deed of arrangement by which the relatives of Sarte and Florigerio shake hands and make peace, and Florigerio is enabled to return to Udine. June 15, 1543. Cividale: Giovanni da Udine values Florigerio's Virgin and Saints above the portal of the monastery of San Giovanni in Valle at Cividale. [* Cf. Joppi, *loc. cit.*] Of Florigerio's pictures: (1) Venice Academy, No. 157. Wood, m. 2'40 high by 1'81. Virgin and Child in the lap of St. Anne, enthroned on a niche, figures life-size. (2) Udine, church of San Giorgio. Arched canvas, oil, figures life-size. Tones a little bleached (see Vasari, v. 108 sq.). (3) Padua, San Bovo. The guides of Brandolese and Rossetti (*ub. sup.*), notice in San Bovo: 1°, Christ dead on the lap of the Virgin, above high altar, still preserved in a bad state; 2°, Upper Chapter-house, altarpiece with the dead Saviour on the Virgin's lap, with St. Sebastian, St. Roch, St. Anthony of Padua, and three other saints, inscribed: "Sebastianus Florigerius faciebat anno Salutis 1533. Martii die VII." [* The figures of SS. Roch and Sebastian are now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna (Nos. 259 and 260). See Ludwig in the Vienna *Jahrbuch*, vol. xxii. pt. ii. p. vii.] Deposition of Christ, near the altar, fresco, still in existence, covered with repaints. (4) Venice Academy, No. 551 (catalogue of 1867), from San Bovo of Padua. M. 0'92 high by 1'76. St. Francis with St. Anthony and St. John Evangelist. [* This picture has never been in San Bovo; it formed originally part of the same altarpiece as the Virgin and Child with St. Anne mentioned above, to which it is now again united.] (5) Same Gallery, No. 86. Assigned to Florigerio, is really by Diana (see *antea*). (6) Udine, San Pietro Martire. Christ at Emmaus, and Death of Peter Martyr (Vasari, v. 109), missing. (7) Udine, Canto del Palazzo Marquando. Fresco of St. John (Vasari, v. 109; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 173), missing. (8) Udine. Portrait of Messer Raffaello Belgardo (Vasari, v. 109), missing.

Udine, which was given by ballot to Bernardino Blaceo. His life was long and busily devoted to architecture and painting in all its branches. His will, of which we possess a copy, is dated from a sick-bed in Udine in 1578.¹ From such of his works as have been preserved we judge that Grassi was of a lively and impetuous temper, following at first the models of Pordenone, Pellegrino, and Morto, at last those of the Michel-angelesques. The Medusa, Jove, and Vulcan which he designed on the front of the Casa Sabbatini at Udine in 1554 are specimens of his earlier style; strong in red flesh-tints with dark brown shadows, deep and sharply contrasted in vestment colours, bold in contour and execution. What remains of the compositions from the legend of St. Lucy with which he covered the outer walls of the Hospital of the Pellegrini at Udine in 1567 shows him to have been a clever composer, fairly rendering movement, and graceful in thought, but still in the main Friulan. The same might perhaps be said of the frescoes in the Castello of Udine, which are stated to have been done in 1569, were they not ruined by neglect and repaint. Amongst his subject pieces we still admire the Nativity, Annunciation, Marriage of Cana, and Christ curing a sick man, painted for the new organ of the Duomo at Udine in 1556. They are injured by retouching, but they produce much the same impression as the frescoes of the Casa Sabbatini and Pellegrini. It is unfortunate that the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence at Buia (1558) should be disfigured by abrasion; there is something grand in the arrangement, shape, and action of the figures; something Michelangelesque in their weight and size. Still more in this character are the shutters painted for the old organ at Gemona in 1577, a series comprising the Death and Assumption of the Virgin, the Vision of Ezekiel, and Elijah taken up to Heaven. Pordenone, Vasari, Salviati are Grassi's sources for these compositions, which display a lively fancy and considerable knowledge of architecture and perspective, but at the same time a conventional and flashy imitative power. We have seen that some pictures assignable to Grassi illustrate his imitative faculty, and, like Pellegrino and others, he is open to the reproach or praise of being confounded with Giorgione.²

*¹ He died on June 18, 1578. Joppi in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv. vol. xii. Supplement, p. 34.

*² Grassi. He is noticed in Vasari, v. 109. His name is Giovanni Battista q. Raphaelis Grassi. Oct. 23, 1547. Udine: Giovanni da Udine values Grassi's altarpiece (missing) in San Cristoforo of Udine (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, p. 358). Sept. 11, 1550. Udine: pictures in San Cristoforo by Grassi, are valued by Francesco Cantonella. Aug. 2, 1551. Udine: ballot between Grassi and others as to

By far the most important of the second-class craftsmen in Friuli is Pomponio Amalteo, the pupil of Pordenone. We have seen that, when in his prime, he married Graziosa, Pordenone's daughter. He had previously served apprenticeship with his father-in-law, and matriculated as an independent master. He

who shall paint the altarpiece of St. Lucia of Udine. Oct. 9: Grassi gets tutors appointed to his two brothers. Jan. 22, 1552. Udine: deed of arrangement between Grassi and the men of Majano; the latter pay him for painting, 20 ducats a year. 1554. Fresco of Casa Sabbatini. March 27, 1556. Udine: grant to Grassi and F. Floreani to paint the well of the organ in the Duomo (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, pp. 237 and 300). 1558. Buia: payment to Grassi for altarpiece—285 ducats. 1559. Altarpiece of Grassi (missing) for the church of Segnacco. June 23, 1563. Udine: Grassi buys a house at Udine for 293 ducats. 1567 (Maniago reads erroneously 1557, *ub. sup.*, pp. 237, 238). Udine: frescoes of the Pellegrini. 1569. Frescoes in the Castello, but it is remarkable that the same subjects are given by different authors from Grassi and Pomponio (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, p. 224; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 175; Renaldi, p. 53). June 5, 1573. Udine: will of Donna Corona Vallarossa, Grassi's second wife, in his favour. July 28 and Oct. 6, 1577. Gemona: organ shutters and other paintings completed by Grassi (Maniago, *ub. sup.*, pp. 109, 236, and 354; Ridolfi, i. 175, who misprints, "Genova"). May 13, 1578. Udine: Grassi's will, in which one of the bequests is that of a debt from the church of Turiacco for an altarpiece (missing). [* See also Joppi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 34, 86 *sqq.*]

Besides the figures in the Casa Sabbatini at Udine, mentioned in the text, the whole house is covered with designs. Under the eaves between the upper windows parts of a lion and Medusa's head, between these and the next lower windows four medallions with heads and female figures, between the windows of the next lower story gambols of children, beneath which traces of a frieze of ornament; on a projecting stone above the first floor windows are the words: "1554. adi. p^a agst." (Maniago erroneously read 1545, *ub. sup.*, p. 237). This description of the decorations will prove that what is now the Casa Sabbatini was in Ridolfi's time Casa Valentini (*Marav.*, i. 175).

(1) Ospitale de' Pellegrini at Udine. Frescoes with life-size figures. In the centre is the Madonna, almost obliterated, below which is a fragment of a Saint Agatha in a niche. Between the two is the date "MDLXVII." To the left St. Lucy distributes her possessions to the poor, beneath which St. Lucy is tied to the team of oxen; to the right are mere spots and pieces of St. Lucy refusing to sacrifice, and the executioner sticking his dagger into the saint's breast. (2) Udine, Castello. What remains of frescoes here is so injured as to be worthless. (3) Udine, Duomo. Of the organ panels—the Nativity, Circumcision, Annunciation, Marriage of Cana, and Christ curing a Sick Man—the three last are in the sacristy of the Duomo, a fourth in the "municipio," the rest in their old places. All are repainted, more or less. (4) Buja. Martyrdom of St. Lawrence. Arched canvas. In the lunette Christ between the Virgin and Evangelist, attended by St. Peter and another saint. Below, the saint on the gridiron, and the emperor commanding the execution. This is an unpleasant and damaged production of Grassi. (5) Gemona. Organ; large canvases with life-size figures, described in detail in Maniago, *ub. sup.*, p. 109.

was born in 1505, and is said to have exhibited his maiden powers in the Cappella Malchiostro at Treviso; but it has been observed that this is probably an error, and we can find no earlier record of his industry than the date of 1529, assigned—perhaps erroneously—to his ruined frescoes in the Hall of the Notaries at Belluno. In 1532 he was at Udine, in 1533 at San Vito, the place of his habitual residence. In its most favourable aspects Pomponio's style is an echo of that of his teacher, to whom some of his productions have been ascribed. He was a spirited artist, but without original genius in treatment and composition, exaggerating rather than correcting the faults of the Friulans of the period. His groups are frequently ill-balanced, his figures strained, and his drawing incorrect; meaningless drapery and vulgar types of face and form are defects of Pordenone unredeemed by Pordenone's power. As a *frescante* Pomponio is bright and varied in colour; on canvas his tones are dull, blind, and insufficiently shaded; and it is clear that he cares less for easel pieces than large scenic creations.

The votive St. Roch of 1533, with St. Apollonia, St. Sebastian and other saints, in the Duomo of San Vito, is very broadly treated in a fashion reminiscent of Pordenone and Titian. The Judgments of Daniel, Solomon, and Trajan, fragments of which are preserved in the loggia of the town-house at Ceneda—a work of 1534—are likewise in Pordenone's style as regards the contour, deportment, and expression of the figures. They are creations of a man trained to large and sketchy illustrations of incident into which life is introduced by strong action of men and horses and architectural landscape. More important in extent is the series of frescoes in the church of the hospital at San Vito, for which Cardinal Maria Grimani—who ordered them—gave the painter a patent of nobility in 1535. The choir is filled, in the manner of Pordenone, with scenes from the history of Mary, till her death and assumption. In the cupola the Saviour receives her in heaven, and the dove hovers over her at the bidding of the Eternal. In the pendentives are medallions with Daniel in the Lion's Den, Melchisedek's Offering, the Flight of Lot from Sodom, and the Sacrifice of Abraham; elsewhere Evangelists, Doctors, Prophets, Sibyls, and, on the face of the choir-arch, colossal representations of David and St. Paul. In every personage is life, in every group a bold fancy, in the neglected outlines a frank roughness; characteristic are the warm but sombre richness of the colours, the untransparent darkness of the brown shadows, and the depth of the vestment

tints. In this and in masks and postures we are often reminded of Andrea Schiavone.

On the same large scale we have the frescoes of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Prodolone, with incidents from the lives of Christ and the Virgin, ordered in 1538 and finished in 1542; the organ shutters and parapets in the Dnomo of Valvasone, with episodes from the Old and New Testament, done between 1542 and 1544; the choir of the church of Baseglia, with illustrations from the Passion and the Legend of the Cross, executed in 1544-50; the choir of the church of Lestans, with compositions from Genesis and the Gospels, begun in 1545 and ended in 1548. At Prodolone there is less spirit than at San Vito; at Valvasone a broad treatment, without charm of tone; at Baseglia much to recall Lanino and the school of Vercelli. The cycle at Lestans is much in the mode of Pordenone, with the school east of Bernardino Licinio occasionally preponderant, and may therefore have been designed simultaneously with that of Baseglia, which is close by. In both no doubt assistants found employment.

A long catalogue might be made of Pomponio's labours from this period until his death in 1584. We need only notice the most important, the canvases of the new organ at Udine, large Scripture themes thrown off with ease in 1555; the Passion of 1572, in the Church of Maniago; the Entombment of 1576 in the Monte di Pietà at Udine; the organ-loft at Oderzo, and the ceiling panels of 1583 in San Francesco of Gemona. Amalteo was a rapid and long-lived artist, whose practice was confined to Friuli and the march of Treviso, but who laboured to the last days of his existence. In his later period he showed but slight symptoms of decline, and the numberless figures which he painted at Gemona in his seventy-ninth year are bold and easy in style and richly blended in tone.¹

¹ Pomponio Amalteo was the son of one Ser Leonardo, of La Motta. A calendar of records extending from 1532 to 1581 and a full reprint of the important ones have been published by Signor Vincenzo Joppi, under the title *Documenti inediti sulla vita ed opere del Pittore P. Amalteo*, 4to, Udine, 1869. To this, to Federico Altan's "Memorie intorno alla vita e all'opere dell'insigne Pittore Pomponio Amalteo" in Calogiera, *Raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici e filologici*, vol. xlviii., 12°, Venice, 1753, and to the volume of Maniago, which gives the description of all Pomponio's pictures and frescoes, the reader must be referred. [* See now also Joppi, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv. vol. xii. pp. 61 *seq.*, and Zotti, *Pomponio Amalteo*.] His birth in 1505 is proved by an inscription on one of his pictures, the Flight into Egypt, in the Cappella Montereale at Pordenone. He was married, first, to Orsa, daughter of Giovanni de' Sbrojavacca, who died in 1531; the second time, as we have seen, to Pordenone's daughter; the third time, in 1541, to Lucrezia, daughter of Ser Giovanni Niccolò q. Ser Andrea di Madrisio of Udine. He was

still alive in 1583. [* Amalteo was married yet another time; his death occurred in 1588. Joppi, *loc. cit.*, p. 67.]

(1) Treviso, Cappella Malchiostro. On the question whether Pomponio could have painted here, see *antea* in Pordenone. (2) Belluno, Hall of the Notaries. The four subjects on the walls of this hall are engraved by M. Toller. They represented in their original condition: The Vestal's Trial by Water, Catiline's Conspiracy, Titus Manlius Torquatus present at the decapitation of his son, Brutus the Elder condemning his children to death. See also "Di Pomponio Amalteo Elogio," by Jacopo Mantoani, in *Discorsi letti nella I. R. Acc. di B. A. in Venezia*, 8vo, 1835, Venice, pp. 41, 47. Miari (*Dizionario Stor. . . . Bellunese*, *ub. sup.*, p. 54) says the frescoes were painted about 1529, but the date is not proved. (3) San Vito, Duomo. St. Roch, St. Apollonia, St. Sebastian, and two other saints, with an inscription concluding: "Pomponius pinxit MDXXXIII." Canvas, figures of life-size. (4) Ceneda, Town-house, Loggia. See the fullest descriptions in Crico (*Lettere sulle B. A. Trivig.*, *ub. sup.*, pp. 240 *sqq.*). They are frescoes in Pordenone's style, and taken for works of Pordenone by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 148). Renaldis (*ub. sup.*, p. 51) states that they were painted in 1534, and this seems true, as they are apparently earlier in date than those of 1535 in the church dell' Ospitale at San Vito; they cannot be called anything more than relics of works of art. (5) San Vito, chiesa dell' Ospitale, choir. These frescoes are partly mutilated, partly injured by damp and changed by restoring. In the frieze of the cupola: "Deiparæ Virginis Collegio jubente pictura hæc Roberto Corona Rectore principium habuit MDXXXV." In some parts, as in the feeble compositions of the Spozalizio and Presentation we may perhaps discern the hand of Pomponio's brother Girolamo, or other assistants (see for Girolamo, Maniago, *ub. sup.*, pp. 103, 104, and Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 174). (6) Prodelone, near San Vito. Choir frescoes, assigned by Renaldis (p. 29) to Pordenone. Not so good as at San Vito. All the blue grounds scraped away, and many parts quite dim; some parts by assistants. (7) Valvasone, Duomo. Organ doors, with the Gathering of the Manna on the outer side, Melchisedek and the Sacrifice of Abraham on the inner. Large canvases, dull in colour. Better preserved are the Marriage of Cana, the Expulsion of the Vendors from the Temple, the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, and the Magdalen washing the Feet of the Apostles, on the parapet of the organ. (8) Baseglia; choir. Many of the frescoes here are gone in part or much injured. Gone is half of the lunette with Christ carrying his Cross, and three parts of the lower subject, Christ being nailed to the cross. Dim and spotted is the Redeemer in Glory, on the cupola. Lost altogether are the Miracle of the Man cured at the Raising of the Cross, Heraclius carrying the Cross, and Christ before Pilate. Under a Charity in the soffit of the choir-arch are the words: "Mdl adi XXIII. Soto l' Administrato de Piero Chandon." On the façade is still a St. Christopher and a festoon of fruit and flowers in Pomponio's style. (9) Lestans. These frescoes are much injured by time and restoring, the latter dating, as we observe by an inscription of 1705, from 1548. (10) Udine, Duomo. Organ shutters; canvas, with life-size figures. Subjects, the Pool of Bethesda, the Raising of Lazarus, the Vendors expelled from the Temple; the latter inscribed: "Pomponi Amaltei MDLV. April." The colours have become blind from age. (11) Maniago; choir. In the ceiling the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection and Last Judgment, and the Evangelists and Doctors. Altarpiece, the Redeemer in Glory. Below, the Baptist between St. Peter, John, and two others. Predella, Scenes from the life of the Baptist. The frescoes are damaged, the altarpiece flayed.

(12) Udine, Monte di Pietà. [* Now Museo Civico.] The Entombment, inscribed: "... Redemptori ... dicatum. Pomponius Amalt. MDLXXVI." This composition recalls Schiavone and Paolo Veronese, but wants vigour and liveliness; but this defect may be due to restoring. (13) Oderzo, Duomo; organ-loft. Birth of John, Sermon, Baptism of Christ, Decapitation of John, Daughter of Herodias with the Head of the Baptist. Organ-shutters, Nativity, Resurrection, and Transfiguration, the last inscribed: "Pomponii Amalthei." These last are more or less covered over with repaint. (14) Gemona. Rounds of prophets, now transferred into the Casa Carli. [* At present in the church of San Giovanni at Gemona. Zotti, *ib. sup.*, pp. 130 *sq.*]

In addition to these we have the following: (1) San Vito. Virgin in a house, and frescoes in Pomponio's own house, now an inn. The Madonna is gone, the frescoes are rude and coarse works (Maniago, *ib. sup.*, p. 29). (2) Varmo, church of San Lorenzo. Arched canvas, of poor execution and in bad preservation. Virgin and Child, angels, the Evangelist, St. Gregory, St. Joseph, and St. Stephen, and a male and female congregation, dated "MDXLII." (3) Cividale Duomo, but originally in the nunnery della Cella. Annunciation. Canvas, inscribed: "Pomponius Am. pingebat MDXLVI. mense Junii." In a Glory, in which the Eternal appears, we are reminded of Pordenone. The colour is flat, and there is little relief from shadow. The treatment is a cento of styles between Pordenone and Paris Bordone. (4) Valvasone, San Martino. Christ in Glory, St. Martin sharing his Cloak, and other saints, contracted for in Jan. 31, 1547, and finished in 1549 (Joppi, *Documents, ib. sup.*, pp. 11, 12, 22). A fine work of the master, recalling the Vercellese school and that of Gaudenzio Ferrari. (5) Same church. Virgin and Child, SS. Sebastian, Roch, Francis, and two angels; figures life-size. This is a poor work of the master. (6) La Motta, Duomo. Virgin and Child, SS. Dominic, Bernardino, and an Eternal in Glory, inscribed: "Pomponii Amalthei Mothæ civis et incolæ MDLVI Junii" (see Maniago, p. 229, and Crico, *ib. sup.*, p. 362). (7) Same place, church of San Rocco. Christ in Glory with the Virgin and Baptist, and below SS. Anthony and James, two Franciscans, and angels, inscribed: "Pomponii amalthei MDLXIV" (Maniago, p. 230). (8) Treviso Duomo. Canvas of SS. James, Anthony, Bernardino, and another saint, parted by three angels playing instruments; life-size, inscribed: "Pomponius Amalthei MDLXIII." Above is a Glory, angels about the cross. The tone is dull and thin, and the execution feeble. There are also remains of frescoes of the same character at the Porta Altina of Treviso. (9) Pordenone, Duomo, Cappella Montereale. Flight into Egypt, inscribed: "Pomponii Amalthei annorum LX. MDLXV." A graceful picture. The Virgin pulls the fruit off a palm; in the distance are numerous animals in a landscape. The surface is darkened by time and varnishes. (10) Udine, Castello. The frescoes here are gone (see Maniago, p. 224). (11) San Vito, Duomo. The Samaritan at the Well, the Magdalen at the Feet of Christ, Christ washing the Feet of the Apostles; on this last: "Pomponii Amalthei annorum LXI. MDLXVI." These are four canvases, with short figures of small size. (12) San Daniele, Duomo. Canvases. Marriage of the Virgin; inscribed on a pilaster: "Pomponius Amalteus MDLXIX." and Circumcision. The colour is fiery and the treatment pasty. (13) Osopo, church of. Virgin in Glory with St. Peter and St. Roch; a picture so injured that it cannot be criticized; executed, according to Renaldi (p. 22), in 1569. (14) Udine, Town-hall. Last Supper; said to be dated 1574, but too high to be well seen (see Maniago, *ib. sup.*, p. 224). (15) Same place. Once

in the Sala del Castello, but now in the Municipio. Christ with the Orb, SS. Mark, Lawrence, Martin, and the Luogotenente and deputies, inscribed: "Pomponius Amaltheus MDLXXIII." (Maniago, pp. 224, 225). (16) Casarsa. Deposition from the Cross and a Resurrection, the latter inscribed: "M^o. Cristofol d. Cotti liberato dal pericolo et peste l'anno 1576"; much injured. For Pordenone's frescoes repaired by Pomponio Amalteo, see *antea* in Pordenone. (17) San Vito, Duomo. Sacristy, Pietà, inscribed: "Pomp. Amalt. an LXXII ex voto pinxit MDLXXVII." The Resurrection. The former is so dark that the date is scarcely legible. (18) Udine, San Pietro Martire; originally at San Vito. Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr, inscribed: "Pom. Amalt. manus MDLXXVIII." Lively composition, but dull in tone. There is also at (19) Udine a St. Christopher on the Casa Belloni, of which the remains are visible. (20) Portogruaro, Duomo. Canvas. St. Roch, St. Anthony Abbot, and James and Angels, and above these the Virgin and Child, inscribed: "1583, Pomponio Amaltheo in etate de anni 78." A feeble piece. In the organ-loft are also three canvases by Pomponio Amalteo. (21) Serravalle, Loggia of Town-hall. Here the Virgin and Child, St. Catherine (part gone), St. Andrew, the Lion of St. Mark, Justice (repainted), and one of the Virtues (all but gone) are assigned to Pomponio Amalteo, but they are not good enough for him. (22) Same place, Duomo. Organ-shutters, with the Annunciation, St. Agatha, St. Bartholomew, St. Peter, and St. Catherine. These, too, are assigned to Pomponio Amalteo, but are like the work of Francesco da Milano, by whom there are other productions in the town. (23) Church of Claris, near Prodelene. On the façade are mere traces of a St. Christopher and fragments of Pomponio Amalteo's name. (24) Tolmezzo, church of Santa Caterina. Marriage of St. Catherine, St. Lucy, and St. Apollonia. This seems a genuine work injured by retouching, the mantle of the Virgin renewed. (25) Cordovado Arzene, Castions. Pomponio Amalteo's works here have not been seen by the authors. (26) Udine San Francesco. St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. (27) Frati della Vigna, Refectory, Christ at Emmaus (Vasari, v. 120). Missing.

CHAPTER IV

SEBASTIAN DEL PIOMBO

SEBASTIAN "del Piombo" would have succeeded to Giorgione's practice at Venice but that he wandered to Rome at an early part of the sixteenth century. He had been Giorgione's friend and journeyman, had probably sung and played with him in more than one concert, and haunted the same scaffoldings in Venetian palaces. No two artists of that age were more completely similar in feeling; but there was this difference between them, that one was a man of acknowledged repute when the other struggled as a beginner. Sebastian knew that Giorgione held a high position, but he also thought that a man so talented and so young would hold that position long; and this induced him to seek his fortune away from Venice.¹

Sebastian was born in 1485 and was destined by his father Luciani to the profession of music.² In the drawing-rooms of the great Venetian families he probably first met Giorgione, who was famous alike for his skill with the lute and the brush. It may have been at Giorgione's instigation that his fondness for playing became second to his passion for painting; and that he felt the temptation to enter Bellini's atelier. The gossip of the workshops which Vasari collected goes far to show that, before

¹ This may be considered so probable, when we look closely at Sebastian's early life, that we take it as a certainty. [* See *postea*, p. 207, n. 1.]

² We are ignorant of the place of Sebastian's birth, but he always signed himself "Venetus." That his father's name was Luciani we have from one of his own letters. [* In a document of 1528 he is called "Ser Sebastianus de Lucianis pictor qm. ser Luciani." See Ludwig, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxiv. Supplement, p. 110.] The date of his birth is but approximatively derived from the known date of his decease and Vasari's statement that he was sixty-two years old when he died. (Vasari, v. 584, *sq.*)

Sebastian became Giorgione's assistant, he was Giovanni Bellini's disciple.¹ That tradition should have connected his name with Giorgione's Astronomers at Vienna, and Giorgione's with his Majesty of St. John Chrysostom at Venice, is but a symbol of the near relations which were known to exist between the two painters;² but before these relations grew close, we should think that Sebastian's style had its own determined impress; and it is probable that bold and yet not unembarrassed imitations of Bellini's manner which strike us casually in certain pieces are due to his inexperienced daring. In such pictures as the late Lord Northwick's *Woman taken in Adultery* or the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* in San Niccolò of Treviso, we watch the struggles of a man endeavouring to escape from the trammels of dry Bellinesque form, successful in the correct rendering of anatomical detail, but partial to rough and fleshy shapes and heedless of selection in the choice of his masks. We noted elsewhere the mixture of picturesque vulgarity and Bellinesque type which distinguishes the first of these works; the second, more seriously injured by modern daubing, is a later but not less marked example of Bellini's influence on a young and powerful craftsman. In the lower framing of the altarpiece there are six bust portraits of male and female patrons; in the upper, Christ followed by the apostles, guiding the hand of St. Thomas to the lance-wound in his side. It is still possible to detect, under copious repaints, a bold system of contour defining extremities and muscular developments—if not with the fine polish and precision of Bellini, still with unaffected realistic truth. What remains of the original surface shows the thick and oily impast of Sebastian, with faces and frames of singular coarseness and

¹ Vasari says (v. 565) that he studied first under Bellini, then under Giorgione.

² Seen *antea* in Giorgione, and *postea*. In the Layard collection at Venice, but of old in the Manfrini Palace, there is a panel with figures one quarter of the life-size, representing Christ supported in death by the Virgin, the Marys, and other saints. This picture was assigned at Venice to Cima. In the course of cleaning the following signature was found in a damaged state on a cartellino: "Bastian . . Lucia . . fuit discipulus Joannes Belinus." The barbarous form of this signature suggests suspicions which are confirmed by the painting, the treatment being that of a follower of Cima, not that of a follower of Giovanni Bellini; and resembling to some extent that of Girolamo da Udine. In the landscape distance of the picture is Golgotha and Jerusalem.

SEBASTIAN DEL PIOMBO



Alinari photo.]

[*Venice, San Giovanni Crisostomo.*

THE MAJESTY OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

want of breed.¹ It is plain that, from the very first, there appeared in Sebastian's pictorial organism a striking defect. Though he struggled with more courage than other Venetians or his time to master the difficulties of design and displayed in this respect a conscientious striving after truth which contrasted with that of his contemporaries; though he had the feeling for harmony of colour which, in music, is the inborn gift of ear; though he had both perseverance and facility; there were qualities—decisive as regards the place he was to hold amongst the men of his age—which it was his misfortune not to possess. He lacked delicacy and elevation, and the higher gift of composition.

The later form of Sebastian's art which completely embodies and illustrated the precepts of Giorgione is found for the first time in the Majesty of St. John Chrysostom at San Giovanni Crisostomo of Venice. Seated in front of a palace, the saint, attended by one of the Fathers, corrects a book of homilies on his knee. St. Mary Magdalen, St. Catherine, and St. Agnes—a beautiful group—at one side, St. John the Baptist and St. Liberale at the other, are a decent and attentive court. There is much to characterize Sebastian in the ideal sensualism and consciously attractive bearing which distinguish the females on the left foreground—the Magdalen with her vase, St. Catherine with her wheel, St. Agnes with the flame. It is in the resistless appeal which a seductive cast of form makes upon the less delicate fibres of the spectator's heart that we detect the painter's

¹ See *antea* in Giorgione and in Bellini, i. 187, n. 7. Treviso, San Niccolò panel with figures two-third of life-size. The surface has been so much daubed over as to make a decided opinion dangerous. Not a head remains in its original state, and the draperies are all new. The masks are vulgar and broad, the treatment free. The portraits in the lower framing are (from left to right) a friar, a podestà, a man holding a scroll, and facing them a man in black and two females. Federici (*Memorie Trevig.*, i. 225) assigns this picture to Giovanni Bellini, and, affecting to know that this artist was at Treviso in 1491, he assigns that date to the 'Incredulity'. [* Dr. Biscaro (in *L'Arte*, i. 148) has shown that this picture must have been executed in 1505-6, as the central figure in the group of donors to the left is Pietro Querini, who held the office of Podestà of Treviso from April 1505 to September 1506. The two other persons in the same group are the Prior of the Monastery of San Niccolò and Bernardo dei Rossi, Bishop of Treviso from 1499 to 1527. The figure of the latter is singularly reminiscent of the portrait of the same ecclesiastic by Lotto, now in the Naples Museum.]

lower clay. We see him trying to please by swelling charms, voluptuous eyes, and pouting cherry lips, or courtly dress, pretty headgear, and luxuriant locks. Rich apparel becomes richer by gorgeousness of tint, and melody in scales of tone is unbroken by any dissonance; shadow is powerfully used to create effect, and contrasts are cleverly produced by varieties of grain. The men are of a generous and sanguine complexion, the women in exuberant health. Yet, with all these elements of brilliance, Sebastian does not produce an impress of sparkling brightness. There are power and luscious juice under a deep, glowing adumbration; easy movement, frequently combined with appropriate gesture, is marred at times by affectation and posture; the male heads are manly, the females not quite finely feminine; the drapery cast recalls Bellini and Giorgione. The composition, as a whole, wants compactness, it displays the realistic, impetuous spirit of a man gifted with pictorial fire, but without the exquisite delicacy of Giorgione, the supreme dignity of Titian, or the aristocratic force of Michelangelo.¹

It is doubtful whether Sebastian executed more than this one altarpiece at Venice before he received overtures to transfer his abode elsewhere, the canvas organ-screen with Four Saints usually assigned to him at San Bartolommeo being apparently beneath his powers.² The time in which the Majesty of St. John

¹ Venice, San Giovanni Crisostomo. Canvas, with figures large as life. The surface is dimmed by varnishes and retouches which extend to the following parts: the profile of St. Catherine, the flesh of the Magdalen, the hand of St. Agnes, and the ground behind them, the face of St. John Chrysostom, and the legs of the Baptist. The distance to the right is a hill crowned with edifices and lighted as at sunset. There is some affectation in the movement, especially of the head of the Baptist, the features of which remind us of one of the astronomers in Giorgione's picture in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. Sebastian is said by Sansovino to have painted the ceiling of the Tribune at San Giovanni Crisostomo; but the work is not in existence. Consult Sansovino, *Ven. Descrip.*, ed. Mart., p. 154; and Boschini, *Le R. M.*, Sest. di Canareggio, p. 3.

² Venice, San Bartolommeo. Canvas, oil, with four figures of life-size in niches—St. Sebastian, St. Sinibald, St. Bartholomew, and St. Louis. The treatment is bold and rapid, and, in so far as we can judge from the badness of the light, less in the manner of Sebastian than in that of a later artist, who may be Rocco Marcone, the drawing being less correct and the touch more neglected than Luciani's. The St. Sebastian and St. Bartholomew are greatly damaged by the restoration of Giambattista Mengardi. See Vasari, annot. v. 566, and Boschini, *Carta del Navegar*, p. 396, and *Ricche Min.*, Sest. di San Marco, p. 109.

* According to Moschini (*Guida per la città di Venezia*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 560),

Chrysostom was completed may be supposed to precede by a year or more the death of Giorgione, and we can easily believe that, had Sebastian been able to divine that his master would have been so suddenly removed, he would have hesitated to quit a field of activity in which his powers were likely to be rapidly recognized. But he probably considered Venice overstocked with artists of skill. Giovanni Bellini, with help from Carpaccio and numerous disciples, held supreme command of the best sources of pictorial profit; Giorgione and Palma were just rising to the highest place, and Titian but slowly feeling his way to fame. Influenced by reasons of this kind, he might indulge a certain sense of pleasure at the prospect of seeing a new world of art, and listen with undoubted favour to the proposals of a wealthy banker who liked both music and painting, and offered him a lucrative berth at Rome.¹

Agostino Chigi, his new patron, was in close connection with the Papal Court. He had made timely loans to successive pontiffs, in return for which he became superintendent of the papal finances and farmer of an alum monopoly. He was treasurer to several religious funds, and was reputed the richest private gentleman in all Italy. After gaining the confidence of

these paintings were ordered by Lodovico Ricci, who was Vicar of San Bartolommeo from 1507 to 1509.

*¹ Giorgione's death occurred somewhat earlier than the authors supposed—in 1510, not in 1511. That Sebastian left Venice before that event seems improbable. One reason against it is that the Anonimo Morelliano states (p. 64) that Giorgione's *Philosophers*, now at Vienna, were finished by Sebastian; and even if—as the authors remark (*antea*, p. 18, n. 1)—we can see no trace of this in the picture, the Anonimo is generally so trustworthy an authority that we cannot but attach some weight to this statement. Moreover, according to Fabio Chigi's MS. *History of the Chigi Family* (written in 1618, revised in 1626-30), Agostino Chigi, at whose invitation Sebastian went to Rome, met the painter in Venice and brought him with him to Rome ("Sebastianus Venetus quem Venetiis nactus Romam secum duxit"); and we are also told by the same writer that Agostino visited Venice in 1511, but in general travelled very little after his youthful days (see Cugnoli in *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, ser. i. vol. ii. pp. 61, 68). We are probably therefore justified in assuming that Sebastian left Venice in 1511—that is to say, when Giorgione was already dead.

To the works executed by Sebastian in Venice we may add two half-length portraits of ladies represented as biblical characters—a Salome, in the National Gallery (No. 2493, dated 1510), and a Magdalen, in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond. Both are closely allied to the female figures in the San Giovanni Crisostomo altarpiece.

Julius II. he had had the tact to preserve it unimpaired, and he was so high in honour with the family of the Rovere that they allowed him to quarter their arms with his own. His taste for letters was well known. Numerous editions of rare Greek authors had been issued from his presses. He showed perspicacity in recommending the profligate but clever Aretino to Leo X. and Cardinal Giulio de' Medici. Numerous anecdotes illustrate his shrewdness and the splendour of his living. He was a discriminate judge of artistic excellence, having successively recognized the talents of Peruzzi, Raphael, Sebastian, Bazzi, Beccafumi, Giulio Romano, and Penni. He had instructed Peruzzi in 1509 to build the palace known at a later period as the Farnesina, and contracted with him for some of its decorations; and Perruzzi had very cleverly answered his expectations without proving able to work with all the speed which seemed desirable, whence the wish on Chigi's part to engage other artists to supplement Peruzzi, and whence, as we believe, the employment of Sebastian Luciani. The place in which our Venetian was first set to work was the garden lodge, in the ceiling of which Peruzzi had designed several most admirable subjects. Beneath this ceiling was a row of nine lunettes, into which Sebastian undertook to introduce an equal number of scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The space which he had to cover in each of the fields was small, and he filled it either with solitary figures or with groups of two or three personages. We cannot guess at all the subjects, but they comprise the Fall of Icarus, Juno on a Car drawn by Peacocks, the Death of Phaeton, Pluto and Proserpine, Boreas and Oreithyia, and last, not least, a colossal head respecting which there are tales of legendary interest. Nothing is more striking in these frescoes than their want of fitness for the air and latitude of Rome. Everything is sacrificed to a sensuous charm and gaiety of colour. There is none of the stilt, but also none of the classicism of Peruzzi, none of the power which an artist desirous of leaving his mark as a fresco painter must needs display. The compositions lack arrangement, selection, ideal type and precision of drawing; they betray unmistakable signs of a technical inexperience, pardonable perhaps at Venice, but not to be overlooked at Rome.

Rome, in the course of centuries, had been a ring in which

all the best artists of every nationality fought for fame. Giotto, Cavallini, and Piero della Francesca had each of them contended in it for celebrity. Ghirlandaio, Botticelli and Filippino, Perugino, Pinturicchio, Fiorenzo, and Signorelli had proved the temper of the styles evolved by the schools of Florence and Umbria. But, in all its varieties, art had shown itself serious, classical, and free from modishness. It was hardly to be hoped that the modishness of Sebastian, especially as a *frescante*, should prove altogether satisfactory. Yet, in spite of many drawbacks, and perhaps because Sebastian's skill was judged from pictures as well as from mural designs, his works received an uncommon share of attention, and from none more than from two of his most celebrated contemporaries, the rugged Michelangelo and the kindly Raphael. It is reported that, at this time, there were two strong parties at the pontifical Court, one of which held that Raphael's style was more in the spirit of true art than that of Michelangelo, whilst the other maintained that Michelangelo's was deeper and more firmly based upon the laws of correct design. It was said, on the one hand, that Raphael's manner was best calculated to please because it displayed the combined charms of composition, colour, and expression; whilst it was affirmed, on the other, that Buonarroti's was more sublime and grand in conception and execution. It was hinted, however, that Michelangelo, knowing his own inability to acquire the gifts which distinguished Sanzio, courted Sebastian's friendship in order that, by instilling into him the true precepts of drawing and composition, he might produce a successful rival to Raphael.¹ The tale thus told seems, on the face of it, improbable, but there is no doubt that Sebastian became Michelangelo's friend and Raphael's enemy.

The manner in which these opposite results were attained is not known, but it is not likely that either of them were sudden or immediate. Raphael, who frequented the house of Agostino Chigi, was certainly influenced by Sebastian when he painted the Viol Player of the Sciarra Palace,² whilst the influence of Sanzio is clear in Sebastian's earlier portraits.

¹ Vasari, v. 568.

² Since the publication of the first edition of this work, the Viol Player has passed into the collection of Baroness Alphonse de Rothschild of Paris. It is now

Michelangelo's example affected Luciani almost at the outset of his practice in Rome; and we may give an approximate date to the first meeting of the two artists when we take into consideration the tradition according to which the great Florentine visited the garden lodge at the Farnesina, and, not finding his friend at work, left a token of his presence in the shape of a colossal head in one of the lunettes.¹ We look at this head without giving entire credence to the story, and yet we find something to confirm it in the fact that Sebastian, in the cycle of the Farnesina, already shows symptoms of a leaning to Michelangelo's style. In the earliest of the frescoes which he painted there, and particularly in those near Raphael's Galatea, the sensualism of the Giorgionesques is still sufficiently marked to excite surprise; but in the later ones, especially in that representing, as we may believe, Oreithyia receiving the blast from the mouth of Boreas, the limbs are drawn and modelled with breadth and muscularity, the hands and articulations are strikingly forcible in bend and powerful in structure, and the draperies appear to have lost to some extent the Venetian form. It may be that Michelangelo visited Sebastian in the Chigi Palace, and drew the colossal head in the last lunette as an illustration of some familiar maxim. The very preservation of such a monochrome on the bare plaster of the wall appears consistent with this belief; but whether we accept or reject its authenticity, the practically unanimously accepted as a work by Sebastian under the influence of Raphael. The editor knows the picture in question only from reproductions; but even from these it seems to him that there can be no doubt as to the correctness of the attribution to Sebastian. In support of it may be quoted the treatment of light and shade; the composition and the direction of the sitter's glance, which recall the Salome in the National Gallery; the type of the face, which may be compared with that of the Magdalen in the St. Petersburg Pietà. See also Morelli, *Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfili*, pp. 498 *seq.*; and *postea*, p. 214, n. 1.

¹ Lanzi (i. 148) confounds the Farnese Palace with the Farnesina. He also follows Bottari, in whose notes to Vasari's *Life of Michelangelo* we found the incident of the painting of the head attributed to Buonarroti, when on a visit to Daniel da Volterra. The anonymous *Life of Raphael*, annotated by Comolli, assigns the head to Michelangelo, and Comolli cites Bottari's view in his notes (Folio, Rome, 1791, p. 87); but he also quotes d'Argenville's *Abrégé* for the version according to which Michelangelo's visit at the Farnesina was for the purpose of seeing Raphael. Passavant (*Life of Raphael*, *ub. sup.*, i. 228) thinks that, if the visit took place at all, it was made to Sebastian. We should say certainly Sebastian or Peruzzi, the only two artists who worked in the garden lodge at that period and had scaffoldings at the spot where the head is found.

impress of Buonarroti's manner on Luciani's work is undeniable; and we should attach the more weight to this as the foreshortened face, with its affected bend and copious curly locks seems, now at least, not to display the pure impress of Buonarroti's hand, but rather to exhibit the treatment of Sebastian, as if he should have tried to combine the breadth of Giorgionesque touch with the colossal proportion and mechanism of action familiar to Michelangelo.

After the lunettes were finished it became a question with Agostino Chigi whether he should employ the same artist to design the frescoes on the walls; and the ruined figure of Polyphemus, playing the pipes at the foot of a tree near Raphael's Galatea, may be considered as a trial-piece submitted to the patron's approval. It was, we may believe, disproved; and about 1512 Sebastian ceased to labour at the Farnesina.¹

Whilst he was undergoing these changes Sebastian prepared

¹ The date of Sebastian's labours is fixed by Blosio Palladio's *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii*, describing the frescoes, on the title-page of which we read: "Impressum Romæ per Jacobum Maxodium Romanæ Academiæ Bibliopolam Anno Salutis MDXII die XXVII Januarii." The following is probably the order in which the series was painted: (a) Facing the colossal head, a composition of three figures (baffling). [* Prof. Förster suggests (*Farnesina-Studien*, pp. 44 *sqq.*) that the subject of this fresco may be Tereus pursuing Philomela and Procne after having discovered the murder of Itys.] (b) Two females, seated, let birds fly out of a wicker cage; perhaps the fable of Pandora. [* Prof. Förster has shown (*ub. sup.*, pp. 45 *sq.*) that this fresco represents the daughters of Cecrops opening the basket in which the monster Erichthonius was kept. The indiscretion of the sisters was reported to Pallas by a crow; hence the two birds flying above the girls.] (c) Icarus falls from heaven, while Dædalus lies on the ground. (d) Juno on her car drives her two peacocks through the sky. [* A drawing for the figure of Juno is in the Print-room at Berlin (Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, No. 2475.)] (e) A female cuts the locks of a recumbent man; perhaps the fable of Admetus and the golden hair. [* The subject is Scylla cutting the purple hair of Nisus (Förster, *ub. sup.*, p. 46).] (f) Phaeton falls headlong to the earth. (g) A male and female wrapped together in a mantle; perhaps Pluto and Proserpine. [* This, and not the following fresco, represents Boreas and Oreithyia (Förster, *ub. sup.*, p. 46).] (h) A female recumbent on the ground sends a blast from her mouth towards a head in the sky, from which she receives a counterblast. The figure of the woman is outlined so as distinctly to recall the lessons of Michelangelo, and this is particularly remarkable in the form of the arm and hand. The subject may be Boreas and Oreithyia. [* Förster (*ub. sup.*, p. 46) thinks it is more probably Flora receiving the breath of Zephyrus.] (j) Colossal head in monochrome on the bare plaster; seen only to the hollow of the throat; bent to the left and looking down. The Polyphemus to the left of the Galatea is repainted, with the exception of a bit of blue drapery on the torso. He sits under a tree

to surprise, or had already surprised, Rome with portraits in oil; and these, with the charms of colour and impast derived from Giorgione, and some of the artful simplicity acquired from Raphael, were probably of more influence on contemporary opinion than any other productions of his pencil. It is no secret now that the Fornarina, in the Tribune of the Uffizi, and the Fornarina of Blenheim—both of them pictures of unusual excellence—were executed by Sebastian, and probably executed at the time when Venetian elements were still preponderant in his manner. It is curious that, differing as they do in face and expression, both these masterpieces should have been attributed to Raphael, and both have been called Raphael's Mistress, whilst the real Fornarina, or at least the genuine Raphael of that name, remained forgotten. The two Fornarinas at Florence and Blenheim are ladies of high station dressed with a richness and taste becoming women of rank. Both are executed in a fashion unknown to Raphael. What distinguishes Raphael's portraits is the perfume of purity, gentleness, grace, and high breed which emanates from them. Sebastian's gifts are softness, flexibility, voluptuousness, and richness of tone. It is easy to detect which of these forms marks the likeness at the Uffizi. We gaze at the face and bust of a lady in the full ripeness of her beauty. Her waving hair is crested with a wreath of gold leaves which looks almost too hard and modern for Sebastian's work. Her throat is disfigured by two straight gilt lines, intended by a restorer to represent a chain. A muslin chemisette is drawn together at the bosom and bordered with a charming ornament. Equally chaste is the pattern edging of the blue velvet bodice and shoulder-straps. The bare right arm and the hand holding the panther-skin collar of a dark green velvet mantle are round and muscular. There is a touch of coarseness in the very exuberance of the flesh; but what most betrays the Northern artist is the pencil-stroke, which, though half lost in pumice rubbings, superposed colour, and tinted varnish, is still to the eye Venetian, with his legs crossed over, the Pan's-pipes in his right hand, a staff between his legs. [* This fresco was executed somewhat later than the authors suppose. It is not mentioned by Palladio, and, according to Vasari (v. 567), it was painted after Raphael's Galatea, which seems to have been finished in 1514. A drawing for the figure of Polyphemus is in the Musée Wicar at Lille (Berenson, *ib. sup.*, No. 248).]

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[Hans[taen]gl photo.]

PORTRAIT OF A LADY.

[Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.

and the luscious richness as well as the fashion of the dress, which recalls the sensuous ideal of the saints in the majesty of St. John Chrysostom. The date of 1512 on the dark green background, though unusual, affords evidence of the fact that, with all his inclination to adopt Michelangelo's strong shapes and articulations, Sebastian had not as yet seriously modified his treatment as a colourist.¹

The change which he then hesitated to make was gradually worked out as he proceeded, and is plainly apparent in the Fornarina of Blenheim, where masculine strength is to some extent combined with the elegance of high nurture. There is more of the figure seen here. The lady sits and is turned to the left, her head almost facing the spectator. The hanging raven hair, bound in a mass at the back of the neck, is set off by a pretty striped cloth tied over the crown of the head. The low white dress and pink sleeve show the neck and throat; the right hand supports the fur collar of a bright red mantle, the left grasps the handle of a basket filled with fruit and flowers—all this on a dark ground of wall broken by an opening to the left, beyond which we see the red glow of evening in a clouded sky and ranges of hills dotted with houses. The landscape alone, with its Giorgionesque glow, betrays the Venetian; but Sebastian's touch is not less clear in every part. He tried to combine with his own style the more delicate setting and carriage of Raphael; but his swelling and substantial shapes still show the baser North Italian alloy. He also exchanged the sweet richness of tone so attractive at San Giovanni Crisostomo for a bolder and more direct mode of balancing tints with a slighter application of glazes; but in his efforts he sacrificed melodious harmony and fell into comparative rawness.²

It was probably about this period also that the portrait

¹ Florence, Uffizi, No. 1123. Canvas, life-size; since 1589 in possession of the Medici at Florence (see Vasari, annot. iv. 355). The straight line of the gold chain, which fails to take into account the flexions of the bust, cannot be original. Kugler, *Handbook*, p. 388, favours Misserini's hypothesis that the person represented is Vittoria Colonna! In the Corsini Palace at Rome there is a copy of this picture under the name of Giulio Romano (Room 4, No. 41). [* This copy is not now shown at the Palazzo Corsini.]

² Blenheim. Panel engraved as a Raphael for Count Valmarana, by Jacopo Bernardi, by Thomas Chambers, and others; life-size. The flesh parts are deprived of their delicate bloom and finishing touches, and the landscape is not free from

known in the Scarpa collection at La Motta as "Tebaldeo" by Raphael was produced, a portrait in which the landscape alone would point to Sebastian's hand.¹

Whilst critics of our day fail to discern, or refuse to admit the difference between pictures of Raphael and Sebastian, we are bound to pass but a lenient sentence on those of an earlier time, who thought that the stuff of which Sanzio was made was to be found also in Luciani. Michelangelo, who had unsuccessfully tried Granacci and Bugiardini as journeymen, might, after finishing the ceiling of the Sistine without assistance, be justified in believing that Sebastian's rapidity and taste as a colourist would serve him in good stead, if once he were called upon to compete seriously with Raphael and his scholars, who, with their frescoes at the Camere, were threatening to carry all before them. There were many points in common between Sebastian and Buonarroti: they were both impulsive men, realists, and students of nature; both of them were of muscular build, and, when they exerted their strength, left-handed. Their ways and opinions were the same, out-door sketching was their favourite pastime, they both hated monks and friars. They now entered, we may believe, into some sort of partnership.²

abrasion. [* This picture is now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (No. 259B).]

An inferior replica, now in the Casa Persico Cittadella at Verona, is probably the copy noticed of old in the house of the Cavallini Brenzoni. (See Passavant's *Raphael*, *ub. sup.*, ii. 429; and Scannelli, *Microcosmo*, *ub. sup.*, p. 169.)

¹ La Motta, Galleria Scarpa. [* Now Budapest Museum, No. 138.] The face is that of a young man, and we know that Tebaldeo was more than fifty years old in 1516. [* In this connection we may notice some portraits executed by Sebastian during the first years of his stay in Rome. Two of them—the Cardinal Ferry Carondelet in the collection of the Duke of Grafton in London and the Viol Player in the A. de Rothschild collection in Paris—show the painter under the strong influence of Raphael, to whom they have both been ascribed; yet the peculiar features of Sebastian's style are also very apparent in them. The portrait of Cardinal Ferry Carondelet was painted while he was at Rome as a representative of the Emperor Maximilian, *i.e.* in 1510-12. The Viol Player is inscribed with the date MDXVIII; but according to Herr Benkard (in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxxi. 574). The portrait of Cardinal Antonio Ciochi in the Angus collection at Montreal is perhaps also a Raphaelesque work by Sebastian, the three last figures are a later addition, and the original date was 1515. The Portrait of a Young Man ("L'Uomo Ammalato") in the Palazzo Pitti (No. 409) is surely by him, and bears the date 1514.]

² Journal of Raffaello di Montelupo, in Vasari, iv. 552; Vasari's *Life of Michelangelo*, vii. 279.

The question before Michelangelo and Sebastian was this : Sebastian had ceased to labour at the Farnesina. Michelangelo had finished the ceiling of the Sixtine ; they might hope to get some joint work from Julius II. in competition with Raphael and his disciples at the Vatican. There is circumstantial evidence to show that they asked the Pope to give them some such work. A quarrel probably ensued between Julius and Michelangelo which led to the painter's departure for Florence ; in Buonarroti's absence Sebastian renewed the application, and on October 15, 1512, reported to his friend on the result as follows :¹

"Dearest gossip," he writes and spells, with a truly Venetian accent, "do not be surprised at my delay in answering your last letter. I was several times at the palace to find his Holiness without being able to obtain an audience. At last I was received, and met with so much favour that his Holiness dismissed all in the room but a chamberlain whom I can trust, and then I communicated what I wanted. I was very graciously heard. I offered your services and my own for work of any sort, and only asked for the subject and the measure of the spaces. 'Bastiano,' said his Holiness, 'Zuan Batista de l'Aquila tells me that there is nothing to be done "in the hall below" because of the lunettes which spring from a very low part of the wall on which the subjects must be placed ; the doors leading to the apartments of the Cardinal de' Medici cut up the surface which might be used for single compositions ; and the lunettes, which are from eighteen to twenty palms in breadth, would suit, but that the figures in them would be reduced to a size too small for the area of so large a room. In addition to this, the hall is certainly too public.' This all comes of Zuan Batista de l'Aquila and others preferring to see me anywhere else than in this palace. It would seem, my dear gossip, from the way in which I am looked on by some persons, as if I was Satan in person, and were capable of devouring the whole palace, yet, thank God, I still have friends, and could have more, so that all will come right at last. Then said his Holiness, 'On my conscience,

¹ The letter is in Gaye, ii. 487. It is important to note that G. B. Branconio dall'Aquila, of whom the Pope speaks, was Raphael's friend and executor, and of course hostile to Sebastian. See Campori's *Notizie inedite di Raffaello da Urbino*, ub. sup., p. 32.

Bastiano, I do not like what *they* are doing ; nor is it approved by any one that has seen it. In four or five days I shall go and look at it, and if they do no better than when they began I shall not allow them to proceed, but set them to something else, take down what they have done, and give you the hall, because I must have it a fine thing or get it painted in diaper.' I replied that with your help I should have courage to perform miracles, upon which he answered, 'Of that I have no doubt. You all learnt from him. . . . Look at the works of Raphael, who no sooner saw Michelangelo than he substituted his manner for that of Perugino. But Michelangelo is an awful man, and hard to deal with, as you know.' I said that your awfulness did no harm to any one, and that you only seemed so from the love of the great work you had in hand. More I said, in addition, which it is needless to put down. I waited four days before going to inquire whether the Pope had been to see what they were doing. I heard that he had done so, and that they told him nothing could be seen or judged of until certain half-finished figures were ready. Yet the further they go the less is he pleased. Still, to satisfy these youths, he intends to wait fifteen or twenty days longer until the figures are done. And this is all that has happened since I last wrote, and I could not send you the measurements because the Pope had not come to a decision, and they are still at work."

This letter not only reveals the plans of Sebastian and Buonarrotti, not only embodies their dislike of Raphael ; it gives some indication of the quarrel which we suppose the Pope to have had with Michelangelo. Though trusting and kindly with those whom he admitted to his confidence, Michelangelo was occasionally stern and irritable, shy of superficial company, and fond of solitude. His aversion to Raphael and his disciples—to *them*, as Sebastian wrote—was almost instinctive. Of masculine build, disfigured in face by the flattening of his nose, usually in black, he was, even in externals, the very converse of his rival. He sometimes met the gay and handsome Raphael and his young disciples trooping up the staircases of the Vatican ; and, in his gruff way he would compare the sprightly band to that of the head bailiff and his myrmidons going to capture a prisoner. "I thought it was the *bargello*," he growled ; but Raphael

pretended to shrink, and cried, "There's the executioner," and thus enraged the rugged artist more.¹ Michelangelo, too, hated and resented interference even from Julius II., so that more than once there had been angry scenes between them; and the Pope, who brooked more contradiction from him than from any other man alive, at last almost despaired of keeping terms with him. But if Julius, in his own mind, had resolved that he would not let Buonarroti paint, and was bent on keeping him at the hammer and chisel till his animosity to Sanzio cooled, it was not his way to say so, and least of all to say so to Sebastian. He temporised, made promises of dubious wording, and finally put the matter off indefinitely.

Sebastian may have felt disappointment on this occasion; he does not seem to have lost courage. He dexterously availed himself of Michelangelo's friendship to compose pictures under his guidance or with his designs; and the fame which he thus acquired fell perhaps but little short of that of which he had been dreaming.²

Two works of uncommon beauty were, we should think, completed at this juncture—the Holy Family of the Baring collection and the Pietà of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. Even at this time, as we judge from the Baring masterpiece, Venetian elements still outweighed the Florentine in Sebastian's manner. The very form of his composition scents of the Bellinesque. A donor, with his arms piously crossed over his breast, kneels before the Virgin, who kindly rests one hand on his shoulder, whilst with the other she guides the stride of the infant Christ upon her lap. To the left the Baptist with his cross contemplates the scene, to the right St. Joseph sleeps; a green curtain hangs behind the group. The donor and the Baptist are most Venetian, the Saviour and St. Joseph most Florentine; but the study of Tuscan art is displayed to a

¹ Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio*, ub. sup., p. 56.

² Springer (*Michelangelo in Rom*, pp. 62 sq.) has shown that the date of the above letter is not 1512, as stated by Gaye, whom the authors followed. It was written eight years later, and refers to Sebastian's attempt to secure for Michelangelo and himself the task of decorating the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican after the death of Raphael. The Pope mentioned in it is Leo X.; and, in speaking of "them," Sebastian alludes to the pupils of Raphael only, not to Raphael and his pupils.

considerable extent in type and movement in the setting of drapery to show the under-surfaces, and in a broad general treatment. There is more skill in the composition than Sebastian had hitherto shown, more firmness and decision in outline, and a grander, truer rendering of extremities. The colour is tinged in a slight degree with the leaden shade peculiar to Sebastian's later creations, and the glowing richness of a northern palet is tempered by sober yet admirable chiaroscuro.¹

More important for its size, the *Pietà*, at the Hermitage, is one of the best that Luciani finished under the early influences which reacted upon his style at Rome, having all the charm of Venetian tone, yet much of the power and classic grandeur derived from Buonarroti. There is no picture of Venetian make in which the energy of passion is more nobly and more vigorously presented; there is none in which potent effects of grey and strongly balanced lights and shadows are more suited to the melancholy nature of the subject. Sebastian certainly never attained to a finer combination of graduations and luscious depth. We seldom find his solid impast blended with more cleverness, or broken with more subtlety by scumbles and glazes; the momentary action of the figures is rendered with classic propriety and unusual power. Without being hardened into the Michelangelesque, Sebastian's acquired style sits freely and loosely upon him, and he works of his own will with a happy, racy boldness. Christ, outstretched on the grave-clothes, is partly raised on the right elbow—his drooping head one of the best-moulded types that Sebastian ever brought out—his frame of select proportion, dead yet solemn and calm in death. Behind the body to the left the Virgin sinks into the arms of Nicodemus and one of the Marys. Near them, Joseph points to the tomb from which the slab is being raised. In the faint and foreshortening of the Virgin, in her strength and fulness, there is a grand commingling of the Roman and Venetian; we can scarcely imagine a more resolute movement or more beautiful flexibility. The vehemence with which the Magdalen at Christ's feet looks down and wrings her hands is most energetic and

¹ London, Baring collection, and previously at Stratton. Wood, 3 ft. 2 in. high by 3 ft. 6 in. The panel is somewhat darkened by time. The donor recalls Palma Vecchio. [*• This picture is now in the National Gallery No. 1450.*]

SEBASTIAN DEL PIOMBO



Hanstaengl photo.]

PIETÀ.

[*St. Petersburg, Hermitage.*

telling. Buonarroti's spirit predominates in the man raising the cover of the sepulchre with a lever, and his companion, who answers the shout of Joseph. In contrast with all this, we have the calm, sweet landscape of simple line, with its details of house and church and farm, and a hot sunset horizon full of air and mystery.¹

In the same manner, and doubtless completed about this time, the Dead Christ with the wailing Virgin, in San Francesco of Viterbo, is deeply impressed with the feeling of Michelangelo—a picture of two figures only yet full of mastery, representing Christ at full length in his winding-sheet, serenely reposing, whilst his mother sits and grieves behind his corpse. We may imagine a higher ideal of form, but we look in vain for faults of proportion, awkwardness of position, or want of chiaroscuro. All that we see is natural and truthful; and there is speaking evidence of the working of Michelangelo's mind and counsel on Sebastian in the purity of the drawing of limb, hand, foot, and muscle. The same tendency is marked, but marked with greater force, in the masculine strength of the Virgin, whose action, as she sits with cramped hands looking up, fills us with admiration of the artist's power, without conveying to us any of the feelings of melancholy or compassion that ought to rise in the breast of the spectator of such a scene. The pleasant background of broken country completes an *ensemble* of which Vasari says, with truth, that it is full of forcible gloom.²

Remarkable as illustrating the manner of Sebastian, these pictures do not tell us the whole truth as to the efforts which he was making to form a style, potent, severe, and, if possible, original. Devoted as he was to Buonarroti, he still turned at times to steal a glance at the great and genial rival; and, just

¹ St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 18. Canvas, 8 ft. 5½ in. high by 6 ft. 6 in., from the collection of William II., King of Holland; inscribed: "Sebastianus Venetus faciebat." The impact is substantial, and layers of thick scumble are finished with glazes. The surface—especially of the sky—is darkened by time. Of the subject of the Entombment we have a specimen, No. 31, in the Bridgewater collection, from the Orleans and Holford Galleries. The composition is in Sebastian's spirit, yet so smeared with new paint that we no longer discern Sebastian's hand.

² Viterbo, San Francesco. Wood; figures large as life. [* This picture is now in the Museo Civico of Viterbo. A sheet with studies for the figure of Christ is in the Christ Church Library at Oxford (Berenson, *ib. sup.*, No. 2492).]

as Raphael strove to improve by absorbing and assimilating elements strong in the Florentines, Sebastian endeavoured to acquire those which delighted him in the gentler nature of Sanzio.

There is a Madonna in the Museum of Naples which curiously exemplifies this tendency; it remained unfinished, yet so near completion that it seemed purposely left so to whet the fancy of the spectator. The boy Christ, reclining with his head on his arms, has just been lulled to sleep. The Virgin behind the bed daintily raises a muslin coverlet with both hands, and prepares to lay it on the recumbent child. Her look still lingers fondly, even sentimentally, on her charge. St. Joseph to the left is attentive and full of life, the youthful Baptist to the right wrapt in adoration. To the usual difficulties of the craft are here superadded those of oil-medium on a porous and absorbent slate. Executed with all the care of which the master was capable, polished and blended in parts with admirable precision, this noble composition is but a sketch as regards the feet and hands and dress of the Virgin and the flesh of the Baptist. The hair and beard of Joseph are so light that they seem to float in the air. The Virgin's high-waisted bodice, her turbaned kerchief, bound round a knot of hair, her large grave features, her portly but masculine form, all remind us of Michelangelo; and yet there is something voluptuous in the shape that betrays the Venetian and recalls the earlier portraits at the Uffizi and Blenheim. The subject and the incident are those which became so celebrated in Raphael's Virgin of Loreto, or his Virgin of the Diadem at the Louvre; and it is impossible to avoid remarking that Sebastian's version, though it embodies Tuscan principles, is mainly an adaptation of Raphael's conception.¹ We may take it that Sebastian more than once

¹ Naples Museum, Room XIV, No. 8. On slate; figures of life-size seen to the knees. This is probably the picture alluded to by Vasari as having been in the possession of Cardinal Farnese (v. 574). It afterwards formed part of a collection at Parma (Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi*, p. 418). A replica with some slight variations is, we are informed, in London, in the hands of Signor Pinti. It is a panel with a cartello, on which are the words: "Sebast . . . faciebat." [* This picture is perhaps identical with one, signed "Sebastianus faciebat" which was lent by the Marquis of Northampton to the Venetian Exhibition at the New Gallery in 1894-95 (No. 116). Dr. D'Achiardi notices and reproduces (*Sebastiano del Piombo*, pp. 213 sq.) a reversed version of the composition of the painting at Naples, in a private collection at Albenga (signed "Sebastianus faciebat").]

attempted to sail in the waters of his young and able rival. We have note of a St. Michael standing on the dragon, which, when finished, was to have been sent to the King of France; and we remember that the same subject, composed by Sanzio, was actually taken to Paris in 1518. Like the Holy Family at Naples, Sebastian's St. Michael remained incomplete, and has since unfortunately been lost.¹

With the capacity to produce such works as we have now been dwelling on, and with a talent which began to be acknowledged as second only to that of the two greatest masters on the whole European continent, it was not to be supposed that Sebastian would languish for want of patronage; but he laboured under a positive disadvantage from his known antagonism to Raphael and the admitted fact that he borrowed Michelangelo's drawings. Aretino, who had made his acquaintance at Rome in 1517, probably but echoed the sentiments of many persons at the papal Court when he said that Ariosto committed a grave error in judgment in placing Sebastian on a level with Raphael and Titian; for, had Sebastian's talents been ever so great, the fact of his "wearing other men's plumes" would have been fatal to him. Nor was Raphael slow to perceive the profit which he derived from this circumstance, as he was heard to express his gratitude that Michelangelo, by lending Sebastian his sketches, had proved to the world that Raphael was superior to both.² Still there were men willing to concede that Sebastian was a worthy competitor to Sanzio, and amongst these the chief was Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who, whilst he ordered of Raphael the celebrated Transfiguration, also ordered of Luciani his almost equally renowned Raising of Lazarus. It is not improbable that Sebastian, at a given moment, thought of competing with Sanzio in the most direct manner by designing a Transfiguration; for we possess a small example of the subject in the shape of a sketch dated 1518 in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton.

¹ Vasari, v. 574; Campori, *Notizie ined. di Raffaello da Urbino*, ub. sup., p. 10. It is curious that all that Sebastian did in imitation of Raphael remained unfinished. [* The cathedral at Burgos contains a very Raphaelesque full-length of the Virgin and Child by Sebastian (reproduced in Bernardini, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, p. 104). The head of the Madonna in this picture is similar to that in the Naples Holy Family.]

² Dolce, *Dialogo*, pp. 7, 8.

But we shall not lay too much stress on this coincidence, as the sketch at Hamilton Place is too injured to be accepted as beyond suspicion.¹ Sebastian's Raising of Lazarus was conceived and carried out, if we believe Vasari, under the superintendence, and with the designs, of Michelangelo; and there can be no doubt that, though absent from Rome when the altarpiece was finished, Buonarroti gave drawings for some of the figures; but of the superintendence we have not only no proof but rather disproof. There are few compositions embodying so many incidents of the episode requiring illustration. Mary has fallen at the feet of Christ saying, "Lord, if Thou had'st been here, my brother had not died." Christ, "with a loud voice" and with gesture of command, cries, "Lazarus, come forth"; but Lazarus already lives and leans against the edge of the sepulchre, struggling with help out of the grave-clothes. Martha and her women in rear are offended in their nostrils and cover their faces with veil and handkerchief. "The Jews" at Jesus' feet fall on their knees and believe; the apostles behind witness the scene, and farther back are those "who were troubled and went their way to the Pharisees." The valley, the hills, the river, and the village of Bethany are an imaginative and very picturesque rendering of the principal features of a Tiberine landscape. The houses are those of the Transtevere suburb; and the ruin to the left is a reminiscence of the wondrous Basilica of Constantine. Large, colossal, and covering a surprising space, this fine work has been justly looked upon as one of the most important creations of the sixteenth century. It gives more accurately than any other the measure of the change which had been wrought in a Venetian painter by ten years' residence at Rome. Except in the sombre depth of the distance, in which the feeling of the Bellinesques and Giorgionesques survives, there is little or nothing left to remind us of the author of the Majesty of

¹ Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow. Small panel, unfinished, dim and almost lost in old varnishes. In three lozenge-shaped framings on the left foreground are a small profile of a man, an escutcheon with the Imperial arms, and an inscription as follows: "Ex Gisulforum familia ego I. Paulus Gisolfus per M. Æ Caroli V. R. T. Cancellarie Italie tabulam hanc pro me et meis pingere feci anno reparate salutis umane, MDVXIII." [* Bought at the sale of the Hamilton Palace collection, June 24, 1882, by H. Nathan.]

St. John Chrysostom. Feminine beauty and luscious grace, colour of rich sweetness, make place for scientific drawing, strained muscular action, marked anatomy, and realistic study of natural phenomena. An art the charm of which is essentially sensuous is exchanged for one completely masculine. Drapery is not thought of as covering and concealing form, but serves with studied and specious skill to define it. Melodious harmony of tints is sacrificed to powerful balance of light and shade, deep, decisive keys of tone and a smooth modelling fused and polished to a faultless enamel. Most imposing and of powerful effect is the composition which embodies the sterner rules of a school older and better trained than the Venetian. In the very spirit, and perhaps on the cartoon of Buonarroti, Lazarus winds his limbs out of the cerements. The Saviour is formed and moves after the fashion of Michelangelo; the females are grandly shaped, and the kneeling Mary surprisingly foreshortened. Not one of these impersonations but strikes us by its force and solidity. Instantaneous action is rendered with lively realism, individuality, character, and expression mark the masks, the features and gestures. The science displayed is admirable, the labour bestowed, immense; but the inward charm of Raphael, the feeling which animates all his productions, are absolutely wanting. The public, when admitted to see this masterpiece in the winter of 1519 at the Vatican, was obliged to confess that Sebastian now had a serious claim to rank amongst the best painters of his time. Cardinal de' Medici had to choose which of Sebastian's Lazarus or Raphael's Transfiguration he should keep in Rome, and which he should send to the distant seat of his French bishopric. The Lazarus was taken by his orders to Narbonne, but he preserved a lively remembrance of Sebastian's skill; and, on his subsequent elevation to the Papacy, he promoted the painter to a sinecure with large emoluments.¹

¹ London, National Gallery, No. 1. Wood, transferred to canvas—12 ft. 6 in. high by 9 ft. 5 in.; from the Orleans and Angerstein Galleries. The surface of the picture is dark and sombre and not free from retouching, especially in the figure of Lazarus. Dull varnishes cover the deep and decisive tones throughout (see Vasari, v. 570 sq. and iv. 372, n. 1). Two sketches for the Lazarus under

Michelangelo's presence at Rome when the Raising of Lazarus was begun, and at Florence when it was finished, is historical.¹ In a letter addressed to Buonarroti at Florence on the 26th of December, 1519, Sebastian, after thanking his friend for standing godfather to his child whom he had called after his own parent, Luciani, writes: "I have finished the tavola and taken it to the palace, where it was seen with pleasure by all except those who usually are displeased, but who now are at a loss what to say. It is enough for me that his Eminence (Cardinal de' Medici) should have told me he was more satisfied than he expected, and I believe my tavola is better drawn than the arras stuff that has come from Flanders. Now that I have done my duty, I have to claim the final payment due to me; and his Eminence said he wished you to value the work as previously arranged between us and Messer Domenico. Though for the sake of him I was willing to leave the matter in his Reverence's hands and showed him the account, he would not hear of anything but that you should see the items, which I accordingly send. I beg you to be kind enough, if you would do me a pleasure, to act in this business without reserve, because his Reverence and I have freely agreed to leave it to you. You saw the piece begun, and it numbers forty figures in all without those in the landscape. Besides, there is the picture of Cardinal Rangone, which goes into the account; and that has been seen by Domenico, who knows of what size it is. I need add no more. I beg of you, dear gossip, to send back (the account) immediately, so that it may reach this before his Reverence leaves Rome, for, to tell you the truth, I am dry. The Lord keep you in health, remember me to Messer Domenico and many regards to yourself from your faithful gossip Sebastian, painter in Rome."²

the name of Michelangelo were bought for the nation at the sale of the Lawrence collection in 1860, and are in the British Museum. [* See Berenson, *ib. sup.*, Nos. 2483, 2484.]

* ¹ As a matter of fact, Michelangelo was away from Rome also when Sebastian began the Raising of Lazarus. The news that he had set to work on that painting were sent to Michelangelo by Leonardo Sellaio in a letter of Sept. 26, 1517, addressed to Florence (see Frey, *Sammlung ausgewählter Briefe an Michelagnolo Buonarroti*, pp. 78 sq.).

² The letter is in Biagi, *Memorie storiche critiche di F. Sebastiano Luciani*, folio, Venice, 1826, pp. 37, 38, but the real date, falsely given there, is that in the text. See Waagen, *Treasures*, i. 320.

The "picture of Cardinal Rangone" to which this letter alludes is that which hangs in the gallery of the Pitti and represents the martyrdom of St. Agatha. The saint is stripped to the waist, and in the act of moving forward, whilst, at the order of a judge on the left, two grim executioners are preparing to apply their pincers to the breasts of their victim. Three heads of soldiers are seen in rear to the left; a green curtain hangs as a foil behind the full fair form of the martyr, whose head is cleverly thrown back and foreshortened. To the right, the smoke of a fire is seen through an arch; and porters carry wood to a stake. Compared with the Raising of Lazarus, the Martyrdom of St. Agatha is perhaps more emphatically Michelangelesque; it startles by the bold freedom and scientific correctness of its drawing, the finish of its modelling, and the smoothness of its surface; but it is more masculine and herculean than anything that Sebastian had previously done, and displays a more open neglect of the charms attainable by richness of contrasted tones.¹

It was no small benefit to Sebastian that, during the papacy of Leo X., who never had a kind word for him and never gave him a single chance,² he should have had countenance and support from such men as the Cardinal de' Medici and Cardinal Rangone, the prelates who lived in Leo's intimacy and shared with Cibo the direction of the Pope's orgies and theatricals. It was of equal, and perhaps of greater moment, that, just as the struggle for pictorial supremacy in Rome had been decided against him, Sebastian should have been suddenly freed from his most dangerous rival by the unhappy accident of Raphael's death. The loss to art which this death involved was felt throughout Italy as irreparable, but there were persons in Rome, and amongst them we may count Sebastian, who thought of themselves more than of art, and these hailed the news with a chuckle of pleasure. It is true that Leo X. was not induced

¹ Florence, Pitti. No. 79. Wood; half-length, figures large as life; inscription: "Sebastianus Venetus faciebat Rome MDXX," painted, according to Vasari, for "Cardinal d' Aragona," but, as we learn from the foregoing letter, for Cardinal Rangone, who was cardinal deacon of St. Agatha. Consult Vasari, v. 581, Biagi, p. 39, and Campori, *Gli Artisti*, pp. 299, 300.

² These statements can no longer be considered as correct, since we have become acquainted with the negotiations which took place between Leo X. and Sebastian in 1520. Cf. *antea*, p. 217, n. 2, and *postea*, p. 226, n. 1.

even then to employ Luciani; and that Sanzio's disciples preserved a great and, to a certain extent, undeserved influence; but from that time forward, Sebastian never languished for want of commissions.¹

There is much obscurity still as to when and under what circumstances the chapels of the Chigi at Santa Maria del Popolo, of the Sergardi at Santa Maria della Pace, or of Pier Francesco Borgherini at San Pietro in Montorio were undertaken by Sebastian. The two churches of the Pace and Popolo, originally founded by Sixtus IV., had been greatly favoured by Julius II., and as a natural consequence by Agostino Chigi, who knew Julius's devotion to all buildings that Sixtus had planned. When Chigi began these chapels in these churches, he thought that Raphael would decorate them, but Raphael, in 1519, had only finished the Pace; and he probably held out no hope that he would be able to finish the Popolo, the mosaics of which had been executed from his cartoons in 1516. Agostino, it is said, just before his death, ordered Sebastian to take the frescoes of the Popolo which the painter accepted. But he met with impediments, or felt no heart for the work, and left it a fragment.² The same mishap occurred in respect of the choir of the Pace, which was entrusted to Sebastian by the papal chamberlain Filippo Sergardi, whilst the cycle which was to complete the decoration of an oratory begun by Raphael for Agostino Chigi at the Pace was never even commenced.

Pier Francesco Borgherini, to whom Sebastian had been recommended by Michelangelo, was more fortunate, and though Sebastian spent six years in the chapel at San Pietro in Montorio, he brought his labours there successfully to perfection.³

The surface which the painter had here to cover is a niche sunk into the curve of a circular room, and the space immediately

* ¹ After the death of Raphael, Sebastian tried to arrange that Michelangelo and he should be commissioned to paint the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican. The attempt, however, failed. Various letters from Sebastian to Michelangelo relate to this scheme; one is that printed *antea*, pp. 215 *sq.*, others are published in Milanese, *Les correspondants de Michel-Ange*, vol. i. pp. 6 *sqq.*

² Vasari, iv. 369, n. 4.

³ As pointed out by Herr Benkard (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxvi. 574), we are able to conclude, from various letters written by Leonardo Sellaio to Michelangelo, that Sebastian began his work on the decoration of the Cappella Borgherini in the autumn of 1516. (See Frey, *ub. sup.*, *passim.*)

above it. The upper part is in fresco, the lower in oil. In the spandrels above the niche are two grand figures, to the left, a Prophet recumbent, with one hand on a book, looking round at an angel in flight, touching him on the shoulder; to the right, a Sibyl with a scroll attended by a seraph—both full of life, and the Sibyl of striking dignity in mien. It is clear that the idea of these stern and powerful impersonations was taken from the ceiling of the Sistine. In the semi-dome, Christ transfigured with his arms outstretched rests lightly on the crest of a mound between the floating shapes of Moses and Elias and the startled ones of the apostles. To compare this semi-Florentine conception with the lunettes of the Farnesina is instructive. Sebastian now thinks more of bold action, drawing, modelling, and light and shade than of colouring. His attention is absorbed in precise and clean reproduction of form; the style of his draperies is very nearly faultless; but polished hardness is substituted for Venetian richness and glow. Northern realism only breaks out occasionally and betrays itself in vulgar faces, open mouths or unideal play of features. In the curve below the semi-dome Christ, bound to the pillar, writhes under the blows of four scourgers, and startles us by the agonized force concentrated in every fibre of his frame. An action so natural, yet so strong, a muscular strain so energetic yet so real, can only have been imagined by Michelangelo; and the marked superiority of this one figure over others powerful indeed, but not free from conventionalism, might prove that Sebastian had direct assistance from Buonarroti. St. Francis, to the right, is less common in face than we might expect. St. Peter, to the left, resting his head on one hand, is grandiose. Nowhere does Vasari's observation appear more just than here that Sebastian lacked the ease which results from deep study of nature and habitual skill. The very choice of oil as a medium in the larger and more important sections of the chapel confirms the theory that it was Sebastian's purpose to gain time for filing and finishing, as well as for enjoying the facilities more particularly known to the Venetians. It was essential to him, being less acquainted than his Florentine rivals with the science of distribution, drawing, and chiaroscuro, to secure means for giving to his composition something like the proper shape, and to his outlines something of the necessary correctness without

suffering impediments in the act of laying in the impast and working out the tone after the complex fashion of the Venetian panel and canvas painters. Though now, in consequence of accidents which could scarcely have been foreseen, the walls of San Pietro have assumed a blue dun colour from the effects of absorption, eruption, and superposition, they doubtless shone originally with greater radiance and freshness, and had more of the Northern richness than we now discern.¹ It may be matter of reproach to Sebastian that he should not have considered that fresco is the only medium in which clearness and light can always be preserved ; but, not being bred a Florentine frescante, and not having the Tuscan ease of hand which combined rapidity with correct execution, and still being ambitious of acquiring the force of Michelangelo, he is to be pardoned for preferring the only method that gave him command of time and exceptional technical advantages. Inevitable as a consequence of his system was the lack of that spontaneous and genuine boldness which distinguish Buonarroti, and the absence of the charming colour which ennobles Titian ; and, though it would no doubt be true to say that occasionally he produced, in the wake of Michelangelo, designs more scientific than those of Raphael, he was not the less, in the main, subordinate to that great and genial artist in originality of thought, in composition, and above all in the feeling which fascinates and wins. We cannot define the interval which elapsed between the completion of the Transfiguration and that of the Flagellation, but we may presume that the latter, being a novelty, attracted a considerable share of attention and contributed not a little to raise the master in public estimation. The Flagellation was much admired and frequently copied, and numerous repetitions of it exist in churches and galleries.²

¹ Rome, San Pietro in Montorio. The figures are above life-size ; the frescoes damaged by the retouching of the ground, the parts done in oil injured and blinded by time and varnishes. (Consult Vasari, v. 568-70, 580.)

* The British Museum contains a sketch for the composition of the Flagellation and a study for the figure of Christ in the same fresco. A drawing for the apostle to the right of Christ in the Transfiguration is in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth. (Benson, *ib. sup.*, Nos. 2487, 2488, 2478.)

² Varieties of the Flagellation at San Pietro in Montorio may be noticed as follows : (1) Viterbo, Chiesa dell' Osservanza del Paradiso. Here the number of

SEBASTIAN DEL'PIOMBO



Anderson photo.]

[Rome, Santa Maria del Popolo.

NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN.

At Santa Maria del Popolo Sebastian furnishes but a new example of his peculiar system of painting in oil on the wall, and, though injured more than any other by time and restoring, the Chigi Chapel still offers strong evidence of an enthusiastic clinging to the maxims of Michelangelo. The vision of the Eternal in the midst of innumerable saints and angels seems to have been executed, not only from the designs, but with the cartoons, of Buonarroti, so completely are the action and the shape cast in his mould. The Birth of the Virgin, a large panel on the altar, displays more conventionalism, and exhibits a feebler power, and yet the monumental grandeur of the scene is striking, and the humble episode of Mary's nativity was never imagined so splendid or so varied. To the left, under a dais, St. Anne accepts refreshment from a young dame; in front, a group of women watched by a boy carry or receive supplies of linen. In the distance to the right, females dry napkins at the fire and put them carefully aside; in the middle of the foreground a nurse holds the child, whilst another feels the temperature of the bath, and a third gracefully pours out the water. There is a curious mixture, in all the personages, of sculptural pose, masculine shape, and dainty affectation. The distance, in which a couple of men appear at an opening, is grand and simple. Vasari says that these compositions were undertaken by Sebastian shortly after the death of Raphael. They were not exhibited till Salviati completed the chapel in 1554.¹

executioners is reduced to two, but the Christ is in the same movement as at Rome. This is an altarpiece, on panel, with figures large as life ruined by abrasion and probably an adaptation executed by assistants of Sebastian. [* In a letter of April 29, 1525, addressed to Michelangelo, Sebastian mentions that it is two months since he finished this painting. Like the Pietà formerly in San Francesco at Viterbo, it was ordered by Monsignor Giovanni Botonti (see Milanese, *loc. cit.*, pp. 34 sq., Pinzi, *I. principali monumenti di Viterbo*, pp. 59 sqq.). It has now its place in the Museo Civico of Viterbo.] (2) Rome, Borghese Gallery, No. 133. In this picture on panel we have a mere copy or reduction of the original at Rome, by a painter of a later time. (3) England, Rev. John Sandford. In the hands of this gentleman, and exhibited at the British Institution in 1853, under No. 64, was another old copy of Sebastian's original at San Pietro in Montorio. (4) Blaise Castle, seat of the Harfords. Here is a third version of the subject on a small canvas, inscribed: Ma. Venu. 1552. Ap. S. Ven. (Marcelli Venusti after Seb. Venetus.)

¹ Rome, Santa Maria del Popolo. The Eternal and other colossal figures are in oil on the wall. The altarpiece of the Nativity is much changed by restoring

The Visitation and Nativity, half finished, in the choir of the Pace, were removed by Bernini when he built the marble monument of the Chigi. The fragments came into the Fesch collection and are now at Alnwick. One represents the meeting of Elizabeth and Mary with a couple of handsome women in rear of the principal group; another, a bevy of damsels, one of whom carries a basket on her head; a third, a man in thought with one hand raised to his chin. Time and abrasion have had their usual way, but no amount of ill-treatment can deprive the pieces of their grand, imposing character, and there is no reason to doubt that the compositions of which they were a part were of the best that Sebastian produced.¹

It has been said that so long as Sebastian had to earn his bread like every other painter, by the sweat of his brow, and especially during his active competition with Raphael, he was an industrious and indefatigable craftsman; whereas, when he was appointed to a sinecure he preferred sauntering and dinners to hard work.² This statement may contain a grain of truth mingled with a peck of exaggeration, but there is reason for thinking that Sebastian's irregularities and delays in carrying out monumental designs were complained of before he got the seals of the "Piombo." These complaints, we need make no doubt, were due to causes not unknown to other artists of the time. When the Duke of Ferrara inveighed against the dilatoriness or ill faith of Raphael, who fed him for years with a delusive promise of a picture; when the Court of Urbino stormed against Michelangelo because he did not finish the tomb of Julius II., the Chigis and Sergardis lamented with equal bitterness over Sebastian's procrastinations. At Rome, where families were subject to the strangest vicissitudes according to their position in relation to different Popes, it was

and stippling (1859). By a slip of the pen Vasari (v. 572) assigns it to Salviati. See also Vasari, vii. 32, *sq.* [* A drawing for this composition is in the Print-room at Berlin (Berenson, *ub. sup.*, No. 2476).]

¹ Alnwick Castle. Large figures in oil on the wall from the Pace at Rome, darkened by time and worn and abraded by various accidents. (Vasari, v. 572 and iv. 369, n. 4.) The Visitation was engraved by Jerom Cock. (Vasari, v. 424.) The fragments were in the Bromley collection before being purchased for Alnwick. [* A study for the Visitation is in the Louvre (Berenson, *ub. sup.*, No. 2497).]

² Vasari, v. 577 *sq.*

sometimes difficult, and perhaps often impossible, for painters to keep their word, because they were always liable to interference on the part of those whose orders were not to be gainsaid. The Chigi, who were influential under the Rovere and Medici, might find it hard at times to keep to their contracts such artists as Julius, or Leo, or Clement wished to employ. How much more difficult would their task have been in the reign of Paul III., who was chief of the hostile clan of Farnese! Men who achieved fame became the slaves of that fame, powerless to object when challenged to break the most solemn contracts, open to punishment for the breach, when the persons under whose constraint they had acted were removed from office. Sebastian only left so many of his undertakings incomplete because he was forced to interrupt his labours at the bidding of authorities whose commands he dared not disobey; and it is not unlikely that to one of these interruptions we owe the Visitation which was sent to Francis I. of France in 1521. It is a picture with two grand solitary figures of considerable depth in tone, spirited in movement, masculine in types, and masterly in touch, reminiscent of the wall-paintings at the Pace and Papolo in this, that effect by colour is sacrificed to effect by modelling, studied drawing, and balanced light and shade. It is most striking for the large proportions of the frames, the sculptural cast of the draperies, and the leaden tinge that pervades the flesh.¹

Shortly after the despatch of this panel to France Leo X. died. The Romans, who disliked his spendthrift habits, could not forgive this Pope for slipping out of the world without the sacraments. They insulted his body as it was taken to burial, but artists mourned his loss with all but complete unanimity. A lively sketch of the panic which seized the latter when Adrian VI. succeeded to the papal chair is contained in Vasari's life of Giulio Romano. Adrian abhorred the classic

¹ Louvre, No. 1352. Wood transferred to canvas, m. 1·68 high by 1·32, figures seen to the knees; from the châteaux of Fontainebleau and Versailles. The panel was allowed to split and scale and was at last put together on canvas; it is now very sombre and not free from retouching. An inscription runs as follows: "Sebastianus Venetus faciebat Romæ MD. XXI." In the distance a man announces to Zacharias the coming of the Virgin.

heathenism then in vogue. He was so shocked by the nudes in the ceiling of the Sixtine that he threatened to take them down.¹ He cared so little for the adornments of the Vatican Palace that he dismissed the painters at the Hall of Constantine, and all the disciples of Raphael, Giulio, Penni, Giovanni da Udine, and Pierino were reduced to temporary straits; but he liked portraits, and Sebastian, who found grace in his eyes, received an order for the Pope's likeness and that of his *datario*, Cardinal Enckenvoort.² Twice he performed this duty, first representing the Pope alone in his chair, as we see him in the Museum of Naples, then with attendants in the noble panel of the Labouchere collection. It was probably because of the dislike to pagan art which Adrian felt that it came to be supposed that he despised all art, and his name ceased to be preserved in connection with Sebastian's masterpieces. His portrait at Naples is still called Alexander VI. and the late Lord Taunton's panel is supposed to illustrate a scene in the life of Amerigo Vespucci. In both pictures the face of the Pontiff appears the same, at Naples seen to the knees, seated, in red rochet and skull-cap, his face turned to the left, one arm on the edge of his chair, and a letter in his hand. The large, imposing frame is treated with broad and massive touch on the scale of leaden hues now peculiar to Sebastian.³ In the second and more complicated piece the Pontiff's position is the same, but he rests his left hand on a table, whilst his right holds a handkerchief. Within reach is the never-failing bell, to the right, behind the table, a prelate in black with whom a red-caped dignitary is talking, and behind the chair to the left, a chamberlain. Here again the execution is reminiscent of Raphael and Michelangelo, and there is much life in the gestures and faces. The hand of the master is certified by the remnant of his signature.⁴ It was Cardinal Enckenvoort's intention to employ Sebastian in the decoration of his chapel at

¹ Ranke's *Popes*, i. 70; Vasari, v. 456 sq. and 527 Dolce, *Dialogo*, p. 48.

² Vasari, v. 527 and 573.

³ Naples Museum, Room XIV., No. 9. Canvas life-size.

⁴ London, Labouchere collection. Wood, with half-lengths large as life. On a cartello lying on the table-cloth to the right are the words: "Seb..... faciebat." The panel has been injured by abrasion, and is dimmed or altered in tone from various causes; the Pope's head especially is damaged. [* This painting is now in the collection of the Hon. Mrs. E. Stanley at Quantock Lodge, Bridgewater.]

Santa Maria dell' Anima, but he was soon disgusted with delays and excuses and gave the commission to Michael Coxie.¹

The death of Adrian in 1523 and the accession of Giulio de' Medici under the name of Clement VII. brought back the pupils of Raphael to the Vatican; and, as Vasari says, ushered in afresh "all the virtues and all the arts of design." Schio, bishop of Vaison, was sent to assure Sebastian of the Pope's special protection; and the lucky painter panted for joy at the prospect of new distinctions.² The reality was far from corresponding with the hopes of artists. Clement's attention was exclusively directed to politics, and he failed to signalize the first years of his reign by any great or important pictorial undertakings at Rome. Michelangelo was left in Florence to work at San Lorenzo, Giulio Romano, with Penni's help, was allowed to finish the Hall of Constantine; but he was afterwards dismissed, and left to compose at his leisure obscene prints for which Aretino wrote obscene sonnets. It was a troubled and miserable time during which Sebastian, buoyed up by the Pope's promises, contented himself with accepting orders for portraits. Of these Vasari mentions several, including two of the Pope, "without a beard," and others of persons of high name.³ Few of them can now be identified, but the noblest certainly is that of a man at the Pitti seen to the breast, heavily bearded, with a black cap on his head, a spotted fur pelisse, a damask coat, and red sleeves. Sebastian never more happily united the majestic elevation of the Florentine to the richness of Venetian colour and impast. The face, of a grave, stern cast, is ennobled in its portraiture; it is that of a man formed in a grand mould, beginning to age, with a suggestive wrinkle here and there, and dress of wonderful sit. The drawing is admirable, the modelling masterly, and the subdivisions of light and shade beyond measure effective. The shape of the right hand holding a glove, its long branching fingers and peculiar articulations, are very characteristic of the painter's individuality. The grained

¹ Vasari, v. 573 sq. [* According to Mr. Berenson (*The Venetian Painters*, p. 120), there is a portrait of Cardinal Enckenvoort (or "Nincofort," as Vasari calls him) in the collection of Mr. David Erskine, at Linlathen, N.B.]

² Vasari, v. 527, 574 sq.

³ Vasari, v. 573 sqq.; Lomazzo, *Trattato*, p. 231.

substance of the flesh, tinged with dun, is delicately broken with cool transitions from a rich dusky light to a dark shade of astonishing depth. The touch is resolute and pastose; yet, in the midst of this pastosity, there are surprising finesses showing the countless hairs and floating mass of the beard, and the fuz, or bristle of fur, minute as Weenix and massive as Titian.¹

The Marquis of Pescara with Vittoria Colonna at his side in the Palazzo Santangelo at Naples, if there be no mistake as to the persons portrayed, is another example of this time. D'Avalos sits in a chair and rests his hand in that of his wife, she leaning her elbow the while on his shoulder, and looking at him with melancholy tenderness. Her form is slender and tall, his short and sturdy. The treatment is facile and able; but, for feeling and power, this is not one of the happiest efforts of its kind.²

It may have been gratifying to Sebastian, in this period of spasmodic labour and deferred hope, to be asked to paint for the Marquis of Mantua. The Marquis in 1524 had instructed his agent without any previous solicitation to order a picture of "Sebastianello Veneziano," which should not be a religious piece ("cose de sancti")—but something pretty and pleasant to look at. To work for so distinguished a patron would naturally tickle the artist's pride, and he probably did his best; but we neither know the subject nor the time of its completion, and can only guess that Sebastian gave satisfaction as in later years he still had interest at the Mantuan Court.³ According to most biographers Sebastian often accepted offers for altar-pieces from the most distant and diverse quarters. In 1520, it is said, he composed the great Madonna with Saints in San

¹ Florence, Pitti, No. 409. On slate, life-size; m. 1·78 high by 0·66. The dull olive tone of the surface is doubtless partly due to old varnishes.

² Naples, Casa Santangelo. Wood, half-lengths, large as life. See Vasari, v. 573. [* Vasari only speaks of two single portraits of the Marquis of Pescara and Vittoria Colonna. The portrait group seen by the authors in the Palazzo Santangelo was in 1909 in the possession of MM. Trotti & Cie. at Paris. It is engraved in *La Revue d'art ancien et moderne*, xxv., plate facing p. 12.]

³ Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii. 179. In the catalogue of the collection of Charles I. we find a Judgment of Paris by Sebastian. This might be the picture we are in search of. See Bathoe's *Catalogue*, p. 23.

Niccolò of Treviso, in 1525, the Visitation with St. Joseph and St. Zachariah for San Biagio of Lendinara. We shall have occasion to show that the Madonna of Treviso was done by Savoldo.¹ The Visitation at Lendinara bears the signature, but hardly displays the hand, of Sebastian.²

In the meanwhile the policy of Clement, which, for so many years, favoured the Spaniards at the expense of France, had begun to bear its fruits. Charles V. had become so completely master of the peninsula that he threatened seriously to undermine the power of the Papacy. Clement found it necessary to plan some scheme for restoring the balance which he had contributed to destroy. He turned in 1526 against the Emperor, miscalculated the forces with which he had to contend, and in spring of 1527 witnessed the storming of his capital. In the moment of his danger he fled through the secret passages from the Vatican to the Castle of Sant' Angelo, and strove, with small success, to save some remnant of his power and his wealth. When forced to compound at last for his safety, he is said to have regretted the absence of Aretino; and two notes exist in the published correspondence of that worthy purporting to have been written by Sebastian to that effect. The Pope, says the

¹ See *postea*.

² Lendinara, San Biagio. Wood, life-size, inscribed: "Sebastianus pictor faciebat MDXXV." The tradition is that Sebastian painted this piece on his way to Rome; and the story is told in a manuscript record of somewhat modern air in San Biagio; but the Conti family, to whom the chapel and picture belong possess no contemporary records proving Sebastian's authorship, nor is there anything but the landscape, which is Venetian, to remind us of Luciani. The figure of St. Elizabeth, though fair in head, is ill-drawn, especially as regards the extremities. The Virgin is in the style of a Ferrarese, and recalls Garofalo or the Dossi. The St. Joseph suggests similar remarks. We miss altogether the Michelangelesque spirit which must necessarily characterize a picture by Sebastian in 1525; we do observe an echo of the Raphaelesque. The colours, originally raw and heavy, are rendered more so by repaints. The sky, the Virgin's dress, and other parts are heavily smeared. [* This picture is reproduced in *Bollettino d'arte*, iv. 223.]

In the church of the Misericordia at Lendinara is a St. Peter in the same style as the Visitation, companion to a St. Paul, taken about 1850 to Rovigo, and numbered 147 in the public gallery of that town. In the manuscript catalogue of the gallery, the St. Paul is assigned to "Sebastian or Dosso Dossi." Both panels at Rovigo and Lendinara are injured by restoring. [* They served originally as shutters of the organ of the church at Cavazzana. See Fiocco, in *Bollettino d'arte*, iv. 220.] No. 143 in the gallery of Rovigo, a portrait half-length of a man, assigned to Sebastian, is far below his powers.

painter, had been heard to exclaim that he wished he had secured the services of Aretino, as none of his secretaries had been able to write the despatch he wished to send to the Emperor. It may be true that Sebastian remained in correspondence with Aretino after his ignominious flight from the dagger of a rival in Rome, but it is curious that these letters should lack the character which marks Sebastian's effusions and present that which appertains to Aretino's style.¹

Shortly after this, Sebastian gave up his residence at Rome, wandered to the north, and, after an absence of nearly twenty years, found himself anew in his old haunts at Venice. Here he renewed his intimacy with Aretino.² Through Aretino, he entered into new engagements with the Gonzagas, and in return he painted a portrait of "the scourge of princes," which was sent with much ostentation to the townsfolk of Arezzo. In Vasari's time the likeness of Aretino was exhibited in the public palace, a true emblem of the degenerate spirit which tolerated the worship of a man whose literary fame was obscured by the most hideous vices. He was represented standing at an opening, in a black cap, black cape and cloak, black vest and white sleeves, his raven beard falling bushy to his breast; in his hand a branch of arbutus and a scroll with the name of Clement VII. On a projection of the opening hung two grotesque masks of Virtue and Vice with the motto: "In utrumque paratus." In a band running round the picture were the proud words: "Petrus Aretinus acerrimus virtutum demonstrator." But with the lapse of years vanished the fame and the fear of Aretino. No one cared for him, and fewer cared for his features, which were left to fade in a passage. What we now observe is a wreck of bleach and repaint, with nothing to remind us of the man and little to recall the talents of his limner. Originally thrown with broad and masterly touch upon one of the rough twilled canvases peculiar to Venice, the piece was celebrated for

¹ Sebastian to Aretino, from Rome, May 15, 1527, in Biagi, *ub. sup.*, p. 30, and Bottari, *Raccolta*, *ub. sup.*, iii. 188.

² This journey has been passed over by all biographers of Sebastian; yet Aretino, writing from Venice to the Marquis of Mantua on August 6, 1527, says: "Ho detto a Sebastiano pittor miracoloso che il desiderio vostro è che vi faccia un quadro della invenzione che li piace; egli ha giurato. . . ." See Aretino, *Lettere* i. 13, and Bottari, *Raccolta*, i. 534.

the diversity of blacks in the velvet, satin, damask, and plain cloth of the dress, which contrasted with the blackness of the beard. But of all this splendour not a trace remains.¹

Sebastian, at Venice, cultivated the acquaintance of Titian Sansovino, with whom he afterwards corresponded. He found a congenial spirit in Pordenone, who in 1528 designed his grand cycle of frescoes in San Rocco, and he wielded a certain influence upon the further expansion of Pordenone's style as displayed at Piacenza, but as to labours to which he may have devoted time during these years history is altogether silent. We may believe that Sebastian was one of those who received from Andrea Doria, the judicious encourager of del Vaga, Beccafumi, Pennacchi, and Pordenone some distinct and honourable employment; we may, at all events, attribute to this period the figure of that crafty politician which is now so nobly enshrined in the palace of his family at Rome. We may pass in review all the portraits which issued from Sebastian's atelier without finding one more grandiose, more striking, or more admirable in its workmanship than this one. It unites all Michelangelo's maxims with dignity of movement, propriety of gesture, and severe gravity of mien, accurate drawing, instant action, and sweeping touch, smooth blending and marvellous gradations of light and shade. There is something darkling and sour in the gloom of the look which sets us a-thinking of the man and his deeds. He was deep and subtle, after the fashion of those days; he trimmed to catch the current; and we see commingled with his earnestness something that tells of planning and scheming; but it is the planning and scheming of a man accustomed to command, with a lurking sense of superior power. In keeping with the sombre look is the duskiness of Sebastian's grey-olive tone, that of broad shadows thrown from a cap of wonderful picturesqueness over the forehead, or projected from the frame upon the wall. The hand, with its downward pointing and rubbed reflections, just issues from the darkness cast over the

¹ Arezzo, Town Hall, in a passage. Canvas, life-size. This portrait, says Marcolini (Marcolini to Aretino from Venice, Sept. 15, 1551, in Bottari, *Raccolta*, i. 522), was one of three celebrated ones; the others being Titian's in the Guardaroba at Florence, and Salviati's, which was sent to France. (See also Vasari, v. 595 *sq.*) The name of Clement on the scroll is gone, and where the surface is not repainted it is all faded and eaten away.

retreating portions of a dress a shade more warm than the brown of the background. The beard is grey, and not too copious; there is little trace of hair which, it may be, was sparse and thin. On the stone sill of the opening at which Doria stands is a couple of galleys, symbol of the admiral's rank and profession.¹

To these days of Spanish preponderance in Italy we may assign the large picture of Christ at the Limbus and Christ on the road to Golgotha in the Museum of Madrid, two canvases injured by accidents and repaints, but most important as specimens of Sebastian's handling at the period immediately preceding his appointment at the Piombo. Christ at the Limbus holds a banner and is attended by two men, one of whom bears a cross. He stands at the edge of a low terrace at the foot of which Adam and Eve are kneeling. Where the drawing maintains its original purity, great truth and power may be found; scientific rules receive their application in the setting of the composition. Light and shade are well poised, and Christ's form is as fine and select as we can expect from a man of Sebastian's realism. The introduction of a broken pillar as emblem of the fall of the gates of hell is more curious than appropriate.²

Equally grand and more powerfully wrought is the Christ

¹ Rome, Palazzo Doria. Wood, a little above life-size (Vasari, v. 576). [* Francesco Gonzaga, the representative of the Marquis of Mantua at the Papal Court, relates in a letter of May 29, 1526, that the Pope had the portrait of Andrea Doria, who at that time was in Rome, painted by Sebastian and that the Pope kept it for himself as a sign of his affection for Andrea (see Luzio, in *Archivio storico lombardo*, ser. iv. vol. x. p. 370). The portrait mentioned in this letter may be identical with that which is now in the Palazzo Doria, in which case the latter was executed somewhat earlier than the authors suppose. There exists also another portrait of Andrea Doria by Sebastian, dating, it is stated, from a later stage of his career than the first-mentioned; it was in 1909 acquired by Prince Alfonso Doria of Rome. This picture represents the Admiral as Neptune, and is the original of a painting in the Brera Gallery ascribed to Bronzino (No. 565). See D'A. Chiardi, in *Vita d'arte*, iv. 495 *sqq.*

² Madrid Museum. No. 346, from the Escorial. Canvas, 8 ft. 1 in. by 4 ft. 3 in. This fine picture suffered in two ways: by abrasion, from which several parts have suffered, *e.g.* the golden light of the head and right arm of Christ, and the dress of the man holding the cross; by repaints, *i.e.* in the right leg of Christ and the hand of the man with the cross. The two figures of Adam and Eve are also much damaged.

carrying His Cross with a soldier and Simon of Cyrene. It is only in pictures of the sixteenth century that we can expect so much freedom of movement, and, at the same time, so much accuracy of drawing in momentary action as there is in the figure of Simon; nor do we find that Sebastian, though he might be tempted by his habits to go beyond the mark in representing strength with muscularity and strain, strays in any degree beyond the limits of nature. A melancholy expression of grief stirs the features of the helmeted soldier in rear; and a striking effect is produced by the shadow thrown from the vizor on the forehead. The Saviour, stooping forward under the weight of the cross, would be in better keeping were there more idealism in the face; but the draperies are cast with very happy art and the tones appear to reveal an accession of strength to Sebastian's form as a colourist during his short stay at Venice. The landscape, too, is Venetian, whilst the outlines preserve the purity and force of the Roman time.¹

Sebastian's connection with Bembo and Grimani, his relations with the Mantuan Court in the years of his stay in the north, are divulged in contemporary diaries; a letter from Isabel d'Este, dated in the first days of March 1529, acquaints us with the painter's intention to return to Rome; another from the marquis to Isabel in May announces his arrival in the capital.²

Rome had partially recovered from the sack; artists were flocking thither, and the Pope was trying to make them forget the perils they had undergone and the sufferings they had endured. It was not long before Clement set Sebastian to work

¹ Madrid Museum. No. 345, canvas, 4 ft. 4 in. by 3 ft. 7 in. from the Escorial. The figures are all half-lengths, injured by abrasion and flaying, and thrown, from this cause, out of harmony. The head of Simon especially is in a bad condition. There are touches of restoring here and there.

² *Lettere a Pietro Bembo Venez. Sansovino*, 1560, p. 110, cited in Biagi, p. 42; Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii. p. 178; Anon., ed. Morelli, p. 18. [* We now know something more than the authors of Sebastian's life between the summer of 1527—when, as we have seen (*antea*, p. 236, n. 2), he was at Venice—and March 1529. In March 1528 we find him at the Court of Clement VII. in Orvieto, where he proposed to paint a portrait of the Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga (see Luxio, *loc. cit.*, pp. 386 *sq.*). In June of the same year he was back in Venice, and there in August he acted as the representative of his sister Adriana when her marriage contract was prepared. Vincenzo Catena was among the witnesses to that document. See Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, pp. 110 *sqq.*]

at his favourite task of portrait-painting and ordered several repetitions of his own likeness. In easy and paying labours of this kind Sebastian spent his time both pleasantly and lazily, varying the monotony of his occupations by collecting medals for the Gonzaga, or making experiments of a new process of oil-medium on marble. An image of Christ, completed in this new fashion, was noticed in one of Soranzo's letters to Pietro Bembo in 1530, where the mention of the artist's name as "Sebastianello nostro" proves the existence of something more than the ties of a superficial acquaintance.¹ Sebastian indeed now appears to have forced his way into the higher circles of the literary caste of his day. He was often to be found in the rooms of the Pope's chamberlain Gaddi at Montecavallo, where Giovanni Greco, Lodovico da Fano, Antonio Allegretti, Annibal Caro, and other accomplished penmen congregated, and where Benvenuto Cellini also was a guest.² He was still on friendly terms with Baccio Valori, who had been his sitter, and with Schio, the bishop of Vaison, through whom he kept up communication with the Pope. He was earning—more perhaps from lay patrons than from the Pontiff—but still earning; and sufficiently at ease, not only to live free from cares with his wife and child, but occasionally to indulge in revelry and boon companionship. He was, however, less productive than he had been, and probably now began to deserve the reproach of sloth. The portraits of Clement which are supposed to date from these and subsequent years are less numerous than has been alleged; and many of them are without warranty of genuineness. Of those that justly claim to be originals, the best and most lifelike is that of the Naples Museum, a mere profile of the Pope's head, partially finished, but freely thrown upon the dull grey ground of slate and executed with surprising cleverness. The long, gaunt face with its pointed beard, showing but a portion of the left eye, is full of character and expression.³ Baccio Valori had been asked in 1531 to beg from Sebastian a likeness of the Pope

¹ *Lettere a Pietro Bembo*, p. 110.

² *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini*, ed. B. Bianchi, 8vo Florence, 1862, pp. 104-5 and 176.

³ Naples Museum, Room XIV., No. 15. Head of a Monk, on slate. This life-size head is not known here as Clement's portrait. The beard is barely indicated. [* Now officially described as a portrait of Clement VII.]

which Bugiardini required for a copy in which he was to introduce Schomberg, archbishop of Capua, in attendance. It is very likely that the Naples profile was sent to Florence at Valori's request.¹ Another version on slate in which Clement is seen to the waist giving the benediction in company of a chamberlain is in the Museum of Parma, unfinished as far as the chamberlain is concerned, but perfect as regards the Pontiff.² A full-length of later date in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton, near Glasgow, represents Clement turned to the right, in his chair, giving the blessing. It is a work of patient execution without the power or freedom of an original.³

In the autumn of 1531 intelligence was received at Rome that Fra Mariano Fetti, buffoon to Leo X., but a fine connoisseur of art, was dead and had left the office of the Piombo vacant.⁴ The duties of the office were merely formal, and the number of persons who stood for it was large. Three serious candidates had a chance of appointment. These were Benvenuto Cellini, Giovanni da Udine, and Sebastian Luciani. Cellini was the first in the field. He was well known to Clement VII. as a singer in his choir, a clever carver and chiseller, and a smart duellist. He claimed to be chief of the Florentine faction at Rome, boasted that he had shot the constable of Bourbon at the assault of Campo Santo and wounded the Prince of Orange from the tower of Sant' Angelo. He had recently been employed by the Pope in most important works, was sergeant-at-arms in the Vatican, and maker of medals and dyes to the papal mint. In the palmy days of Raphael's disciples he had been a leading spirit at their

¹ Giovanni Battista Mini to Baccio Valori, Florence, October 8, 1531, in Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii. 31. See also Vasari, v. 581, vi. 205 *sq.* Battista Franco copied Sebastian's portrait of Clement. (Vasari, vi. 575.)

² Parma Museum. Half-lengths of life-size on slate, the ground unpainted; the head of the chamberlain—a young man—barely sketched in. The Pope stands at a parapet on which he rests the left hand holding a handkerchief. The movements are natural and full of ease.

³ Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow. Wood. Behind the chair is a greenish yellow curtain. The figure is not as large as life, handled with patient care in the manner of a Florentine; ? by Bugiardini. [* Bought at the sale of the Hamilton Palace collection, July 1, 1882, by L. Lesser.]

⁴ See Sebastian del Piombo to Michelangelo. November, 1531. MS. in the British Museum.

dinners and parties. His interest now was much the same as Sebastian's. He went boldly to the Vatican and asked for the vacant berth. On being introduced to the presence he was at once met by the objection that the income of the place, being worth eight hundred scudi per annum, would be far beyond his wants and lead infallibly to habits of idleness. "You will sit all day scratching yourself," said Clement, "instead of attending to your duties." "Sleek cats," replied Benvenuto readily, "are cleverer at birds than starved ones. Men of skill do better when they have plenty than when penurious; but since your Holiness refuses to give me the office, I hope your Holiness will find some person to give it to who shall not be a fool, and not addicted to the habit of scratching himself." With this he left the room in a frenzy of rage. At this opportune moment Schio, bishop of Vaison, interposed with a plea for Sebastian, urging that Benvenuto was young and fitted for arms rather than the cowl. The pope turned to Baccio Valori, who stood by him, and said: "When you meet Benvenuto, tell him he is the cause of Bastiano's getting the Piombo."¹

Sebastian did not receive the full emoluments of the place, three hundred scudi being reserved as a pension for Giovanni da Udine,² but he was not the less overjoyed at his good fortune, and wrote off at once to Aretino to tell him of his luck, remarking with a joke that it was more profitable to angle for "piombi" at Rome than for eels at Venice.³ In a letter to his old friend and medical adviser Arsilli, whose portrait he had painted at Rome,⁴ but who now lived in the fever-nest of Sinigaglia, he warned him against believing that the cowl of a friar would change his habits

¹ Vasari, v. 576, vi. 560. Cellini's autobiography, *ib. sup.*, pp. 48, 49, 74, 85, 96, 101.

² Giovanni da Udine got his first share of the Piombo from Sebastian on Oct. 17, 1531. Maniago, *Storia delle belle arti friulane*, p. 355.

³ *Ibid.*, and Sebastian to Aretino from Rome, Dec. 4, 1531, in Bottari, *Raccolta*, *ib. sup.*, i. 521, 522.

⁴ This portrait now belongs to the Conte Alessandro Augusti of Sinigaglia. It is inscribed below "Sebastianus Venetus" and above "Franciscus Arsillus an. xxxxxii. phil. et. art. d." As Arsilli was born about 1470, the painting must date from about 1522. See Modigliani, in *L'Arte*, iii. 299 *sq.*; D'Achiardi, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, pp. 192 *sqq.*

or opinions and—strange from the mouth of a clerk—sent the compliments of his wife Maria. He looked upon his new dignity as one really unconnected with religion, one in which he might indulge as of old his deep-rooted hatred of priests and monks.¹ With his first earnings he bought some land on which he built a house near Santa Maria del Popolo, where he frequently entertained poets and men of letters.² He had never, in his best days, been one of those who produced largely, because in the first place he was slow and in the second he disdained to pay assistants; but he now affected to despise those who could do in two months what he had been accustomed to take two years to accomplish, and he was heard to remark that he was sure there would soon be not a spot in the whole city that had not been painted on.³ Determined, evidently, to consult nothing but his leisure in future, he seemed on the point of doing what Clement VII. thought Benvenuto would be but too likely to do—"sit scratching himself all day"; but though he certainly took things easier than of old and assumed the rubicund colour and fullness of a good eater and drinker, he was not a man to neglect work altogether, and he brought slowly to completion such portraits and pictures as he was able to labour at in the comfort of his own rooms.⁴

One inducement, it would seem, and one alone, might have induced him to contemplate the execution of large mural decorations. Could he but join Michelangelo in some great pictorial undertaking, he would have thought this the proudest moment of his life. Nor was it altogether visionary to suppose that such a moment would come. In the days of Buonarroti's absence from Rome, Sebastian had never ceased to correspond with him, and Buonarroti never forgot Sebastian. The friendship of the two men was so firmly knit and so well known that when the Duke of Urbino renewed negotiations for the completion of the tomb of Julius II., his agent Staccoli first applied

¹ Gualandi, *Nuova Raccolta di Lettere*, 8vo., Bologna 1844, vol. i. p. 36. Gualandi, *Memorie*, S.I. p. 64. [* See also Modigliani, *loc. cit.*] Vasari, v. 585.

² Vasari, v. 562 *sqq.*, and Campori, *Atti e Memorie delle RR. Deputazioni per le di Storia patria provincie modenesi e parmensi*, folio, Modena, ii. 6, and Biagi, *ub. sup.*, pp. 36, 42-7.

³ Vasari, v. 584.

⁴ See his portrait in Vasari.

to Luciani to intercede. The very letter in which Sebastian told the sculptor of his appointment to the Piombo (November 1531) was that in which he reported Staccoli's proposals; it concluded with a promise to go down to Michelangelo at Florence in the following summer. Michelangelo's reply was kind, and, as regards Staccoli's proposals, satisfactory. He saved Sebastian the trouble of a journey by coming up to Rome.¹

Twice or three times between 1532 and 1534 Buonarroti repeated his visit. Each time the Pope—we may believe at Sebastian's instigation—suggested the painting of the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel. It is even said that Michelangelo completed the sketch for that gigantic subject in 1533; and Sebastian, who was to have a share in the undertaking, was entrusted with the melancholy duty of taking down Perugino's masterpieces, the Assumption, the Nativity, and the Finding of Moses.² When the wall was laid bare and reset after del Piombo's method, Michelangelo interfered, and, exclaiming that oil-medium was only fitted for women, ordered the surface to be prepared afresh for fresco. With this order he severed all the hopes that Sebastian might have entertained of co-operating with his friend, and a marked coolness succeeded to the old cordiality of the two painters.³

We cannot desire a stronger proof of the charge of idleness brought against Sebastian in his later years than the paucity of his labours.⁴ We saw that in a letter to Bembo, Vettor Soranzo, in 1530, alluded to an "image of Christ" executed in oil on marble. What became of this "image" is unknown. Vasari describes a half-length of Christ carrying his cross ordered after Sebastian's appointment to the Piombo, for the patriarch of Aquileia; he also tells how Sebastian half finished a likeness of Catherine de' Medici when (in 1533) she came

¹ Sebastian to Michelangelo. November 1531. MS. in the British Museum. Buonarroti to Sebastian, undated, in Gaye, *Carteggio* iii. 573.

² Consult Grimm's *Michelangelo*, and the chronology of the annotators to Vasari, vii. 381. In September 1533 Buonarroti borrowed a horse from Sebastian to ride to San Miniato al Tedesco, where he went to visit Clement VII.

³ Vasari, v. 584.

⁴ In a letter of Aug. 23, 1543, Claudio Tolomei writes to Sebastian thanking him for the wish he had expressed to paint his portrait, but hinting that the deed would be better than the promise. (See *Lettere di Claudio Tolomei*, Ven. 1553, p. 98.)

for a few days to visit her uncle Clement VII., and how Giulia Gonzaga, of whom Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici became enamoured, was divinely portrayed by the same hand.¹ Small as the number of these masterpieces appear to be, we can scarcely point to a single one of them as existing at the present day; and it is but a guess when we assume that the Christ carrying his Cross which was ordered for the patriarch of Aquileia is that which hangs in the Museum of Madrid. It is characteristic of this small but important piece that it marks a very strong reaction in favour of exaggerated Michelangelesque form. The head and shoulders and one arm of the Redeemer is all that we see, but the convulsed movement of the frame, the powerful strain in the muscles of the arm, and the sculptural make of the hands, all reveal the tendency to imitate Buonarroti's concentrated force and scientific anatomy. There are more bone and sinew in the face than we are accustomed to find in Sebastian; and the breadth of the planes into which the mask is broken betrays a plastic model. But all this is in keeping with the powerful expression of woe which lies in the features. The shadows are suffused with Sebastian's peculiar leaden tint, and are worked into warm lights with transitions of great delicacy and finish.² That this interesting example was produced about the time of Sebastian's getting the Piombo is confirmed by comparison with a quasi-replica of the same subject in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, of which we know that it was designed in 1536 for Don Fernando Silva, Count of Cifuentes, then ambassador for Charles V. in Italy, the only difference apparent in this version being a coarser realism and an excess of the anatomical searching which is already so marked at Madrid.³ We saw Sebastian competing

¹ Vasari, v. 578 *sq.* Grimm, *ub. sup.*, ii. 291. [* The portrait of Giulia Gonzaga was executed in June 1532. (See Schäffer, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, ser. ii. vol. xviii. p. 30.)]

² Madrid Museum. No. 348, on stone, 1 ft. 6½ in. high by 1 ft. 1 in. The beard and hair are painted with great mastery. The forehead is soiled by repaints, the colour of the cross altered by flaying. The hand has lost its glazes. (Consult Vasari, v. 578.)

³ St. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 17, on slate, 3 ft. 6 in. high by 2 ft. 4½ in. Rhenish, inscription on the cross: "D. Fern. S. Comite Cif. Orat . . . F Seb. F." The ground is a dark brownish green. (Consult Campori, *Atti e Memorie, ub. sup.*, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8.) The picture was bought at the sale of the Soult collection.

with Raphael in 1519, and pitting his Lazarus against the Transfiguration. We now compare his Christ at Madrid with that of Raphael in the Spasimo di Sicilia; and we note how persistently he descends into the slough of conventionalism.

The real portrait of Giulia Gonzaga is supposed to exist in two different collections. In the National Gallery, we have the likeness of a lady in the character of St. Agatha, as symbolized by a nimbus and pincers. Natural pose and gesture and dignified mien indicate rank, the treatment is free and bold, but the colours are not blended with the care which Sebastian would surely have bestowed in such a case.¹ In the Stædel Museum at Frankfort, the person represented is of a noble and elegant carriage, seated, in rich attire, and holding a fan made of feathers. A pretty landscape is seen through an opening, and a rich green hanging falls behind the figure. The handling curiously reminds us of Bronzino.² It is well known that the likeness of Giulia was sent to Francis I. in Paris and was registered in Lépicié's catalogue.³ The canvas of the National Gallery was purchased from the Borghese Palace, the panel at Frankfort from the heirlooms of the late king of Holland. A third female portrait by del Piombo deserves to be recorded in connection with this inquiry—that of Lord Radnor at Longford Castle in which a lady with a crimson mantle and pearl headdress stands in profile resting her hands on the back of a chair. On a shawl which falls from the chair we read "Sunt laquei veneris cavē." The shape is slender as that of Vittoria Colonna in the Santangelo palace at Naples, but the colour is too brown in light and too red in shadow to yield a pleasing effect, and, were it proved that

¹ London, National Gallery, No. 24. Canvas, 3 ft. high by 2 ft. 6 in., inscribed: "F. Sebastianus. Ven. faciebat. Romæ." (See Vasari, v. 578 sq.)

² Frankfort, Stædel, No. 42. Wood, 3 ft. 5 in. high by 2 ft. 4½ in. The surface is damaged by restoring. The panel was bought at The Hague for 3,800 Dutch florins. [* This picture is now catalogued as a work by Parmigianino, to whom it was first ascribed by Prof. A. Venturi.]

³ [* As a matter of fact, Lépicié merely repeats what Vasari says about the portrait of Giulia Gonzaga (Lépicié, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux du Roy*, i. 102); the only pictures in the collection of the King of France which he registers as work by Sebastian are the Visitation of 1521 (see *antea*, p. 231) and the supposed portrait of Baccio Bandinelli now in the Louvre (No. 1189) and really by Bronzino.]

this is really Giulia Gonzaga, the picture would not deserve Vasari's eulogy.¹

The very best illustration of Sebastian's careless independence in later life is that which characterized his relations with Don Ferrante Gonzaga, viceroy of Sicily and prince of Guastalla. Don Ferrante was the son of Francis IV., Marquis of Mantua, born in 1507, and employed early by Charles V. to found Spanish rule in Italy. He had been one of Sebastian's sitters at Rome, either at the close of the pontificate of Clement VII. or at the beginning of that of Paul III. About 1533, being anxious to win the favour of Covos, commander of Castile and favourite secretary to Charles V., he formed the resolution of giving him a picture by a first-rate master, and ordered his agent Sernini to sound Sebastian as to his willingness to paint for him. Sebastian received Sernini's overtures but coldly, yet consented, after some hesitation, to design a Dead Christ in the arms of the Virgin Mary. It is not stated at what price he promised to deliver the piece, but when it was exhibited four years later without its framing of coloured marbles in the rooms of Cardinal Cesi he asked for it no less than a thousand scudi. Sernini was instructed to pay 403 scudi and offer in addition a pension or a benefice for Sebastian's son. The way in which del Piombo haggled is not altogether to his credit, but we smile when we read the argument used to persuade Sernini, and especially when we find the painter saying that the higher price was the most

¹ Longford Castle. Wood; knee-piece, on a dark ground partly intercepted by a green hanging. The figure is large as life, clad in a pinky cloak with a fur collar. The sleeve is yellow. [* Two female portraits by Sebastian which seem to have been unknown to the authors are to be noticed in this connection. They were in 1906 in the possession of Herr Steinmayer, a Cologne picture-dealer, after having successively belonged to the Giustiniani-Bandini collection in Rome and the Bourgeois collection in Cologne. Dr. Schäffer (*loc. cit.*, pp. 29 *sqq.*) has given good reasons for identifying the lady portrayed in one of these paintings with Giulia Gonzaga. The St. Agatha in the National Gallery shows undoubtedly both in pose and features a resemblance to this portrait. The other represents another lady standing near a wheel, the emblem of St. Catherine. Dr. d'Achiardi suggests (*ib. sup.*, pp. 266 *sqq.*) that she may be Catherine de' Medici and—in spite of the fact that Vasari says that the likeness of Giulia Gonzaga was sent to Francis I.—thinks it probable that these are the very portraits of Giulia Gonzaga and Catherine de' Medici mentioned by Vasari. The picture at Longford Castle is a replica with some variations of the second of the two above-mentioned portraits.]

advantageous to Don Ferrante because Covos would value the present more in proportion to its cost. It was almost in vain that Cardinal Farnese and Molza, who with Berni, Porrini, and other poetasters, formed part of Sebastian's usual circle, interfered to bring about an arrangement. It was settled at last, but not before October 1538, that Don Ferrante should pay 500 scudi; and the long-expected work was shipped to Ostia by way of the Tiber, being too heavy and liable to fracture to be carried by land.¹

Almost a solitary memento of Sebastian's skill in the pontificate of Paul III. (1535-42) is the portrait of Cardinal Pole in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, a magnificent canvas, long assigned to Raphael, in which the great English churchman is seen sitting with his hands on the arms of a chair in a red toque and cap and white stole. The deep-sunken eyes, the bony face, and large brown beard spread over the breast, give a strong character to this admirable likeness. It is rapidly executed, somewhat raw in tone, but grandiose and admirably drawn.² Another creation of del Piombo's later period—surprising alike for its colossal proportions and the massive stroke of brush by which it is distinguished, is that of the Berlin Museum, in which the dead Christ is raised by Joseph of Arimathea and bewailed by the Magdalen, a fragment on stone, in which the consummate skill of a practised hand is counterbalanced by absence of feeling and selection.³ Better, and perhaps of this time, is the fine but greatly injured full-length of St. Bernard in the Quirinal at Rome.⁴

Though Sebastian took the likeness of Paul III., and began that of his son, the Duke of Castro, though he presented his own portrait to Ranuccio Farnese, he had not the same interest

¹ See Campori's "Sebastiano del Piombo e Ferrante Gonzaga," in *Atti e memorie*, *ub. sup.* The picture is missing. [* According to Prof. Carl Justi it still existed in 1890 in the church of San Salvador, at Ubeda, in Andalusia (D'Achiardi, *ub. sup.*, p. 279.)]

² St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 19. Canvas, m. 1.1 high by 0.94, knee-piece above life-size on a dark red ground. The flesh was all laid in with a warm local tone, above which the lights and brown shadows were superposed. The treatment is a mixture of the Michelangesque and Raphaellesque of the third period.

³ Berlin Museum, No. 237. On slate, 5 ft. $\frac{1}{4}$ in. high by 3 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., half-length of proportions far above those of life.

⁴ Rome, Quirinal [* now Vatican Gallery]. Panel with the life-size St. Bernard with a crook and the imp at his feet. The sky is seen through a colonnade.

SEBASTIAN DEL PIOMBO



Hanfstaeigl photo.]

PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL POLE.

[St. Petersburg, Hermitage.]

with this potent family as he had enjoyed under the papacies of the Rovere and Medici; and this want of influence nearly cost him the Piombo.¹ The gift to Bembo of a cardinal's hat in 1539 had been the signal for pushing Titian's fortunes at the papal Court. Aretino, who saw some prospect of promotion to high ecclesiastical dignities if he could get to Rome in Titian's company, tried hard to obtain for his friend an invitation from the Pope. When Rannuccio Farnese, then eleven years of age, was sent to Venice in 1541 to be installed as prior of the Knights of St. John, Bembo caused him to give sittings to Titian. Leoni, the Patriarch of Aquileia, and the Bishop of Brescia, were bid to report on the result, and a consequence of their mission was a request to Titian from Cardinal Farnese to visit Rome and a promise of a benefice for Titian's son Pomponio. In autumn 1542 Titian half assented to the proposal, dallying with it cunningly till he could discern a real chance of the benefice; but in the midst of this dalliance Paul was induced to leave Rome and come to Busseto, where, in 1543, he had long interviews with Charles V. Titian was in the Emperor's suite at the time Paul sat to him and offered him the Piombo. To the painter's honour, it must be told, he refused an office which he could only accept by throwing two brother painters into most painful straits, and this not only damaged his own prospects but those of his son. Bembo was foiled but not discouraged. He thought that if once Titian could be brought to Rome, all minor obstacles would soon be overcome. He caused a new invitation to be made in 1545, and had the satisfaction of receiving a note of acceptance. Titian came to Rome, and renewed his endeavours to obtain a benefice. He strove to attain his end by interest, by flattery, and a judicious use of his art; but the papal treasury was empty; the canvases which he produced for various members of the Farnese family were received with pleasure and admired with rapture, but they were paid for in "caresses." It was clear that the patronage of the papal Court was of less value than the favour of Charles V., and Titian went home rich in experience if not in money, and resumed his old avocations at Venice.² During his stay at Rome he had constant intercourse

¹ Vasari, v. 582; Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi*, *ub. sup.*, p. 53.

² Consult Vasari, *Life of Titian*. Other sources will be quoted hereafter.

with Sebastian del Piombo and Vasari, in whose company he saw the most celebrated edifices and galleries. Wandering through the Camere and admiring the works of Raphael, he ventured to inquire of Sebastian who it was that had had the presumption to daub the frescoes of so great a master. To his great surprise, no doubt, it appeared that the culprit was del Piombo, whose style Aretino, but a few weeks before, had invited Titian carefully to study.¹

For two years after this Sebastian lived his old life of idleness at Rome. In June 1547 he was seized with fever, which quickly carried him off. He was buried with due honour in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo.²

Among the genuine works of Sebastian which have not found a place in the narrative we should notice the following :

St. Petersburg, collection of Mr. Bikoff. Bust of a young lady in a dark yellow cap and yellow mantle, the face turned three-quarters to the right, of life-size, on stone. This piece has been injured by retouching in the eyes, nose, forehead, and dress. It is of a glowing ruddy tone.

Berlin Museum, No. 234. Slate, 2 ft. 3½ in. by 1 ft. 8½ in., purchase of Baron von Rumohr. This portrait, supposed—erroneously, we think—to represent Aretino in a black toque and black dress, is a noble likeness, very finely handled, and with more feeling than we commonly find in similar works of Sebastian. There is an unfortunate vertical split right down the face.

St. Petersburg, Leuchtenberg collection. Portrait of a bearded man in a rich dress. Through an opening to the left is a view of a house with a female at the window—on a slip of paper on a table we read: "MDXXVII. an. etatis xxxi." This portrait is assigned to Moretto, recalls Sebastian del Piombo, but still leaves us in doubt whether it may not be by Savoldo. Wood, life-size.³

¹ Aretino to Titian, Venice, January 1546, in Bottari, *Raccolta*, iii. 146, 147; Dolce, *Dialogo*, p. 9. We may have occasion to revert to this subject.

² Vasari, v. 584 sq.

³ The editor has no knowledge of the present owner of this picture. It is reproduced in *L'Arte*, vi., 333.

The following extant paintings by Sebastian are still to be mentioned: (1) Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 259. Portrait of a Knight of the Order of Sant' Iago. (2) Berlin, collection of Herr Oscar Huldshinsky. Female portrait (with remnants of a signature). (3) London, collection of Mr. Robert Benson. Male portrait. (4) London, collection of Mr. Fairfax Murray. Female portrait. (5) New York, Metropolitan Museum. Supposed portrait of Christopher

A certain number of works unworthy of the name of Sebastian yet classed as such may be noted at random as follows :

England, Blaise Castle. Round panel with Christ, whose arms are supported by two angels, bewailed by the Virgin, from the Barberini collection at Rome. The heads of Christ and of the Virgin—the best here—are said to be by Michelangelo, whilst the rest remains assigned to Sebastian. It is not possible conscientiously to admit the truth of these statements. No doubt two hands are apparent, but they are the hands of Marcello Venusti and others of the following of del Piombo and Buonarroti. Same gallery, from the Braschi palace at Rome. Holy Family with the infant Christ asleep on the Virgin's lap, the young Baptist and St. Joseph—of a lower form than the foregoing but composed after the fashion of Michelangelo.

Florence, Galleria Corsini. Christ carrying his cross, the Virgin, and one of the thieves with his arms bound behind his back; wood, life-size half-lengths. This is a careful, finished, and blended panel without the spirit or power of Sebastian as a draughtsman and colourist. The feeblest figure is that of Christ, which faintly recalls Michelangelo. The painter may be Marcello Venusti or one of his class.

London, National Gallery, No. 20. "Portraits of Sebastian del Piombo and Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici," from the Palazzo Borghese, half-lengths of life-size. This panel is altered and dimmed by time, varnishes, and restoring; it suggests in some measure the name of Sebastian; yet it might be by some follower of his manner who also preserves some reminiscences of the style of Raphael.

Longford Castle. St. Sebastian. This imitation of one of Michelangelo's impersonations at the Sistine Chapel is unlike anything that del Piombo ever did and was probably painted by a Fleming or a German.

St. Petersburg, collection of Count Paul Stroganoff. Christ between St. Peter and St. Paul in three arched panels; full lengths, under the natural size. This is the work of a painter more modern than Sebastian.

St. Petersburg, Leuchtenberg collection, No. 47. Wood, 2 ft. 5½ in. by 3 ft. 3¾ in.; half-lengths of the Virgin and Child attended by St. John, St. James, and St. Zacharias. This is a Venetian panel reminiscent of the Palmesque, of a rosy red tone and somewhat empty surface, possibly by Rocco Marconi.¹

Columbus. (6) Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 17. Portrait of Cardinal Pucci (created 1531, died 1544). (7) Vienna, collection of Baron Tucher. Male portrait (reminiscent of Palma).

* ¹ Present whereabouts unknown.

Palermo, Chiesa dell' Ospitale dei Sacerdoti. Canvas, with two life-size figures. Christ, half supported by the Virgin, who looks down at him and stretches out her arms in grief. The distance is sky and landscape. This finely composed subject—much injured by repaints—may be by Marcello Venusti, Rosso Fiorentino, or some other follower of Michelangelo.

London, Lady Malmesbury. Round—so-called portrait of Titian—a poor repetition by an unknown hand of the familiar face of Titian.¹

Hampton Court, No. 141. "A Spanish Lady." Spurious.

Bowood. Portrait of a man in grey holding a death's head ; in the Bolognese manner.

Edinburgh Gallery, No. 101. Bacchus and Ariadne, a poor production by an artist of the close of the sixteenth century.

Munich Pinakothek, No. 1085. St. Nicholas between St. John the Baptist and St. Philip, inscribed : "MDXXX F. Sebastian F. Per Agostino Ghigi." This large picture by a Venetian of the class of Rocco Marconi bears a forged inscription.²

Berlin Museum, No. 255. Male portrait by Francia Bigio.³

Florence, Uffizi, No. 627. Canvas, life-size ; bust of a bearded man seen against the sky in a toque, shirt, red sleeves, and cuirass. His right hand grasps the handle of a sword. This spirited figure looks at first sight as if it might be by Sebastian, but the treatment is careless and free, and on close examination unlike that of del Piombo. It may be by Schidone.

Vienna, Imperial Gallery (not shown, No. 58, catalogue of 1884). Bust of a man showing his back and the profile of his head. By a Modenese of the following of Parmigianino.⁴

Perugia, Sant' Agostino. Nativity ; spurious.

Santa Maria Nuova. St. Sebastian, St. Roch, and three children ; by one of the Alfani.

The following pictures are missing or were not seen by the authors, and first as to the latter :

Nantes Museum. Christ carrying his cross.

London, Lord Breadalbane. Male portrait.⁵

Holford collection. Male portrait.

*¹ Sold at the Malmesbury sale, July 1, 1876. Probably identical with a picture now in the Von Kauffmann collection at Berlin (reproduced in Bernardini, *ib. sup.*, p. 123).

*² Now labelled Rocco Marconi.

*³ Now officially ascribed to him.

*⁴ Ascribed to Girolamo Bedoli, the cousin of Parmigianino, in the catalogue of 1884.

*⁵ Now in the collection of the Hon. Mrs. Baillie-Hamilton at Langton, N.B.

Lansdowne House. Male portrait.
Duke of Bedford. Male portrait.
Claverton, Mr. Vivian. Portrait of Michelangelo.
Wimpole, Lord Hardwicke. Portrait of a man.
Broom Hall, Lord Elgin. Female portrait.
Locko Park, Mr. Drury Lowe. Profile of Andrea Doria.¹
Corsham, Lord Methuen. Portrait.
Gatton Park. Portrait.

Missing :

Rome. Portraits of Anton Francesco degli Albizzi (Vasari, v. 575), of Piero Gonzaga (*ibid.*, p. 581), "An Armed Captain" (*ibid.*, p. 574), of F. Bozzolo (*ibid.*),² of Marcantonio Colonna (*ibid.*, p. 573, and Lomazzo, *Trattato*, p. 230).

Florence, Casa Luca Torrigiani. Portrait of a female (Vasari, v. 574).

Florence, P. B. Cavalcanti. An unfinished head (*ibid.*).

Padua, Casa Pietro Bembo. Portrait of Sannazaro (Anon., ed. Morelli, p. 18).

Ferrara, Casa Roberto Canonici. A bust of a female, with a white veil and a string of pearls round her neck (Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi*, p. 108).

Verona, Muselli collection. A shepherd playing the flute (*ibid.*, p. 188).

Verona, Curtoni collection. Virgin and Child and St. Joseph (*ibid.*, p. 198).

Parma, Palazzo del Giardino. Portrait of Alexander VI. ? (*ibid.*, p. 213, and see Naples Museum, *antea*).³

Same collection. Half-length of the Virgin, with the Child standing before her and St. Joseph in rear (*ibid.*, p. 218).

Gallery of the Duke of Parma (1708). A Christ in white carrying his cross (*ibid.*, p. 478).

Modena, collection of Prince Cesare Ignazio d'Este. Portrait of a bald man (*ibid.*, p. 313). Portraits of a man and his wife (*ibid.*, p. 321).

*¹ Dr. Richter (*Catalogue of Pictures at Locko Park*, p. 15) describes this picture as being in the manner of Pierino del Vaga.

*² Mr. Berenson (*The Venetian Painters*, p. 120) mentions a portrait of F. Bozzolo, by Sebastian, in the collection of Lord Lansdowne at Bowood.

*³ This painting is, in point of fact, identical with the portrait of Adrian VI. at Naples, as suggested by the authors. See Filangieri di Candida in *Le gallerie nazionali italiane*, v. 211 sq.

CHAPTER V

THE BRESCIANS

WE saw how Paduan art was introduced into Lombardy, spreading to the north and east as far as Venice and Treviso, to the south beyond Ferrara, and westward to Verona and Milan. Towards the close of the century a revulsion occurred throughout the whole of North Italy; and the school of Venice, with its branches in Friuli and the Bergamasque province, extended its sway to all parts of the country north of the Po.

Brescia, which first gave employment to disciples of Mantegna, in the person of Vincenzo Foppa and his subordinates,¹ after-

¹ A very low form of art, moulded on that of Foppa, is to be found in frescoes in the choir of San Rocco of Bagolino in the district of Brescia. They cover the triangular sections of a vaulting, with the Evangelists about the centre, the Latin Doctors at the basement angles, and rounds with subjects in monochrome. In the soffit of the entrance-arch are half-lengths of Sibyls, under one of which: "Qui hoc opus pinxit Cemigena fuit," and in the centre of the arching is the date 1486. This is rude work, injured by abrasion and repainting. The style, best represented in the Sibyls, may be characterized thus: no light and shade—wiry outline, raw colour, drawing incorrect, form coarse and paltry. Something, on the whole, reminds us of the frescoes of the ex-monastery of San Barnaba. (See *antea*, ii. 325, n. 2.) In the same place and similar in style—panels (tempera) representing severally, St. Francis, the Baptist, a bishop, and other half-lengths.

[* The frescoes at Bagolino were executed by a painter named Giampietro, who was a native of Cemmo, in the Val Camonica, and therefore called himself "Cemigena." There also exist frescoes by him, signed and dated 1475, in the church of the Annunziata di Borno, Val Camonica; and Miss Ffoulkes and Monsignor Maiocchi further ascribe to him the above-mentioned paintings in the ex-monastery of San Barnaba at Brescia, the frescoes in the church of the Madonna at Esine (cf. *postea*), and frescoes in the church of San Lorenzo at Berzo inferiore (Val Camonica) (Ffoulkes and Maiocchi, *Vincenzo Foppa*, pp. 167 *sq.*). This artist is known to the Anonimo (pp. 35, 55) as "Zuanpiero de Val Camonica."]

Less disagreeable than the paintings at Bagolino, but with the same general aspect, are frescoes in the vaulting of the choir of Sant' Antonio at Breno, a village at the head of the lake of Iseo. The subjects are the Doctors, Evangelists, and

wards fostered the more attractive Venetian style of Romanino, Moretto, and Savoldo, and, during a short period of transition, nurtured Floriano Ferramola.

Ferramola was an artist of a calm and resolute temper, of whom it is related that, when Brescia was sacked in 1512 by Gaston de Foix, he remained heedless of the assault and was surprised at his easel by a gang of plunderers claiming ransom. At this moment of danger, he preserved the calm of his usual demeanour and signed to the intruders to help themselves. They did so with accustomed skill and speed, and left his shop a wreck. It was the intention of Gaston de Foix, in the first passion of anger, to raze the walls of Brescia and reduce the town to ruins. He was dissuaded from this extreme measure by the patrician Pietro Porcellaga, who, for this and other services done to his native city, was afterwards represented in state dress on one of the walls of the church of San Pietro del Duomo. The painter employed on the occasion was Ferramola; and it was perhaps on Porcellaga's intercession that Gaston de Foix gave compensation for the injuries Ferramola had sustained and an order for a portrait of himself.¹ Ferramola was educated under the influence

Prophets, painted in a way reminiscent of Foppa and Civerchio. The same subjects in the choir of the church of the Madonna at Bieno (village near Breno) are only part of a larger scheme of decoration comprising scenes from the life of Christ and single figures. These are all common productions, and apparently of the fifteenth century, as the date 1493 appears in one of them. In a similar way we have Christ in Glory amidst Saints in the vaulting, and scenes from the Old Testament or hagiology in the walls, of the church of the Madonna at Esine (between Pisogne and Breno), a series of common frescoes executed (the date is inscribed among some Prophets on the wall of the organ-loft) in 1493, faded fragments of a Dance of Death on the front of the church of the Madonna annex to the suppressed convent "degli Agostiniani" outside Pisogne, and Christ Dead on the Virgin's Lap, a fresco of life-size in the manner of Vincenzo Foppa's school in the cathedral of Lovere.

¹ Ottavio Rossi, *Elogi historici di Bresciani illustri*, 4to, Brescia, 1620, pp. 236-8 and 506. The portrait of Gaston de Foix which Rossi describes as having been painted by Ferramola is not known to exist; but Mündler (*Analyse, ub. sup.*, p. 199) suggests that a copy of it has been preserved, e.g. a canvas in the Salle des Maréchaux at Versailles, assigned to Phillippe de Champagne, representing a captain in armour and mail, full length, with a lance in his left hand. The name Gaston de Foix is written in gold letters, with the following distych above it: "Morte tua egregium corrumpis, Gasto, triumphum: Gallia si victrix se superasse dolet." San Pietro del Duomo—a church in the present Piazza del Duomo—was razed in the seventeenth century (Odorici, *Guida di Brescia*, p. 11).

of the schools of Foppa, Costa, and Francia; and in practice was a decorator rather than an easel-painter. Shortly after the sack of Brescia he was commissioned to design the Virgin and Child between St. Faustinus and St. Giovita on a house in the Via de' Pregnacchi; and the spirited author of the Brescian Eulogies, who was a conspicuous member of the Rossi family, to whom the house belonged, declared that there was no finer or better-kept fresco of the master, though it had stood for more than a century on a front facing the north.¹ Copious as Ferramola's productions of this kind appear to have been in Brescia, very few of them are extant; and the large cycle of subjects which once adorned the walls of the Casa Borgondio-Vergini is only represented by fragments. Very characteristic specimens of his skill are preserved in frescoes bearing the date of 1514 at Santa Maria of Lovere, where the twelve apostles are drawn in half-length on the spandrels of the arches of the nave beneath a border interspersed with medallions containing saints. Equally interesting are parts of an organ-screen executed in 1518 for San Faustino of Brescia, but now in Santa Maria of Lovere.

In 1516 Ferramola contracted to paint the organ-shutters, in 1527 to decorate the chapel of the cross, in the old Duomo of Brescia, but he died, before completing the last of these commissions, on July 3, 1528.²

Of the numerous subjects which formed the total of the master's works in the Casa Borgondio Vergini but few, we have said, were saved. Figures of men and women, single or in couples, and incidents of the hunting-field filled the smaller spaces in the principal room. On larger planes were designed: the Birth of Adonis, the Death of Iphigenia, and a passage of arms on the old piazza of Brescia. The latter, sold some years before 1871 to an Englishman, probably adorns some English collection

¹ Rossi, *ub. sup.*, p. 506, says the fresco, "Sij dipinta gia sono più di cēto e sette anni."

² The authorities are in Zamboni, *Memorie intorno alle pubbliche fabbriche, &c., di Brescia*, 1778, p. 108; both frescoes and screen are lost.

* The earliest among the dated works by Ferramola which are still extant is a Virgin and Child enthroned between SS. Angelus (?) and Catherine in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (No. 155A), signed "Opus Floria[n]i Ferramolæ Cl. Bx. MDXIII."

under the name of Pinturicchio or Costa.¹ The Birth of Adonis, a large fragment, remains at Brescia, a poor example of straggling and ill-conceived composition. At one side of the picture a female kneels near a tree and takes the babe from a hollow in the trunk, to the left a female in a white bodice sits singly and alone; a nurse in the centre gives breast to the child. The chief peculiarities here are leanness of shape, affectation of posture, angular drapery, and hard drawing. Warm flesh with silver-grey shadow contrasts with deep harsh vestment tints.² The Bolognese characteristics which cling to these and many other of Ferramola's works are found commingled with Mantegnesque features in a Christ carrying his Cross in the Galleria Martinengo at Brescia. The Saviour, whose oblong face is spasmodically contracted into angles, is seen in half-length, with the cross on his shoulder and his neck surrounded by the rope. There is no want of power in expression, nor is there lack of proportion in the parts, but the broken outlines, the absence of transitions from brown flesh light to olive shadow, and the positive tints of the vestments betray the dependence of a sixteenth-century craftsman on fifteenth-century practice.³

The Lovere frescoes are seriously injured by scaling and re-painting, but display a discreet use of scientific perspective in their setting. They tell of the master's progress and are free from some of the dryness and abruptness of previous creations; they are not without gradations of light and shade or transparency of tone.⁴

* ¹ This painting is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. See Ffoulkes and Maiocchi, *ib. sup.*, p. 164, n. 2.

² Brescia, Casa Borgondio. Besides the frescoes described in the text there are four fragments—(1) a young captain, called Gaston de Foix, (2) a young man on horseback with a falcon on his wrist, and (3) two half-lengths, meeting of a young man and woman and suite of three females. Ferramola here is on a lower level than Francia and Costa, but somewhat related to them in style, his flesh is warm—his figures under life-size. [* The Casa Borgondio no longer contains any paintings by Ferramola.]

³ Brescia, Galleria Martinengo. Arched panel on a dark ground, life-size the flesh injured by retouching, the blue mantle damaged, the hair renewed. Palmezzano here is Ferramola's prototype.

⁴ Lovere, Santa Maria. An apostle half-length at a circular opening seen in perspective, is the ornament of each spandrel, the surrounding ornament is on red ground. Smaller rounds in an upper border of ornament on blue ground con-

The Annunciate Angel and Virgin on the organ screen at Lovere are the latest work assignable to the painter, and yet they hardly suggest a contemporary of the great moderns, Palma, Titian, and Pordenone. The scene is laid in a rotunda where the Virgin kneels at a desk, and Gabriel strides in with the lily. The messenger is stilted and strangely muffled in broken folds of changing drapery. The Virgin is more attractive, but there is something singularly repellent still in the dusky red flesh, in the flare of shot dresses and the leaden tinge of an airless distance. We turn the screen and find on the back of it a frieze of boy angels in a simulated cornice beneath which, in the mouth of two triumphal arches, ride St. Faustinus and St. Giovita. Both saints are in the undress of modern knights and ride barbed steeds; man and horse designed with ease in the full and graceful forms of the sixteenth century. Plump shapes of soft and fleshy curve distinguish the boy angels in the frieze. In this delicate display of a young art we hail the rising talent of Moretto, who, as Ferramola's companion, in 1518, and at the very time when the screen before us was executed, painted the organ-shutters of the Brescia Duomo.¹

But one fresco of those which Ferramola finished in Brescia remains in its original place. It is a lunette containing the Annunciation; but here at last are signs of change and some sacrifice to the liberty of more modern painting. There are angels in the air who greet the bringing of the message, there are friars and a patroness on the foreground. The gentleness which still recalls the schools of Francia and Costa is accompanied by

tain figures of the Doctors and other saints. Beneath the round in which St. Matthew is depicted with a book in one hand we read the following: "S. Matheus Vitam eternam Amen, 1514. Opus Floriâi Feramolæ Ci Brixæ." The apostles are life-size, the upper saints smaller. All are much injured by fading, abrasion, and repaint.

*¹ Lovere, Santa Maria, from San Faustino of Brescia. Canvases with figures of life-size in tempera. The shutters, when closed, represent the Annunciation (arched) with two medallions in the upper corners, representing each a bishop (that to the left renewed). In the rotunda are two monochrome medallions. In one of them a canonized saint, in the other a pope; on cartellos fastened to the pillars right and left we read: "1518," and "Die 15. Au." on the bench of the Virgin's prie-dieu: "A. G. P. D. T.," "Ave gratia," etc. The saints on the other side are also of life-size and effectively brought out by mass of chiaroscuro and varied projection of shadow.

better drawing and drapery of a looser and more natural cast.¹

Ferramola was soon thrown into the shade at Brescia by Girolamo Romanino, a Bergamasque, who represented a genuine if not an elevated form of North Italian art. He was born about 1485 at Rumano on the Serio, and learnt the elements, it is said, from Stefano Rizzi; but he probably studied for a time under one of the Friulan masters² and thus acquired the trick of Venetian painting. Free of the guild at Brescia before 1510, at which time he was fully imbued with characteristic mannerisms, he

¹ Brescia, Carmine, Lunette fresco. Two friars kneel to the left, a dame to the right; in the air are two angels.

The Brescian guide notices several works under Ferramola's name, some of which are missing, e.g.: (1) Santa Caterina. Virgin del Rosario with the kneeling SS. Dominic, Vincent Ferrerius, Catherine of Siena, and Agnes—missing (Chizzola, *Pitture di Brescia*, 8vo, Brescia, 1760, p. 33). (2) Santa Croce. A St. John Evangelist—missing (*ibid.*, p. 82). (3) San Gio. Evangelista. Baptistry; extant—St. Blaise, St. Barbara, and other saints (*ibid.*, p. 49, and Odorici, *Guida di Brescia*, p. 145). (4) San Giuseppe. Flagellation and an altarpiece at the fifteenth altar—both missing (Chizzola, pp. 21, 22). (5) Santa Maria delle Grazie. Virgin, Child, St. Jerome and other saints—extant; assigned by some (Lanzi, ii. 122, and Chizzola, p. 41) to Ferramola; by others (Odorici, p. 148) to young Foppa, see *postea* in Foppa the younger. (6) Sant' Urbano above entrance to portico. Dead Saviour on the lap of the Virgin adored by St. Urban (Chizzola, p. 140). (7) Venice Academy, No. 159. Virgin, Child, SS. Daniel, Catherine of Alexandria, Jerome, a bearded saint, and a kneeling patron and his wife—half-lengths in landscape. This picture illustrates the style of the school of the Santa Croce or of Pellegrino in his early time. [* It is now catalogued as a work by Francesco Rizzo da Santa Croce.]

² Three of Romanino's returns to the income-tax are preserved for transcripts of which we acknowledge ourselves indebted to Signori Gabriele Rosa, Don Stefano Fenaroli, and Pietro da Ponte of Brescia. The first, in which the painter calls himself Hieronymo de Rumà, aged 33, is dated 1517. The second, in which he calls himself Jeron. Rumani, aged 47, is dated 1534. The third, in which he gives his age as 62, is dated 1548. The years 1484-7 are those within which his birth, according to these statements, must fall. Romano is a village on the Serio between Treviglio and Cocaglio. [* According to Fenaroli (*Disionario degli artisti bresciani*, pp. 201 sq.), the family to which Romanino belonged came originally from Romano; but already his great-grandfather was settled at Brescia, and it was there that the painter was born.] Chizzola (*Pitture di Brescia*, p. 20) and Odorici (*Guida*, p. 125) speak of Stefano Rizzi Bresciano as "the master of Romanino" and assign to him a fresco of Christ carrying his cross to the right of the portal in San Giuseppe of Brescia. But this fresco is by a follower of Romanino and Moretto. Lanzi (ii. 183) copies the Brescian guides as to Rizzi without inquiry.

had Pellegrino's contempt for select nature, his fondness for the plainness of rustic impersonations, and his rough way of imitating the human shape in its varieties. He slurred over the real difficulties of anatomy and design, and trusted to outweigh his neglect of the subtleties of drawing by richness and sweetness of colouring. The fleshy mould and contour of his figures, their fluid touch and glowing tone, their deep sparse shadow and shallow drapery, were prominently Palmesque and Giorgionesque.

The darkness which covers Romanino's youth coincides with that which obscures a certain period of Friulan art. Between 1507 and 1512 most of the hill-masters retired to the Lowlands, Pordenone to Venice and Pellegrino to Ferrara. It is still a question whether Pellegrino tarried at Bergamo or Brescia, but there is nothing improbable in the fact; and a Brescian student might have made his acquaintance at either place before 1510.¹ In 1510 Romanino's practice at Brescia assumed important dimensions, and we find him then a skilled, if not a finished, artist in the manner of the Palmesques and Pellegrino.

The first church in which Romanino exhibited was San Lorenzo of Brescia; the subject of his picture was the Pietà and the period of its execution 1510. In this great altarpiece, which is well known to the frequenters of the Manfrini collection, there is a freedom of hand which bespeaks experience, travel, and a perceptible disregard of all lessons familiar to the higher schools of Tuscany. John Evangelist, Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea and the Marys, in touching concert, pour out their grief as Christ sits lifeless on the cover of his tomb. But Christ himself, disfigured and lamed by the ordeal of the cross, creates a discord in the harmony. Instead of showing the pain and evitable wanness of suffering, he bears the tangible marks of physical torture. Figures of rustic mould and sober shape are skilfully distributed round the dead Redeemer and coloured with tints of Ferrarese depth and fluidity; but the drapery is poorly set and rectilinear in fold.²

¹ As we have seen (*antea*, p. 89, n. 1), it appears, on the evidence of contemporary records, that Pellegrino stayed at Ferrara continuously from 1508 to 1511.

² Canford Manor, Lord Wimborne. Wood, previously No. 74 in the Manfrini coll. at Venice; figures under life-size, in a landscape, with Calvary in the distance to the left. On a shield or tablet in the foreground to the left: "Hieronimi

Ottavio Rossi, in one of his eulogies, declares that it was Romanino's misfortune to have lived in a country town where talent led but slowly to fame.¹ Yet Romanino, after he had fairly started, found numerous supporters, and his first altarpiece was quickly followed by others, of which many found their way into modern galleries.

The Madonna with Saints and Angels in the Museum of Berlin, commissioned for San Francesco of Brescia, is one of that class of pictures with which North Italy abounds. It represents two winged cherubs supporting a green carpet behind a throne, at the foot of which an angel sings to the sound of a mandolin. The infant Christ lies on the Virgin's lap, who sits on a throne attended by St. Roch with his dog and a canonized abbot. Though full of dash and tone, and markedly deficient in drawing as well as strained in action, this large panel is, for Romanino, very carefully wrought. A pleasing tenderness dwells in the face and glance of the Virgin; and the cherubs who flutter in the air are full of freshness; but the angel below is remarkable for the round head, puffy shape, and small, unmeaning extremities which mark Romanino's late creations. Though warm and highly coloured, the flesh is light and the vestment tints are full of depth. What most suggests haste and want of thought is styleless drapery cast in narrow and multiplied folds.²

Another of Romanino's early compositions in the same collection is the half-length of Judith with her slave and the sleeping guard, a striking example of the steadiness with which Romanino kept in the current of the Palmsques. The soldier in armour, the maid in profile looking on, the Jewish heroine sentimentally bending her head whilst she holds the dish containing Holophernes' head—these three figures in a dark landscape in front of a green curtain make up the modern

Rumani Brixiani opus MDX mense decembris." The red dress of the Evangelist, who supports the left arm of Christ, is injured. Compare Antonio Averoldo (*Scelte pitt. di Brescia*, 8vo, Brescia, 1700, p. 135), Chizzola, p. 94, and Selvatico (*Guida di Ven.*, p. 298).

¹ O. Rossi, *Elogi*, p. 503.

² Berlin Museum, No. 157. Wood, 5 ft. 5 in. high by 3 ft. 11 in., from the Solly collection, but originally in San Francesco of Brescia (Vasari, vi. 504, and Chizzola, p. 68). Strain is particularly remarkable in the figure of the abbot. The panel is well preserved.

conventionalism called Giorgionesque. With an art consummate in its way, the Venetians of this age succeeded in concealing the repulsive nature of the subject in affected grace of movement, in rich varieties of dress and tricks of colouring. Romanino, following their example, bathes the flesh in warm light and dark shadow of lustrous surface, finishing the chord with rich deep drapery tone. He composes harmonies in the lower keys, and sheds a vague Leonardesque twilight upon his picture, concealing in this twilight his neglect of drawing and finish.¹

The most celebrated and most Palmesque work of Romanino at this time is the altarpiece of San Francesco at Brescia in which the Virgin on her throne receives the homage of six canonized Franciscans. It was ordered by the executors of Fra Sansone, who died General of the Franciscan Order in 1499, and was completed, as we judge from its style, before the painter's journey to Padua about 1512. When first placed on the high altar of San Francesco it was the centre of a vast triptych, on the doors of which there were four compositions taken from the life of St. Francis. In the genuine fashion of the Venetians and Bergamasques, the scene of homage is laid in an open archway, in which the Virgin sits with the babe on her knee, the sky being intercepted by a green cloth, the upper corners of which are held by two dancing cherubs. On the throne plinth at the Virgin's sides SS. Francis and Anthony stand in ecstatic posture, and in the foreground—grand in contrast of cowl and frock and brocade pivial, but still more grand in contrast of look and expression—kneel four saints, amongst whom are SS. Bernardino, Louis of Toulouse, and Bonaventura. A beautiful damask carpet falling over the throne plinth adds to the general gorgeousness of the harmony. With an elevation seldom found in Romanino's later impersonations, the Virgin combines regular proportion and an attractive face with plump flesh and clear complexion; and the child, bending its head towards the kneeling friars, is full and chubby. SS. Francis

¹ Berlin Museum, No. 155. Wood, 2 ft. 9 in. high by 2 ft. 3½ in., from the Solly collection. The bloom is off the surface of the panel. This may be the picture described as the daughter of Herodias with the head of the Baptist by Chizzola (*ub. sup.*, p. 47), yet Chizzola, in this instance, says the picture was on canvas, in the orchestra of the organ at San Giovanni Evangelista of Brescia.

ROMANINO



Alinari photo.]

[*Brescia, San Francesco.*

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS.

and Anthony stand out in half-shade against the sky. A masterly projection of shadow is produced by side-light, and correct balance of rich tints and chiaroscuro, by bold and skilful means. Drapery, so often neglected by Romanino, is appropriately cast ; and the lines of architecture suit the rich framing which surrounds the panel.¹

With the production of this noble and now, unhappily, injured altarpiece Romanino's practice at Brescia came for a time to an end. He had hitherto lived on the patronage of a city second in opulence only to Milan ; he had risen to a position in which he naturally received the support of the wealthy and educated class ; by a freak of fortune not uncommon in the sixteenth century he was quickly and effectually deprived of the usual market for his pictures. Brescia in 1511 was subjected to all the misfortunes incidental to a siege. It was taken and lost for the Venetians and plundered after a storm by the French in 1512. We can only compare the effects of the sack to those produced at Rome under similar circumstances in 1527. Ferramola and, doubtless, others remained to appeal to the pity and purse of the conquerors ; Romanino, and, it may be, Moretto, retired in time to a place of safety.

Padua, though it languished during the wars of France and Austria, had been spared the trials inflicted on Brescia. No longer mistress of a school dictating laws to North Italy, it still employed some of the very best masters of the Venetian States, and amongst these Titian, who was just finishing his celebrated

¹ Brescia, San Francesco. Arched panel on the high altar, in a triumphal arch framing, on the basement of which a medallion contains the following "F. Franciscu Sanson de Brix. M. M. Generalis ere suo MCII." We might be led, as many have been led before, to assume that the picture was finished in 1501, but this would be a mistake, as Romanino's style was not so expanded as this in 1510, and he could not have painted such an important work before he was seventeen years old. It is more reasonable to assume that 1502 is the date of the deposit of Fra Sansone's legacy and the commission for the altarpiece. The figures are life-size, the Virgin's head and that of the friar in the foreground to the left injured ; the dresses in many parts repainted. The subjects on the doors were distemper : (a) St. Francis espouses poverty ; (b) the Bishop of Assisi presents the indulgence of the Madonna degli angeli ; (c) the saint with the sleeping Pontiff ; (d) the saint casting out devils at Arezzo (Ridolfi, *Marav.* i. 350). Rossi (*Elogi*, p. 503) and all Brescian writers agree that this is Romanino's masterpiece.

frescoes in the Scuola del Santo. Romanino, attracted to Padua by the fame of Titian's works, or sure of labour for his facile pencil, sought and found a home amongst the Benedictines of Santa Giustina, whose convent church was still in course of erection.¹ The Benedictines had prepared a handsome framing for a Madonna to be placed on the high altar of the church, which they hoped to finish at no distant date; they wished to adorn their refectory with a picture of the Last Supper, and proposed to deck their organ with a canvas screen; but a painter worthy of such large commissions had not as yet been selected. Romanino, being a guest of the monastery and not without friends amongst its inmates, offered his services, which were willingly accepted, and the conditions upon which he consented to labour are embodied in an extant agreement which bears the date April 30, 1513.²

The altarpiece, which Romanino executed with care and skill, was fitted to a setting not unlike that of San Francesco at Brescia. It had been arranged that the Virgin and Child should be seated on a throne under an archway attended by SS. Benedict, Justina, Monica, and Prosdocimo. Christ *passo* was to be placed in a *tondo* at the top, SS. Matthew and Luke in medallions in the spandrels. Five rounds were to be let into the plinth. At the master's own pleasure he added two charming seraphs in dancing attitudes on the arms of the throne, suspending the crown of glory over the Virgin's head, and an angel in red-and-white garments sounding a tambourine on the step; in the centre of the altar skirting he introduced two busts of saints and the three murdered innocents, whose bodies were said to have been brought from the Holy Land by St. Julian and enshrined in one of the convent reliquaries.³ The architecture of

¹ Santa Giustina, the church of the monastery of that name in Padua, was taken down in 1502 and rebuilt on the plan of a Brescian, Padre Don Girolamo. The work of rebuilding was interrupted by the wars of the League of Cambrai, and were seriously resumed under the charge of Andrea Briosco in 1516 (Brandolese, *Pitt. di Padova*, p. 86).

² 1513. "Adi 30 April in Padua. Havendo deliberato li padri del Monasterio de S. Justina de Padua de far la palla del altar grande de la sua chiesa et ritrovandosi M^o. hieronymo da bressa depentor qui nel monasterio predicto se ha offerto . . ." etc. The whole record (too long to print) is in the papers of the Archivio di Santa Giustina, in the Archivio Municipale at Padua.

³ Brandolese, *Pitt. di Padova*, p. 91.

the picture was adapted in form and perspective to that of the framing, and the space was cleverly adapted to the composition. St. Benedict, in rich episcopals, holds the pastoral crozier, whilst St. Justina at his side grasps a book and palm, the symbol of her martyrdom, the two-edged dagger, being plunged in her breast. St. Monica, with the book and lily in her hands and a white dove on her shoulder, looks down with melancholy air, and St. Prosdocimo stands in profile behind her, with the vase and crook. Of broader cast than of old these figures are frequently pleasing in mask and elevated in mien, St. Benedict dignified, St. Justina graceful and feminine. The contrast between healthy robust complexion in the Virgin and smallness in the size of the infant Christ is one which frequently appears in the creations of Palma and Pordenone, and has its counterpart here in the lithe shape and merry action of the seraphs as compared with the corpulence of the angel on the step. Ample drapery covers form with due attention to lie and projection of the under-parts. Massive lights balanced by spacious darks, a fine use of projected shadow, golden brown flesh of unbroken glowing surface and luscious vestment tints enhance the general beauty of the whole.¹

Romanino may have thought that this grand picture, with its life-sized figures, was alone worth the ducats for which he had bargained. He painted the Last Supper on canvas for the refectory with much less thought and care, and he probably bestowed still less labour and consideration on the organ-screen, which subsequently perished. Round about a winged table sit the apostles in huddled groups and strained attitudes, with masks and shapes of the coarsest and most unselect mould. Incorrect drawing, superficial zigzags of light suggesting drapery, and dabs of colour in cheek and lip, all prove carelessness and haste, but sweep of brush and broad shadow tell of

¹ Padua, Gallery, No. 669, from Santa Giustina. Wood, figures above life-size. The Virgin sits on a marble throne, the sides of which are faced with pilasters in which simulated bas-reliefs of children are introduced. St. Benedict's mitre lies on the ground at his feet, and two birds drink out of a cup on the parti-coloured floor. The bloom has been removed from the picture by cleaning; there are touches of new colour here and there in flesh and dresses; on the border of the stone plinth: "*Hieronymi Rumani de Brixia Opus.*" The ornaments in dresses and architecture are heightened in many parts with gold.

energy and power.¹ The safe custody and preservation of pictures require that they should be removed from churches to the security of galleries. These masterpieces of Romanino are transferred to the museum at Padua, but the absence of the massive and gorgeous frames is a serious disadvantage.²

If Romanino laboured at first with the view of enticing patrons to give him commissions, he could not have pointed to a better or more successful production than that which was to adorn the high altar of Santa Giustina. The clever boldness of the canvas for the refectory proves that he was reaping the fruit of earlier and more conscientious labours. There are several pictures and frescoes of this period at Padua which suggest the name or betray the influence of Romanino. The Paduan gallery contains a large canvas in which the Virgin with the child sits enthroned between St. Benedict and St. Justina, a boy angel reading a book on the marble step at the Virgin's feet; to the right the bright red hanging of the throne breaks sharply on a semicircular screen of stone in cold grey shadow; to the left is a landscape with a clear sky over which warm clouds are scudding. The general character of the figures is slender and regular, but not without occasional awkwardness and mistaken drawing. The Virgin's action, indicated rather than fully carried out, is partly lost in drapery ignoring curve and substratum of form; the infant Christ is defective in shape. Cold brown flesh-tints and discordant shades of dress are treated with the parsimonious texture of Moretto's earlier handling, yet the altarpiece was ordered for Santa Giustina and bears as a signature: "Romanin 1521."³

¹ Padua, Gallery, No. 663, from the refectory of Santa Giustina. Canvas, with life-size figures round a winged table in front of an arched alcove in which a lamp is hanging; on the chequered floor a dog and a cat. The forms of the heads are characteristic of Romanino, and in a mould quite usual with him, *i.e.* large heads with high and widely parted cheek-bones and fleshy projections. The eyes are distant—small and black and deep-set under the brows. The noses are short and splayed, the mouths small, with tumid lips. The hands and feet are bony and of working size, with protuberant articulations and large nails.

² The Madonna and Saints is now in its old frame, which also contains the smaller pictures executed by Romanino for this altarpiece, save for two of the rounds of the plinth, which are now in the collection of Herr A. von Beckerath, in Berlin.

³ Padua, Gallery; from Santa Giustina, where in modern times the picture hung in the rooms of the abbot (Brandolese, *Pitt. di Padova*, p. 184). The signature,

A prettier but smaller canvas in the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, at Milan, by the same hand, represents the Virgin and Child with two angels in flight holding the crown above the throne and a little cherub waiting on the step. The infant Saviour turns to bless a kneeling saint introduced by a Dominican bishop. A sunny landscape, broken by hills and rocks and interspersed with streams and houses enlivened with figures and animals, gives a pleasing variety to the scene. There is no difference in handling, and, in some respects—as in the seraph on the throne-step—no difference of shape, between this charming piece and that of 1521 at Padua, though here the name assigned is Moretto's.¹ We might infer that Romanino, in carrying out his resolve to abandon Brescia, took Moretto, his junior by more than ten years, as an apprentice to Padua, and that Moretto in this capacity executed the picture under Romanino's directions; but this view cannot be accepted without further study.

The composite style of Moretto and Romanino, of which these two pieces are an illustration, reappears in certain frescoes, traditionally ascribed to "Girolamo Padovano" in Santa Giustina of Padua. Above the entrance to the old play-room of the novices is a faded half-length fresco of Christ as the "man of sorrows." On one of the walls of the play-room itself a Descent from the Cross, in a recess ornamented in framing, side, and soffit, with saints and prophets. Two ladders are set against the cross, from which Nicodemus and Joseph are lowering the dead body of the Redeemer. The Virgin swoons in the arms of her companions, the Magdalen grasps the foot of the beam, and St. John wrings his hands as he looks up. There is much contempt of drawing in all parts of this composition. The drapery is broken and ill cast, but these are defects not uncommon in Romanino. The mould of form, the masks and attitudes, the warm-toned flesh and deep-tinted dresses, are all in Romanino's style, in contrast with which some of the angels in a glory above the cross are more foreign to

thus—"Romanin. 1521," on the base of a pillar to the left—is not coeval with the picture. The work is on canvas—the figures are large as life.

¹ Milan, Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, No. 555. Canvas, with small figures. In the middle, distance to the left St. Jerome, before the cross to the right another saint naked; on the foreground of grasses are two rabbits; farther off two men, a deer and a dog. [* This picture is now catalogued as a work of the Brescian school of the fifteenth century.]

his manner. The spirit of the art displayed is Brescian, but the execution is rough, unequal, and second-rate.¹

On the same level and altogether similar in treatment are remnants of wall distempers at Santa Maria in Vanzo of Padua—the Eternal and symbols of the Evangelists in the ceiling, and six half-length Prophets in the lunettes of the apsis, and a Coronation of the Virgin with numerous saints in the semi-dome.² The characteristic individuality of Brescian painting which appears in these works might, it is certain, have been transmitted by Romanino to local Paduan craftsmen. The tendency of the age was so clearly a tendency to imitation and especially to superficial imitation of pictorial tricks; it was so easy to acquire these tricks that we should be surprised not to find men of second or third-rate power successful in learning them.

Amongst Paduan artists of this age, and precisely amongst those who lived at Padua at the time of Romanino's stay, was Girolamo Sordo, more commonly known as Girolamo Padovano,

¹ Padua, Santa Giustina. "Sotto portico della Recreazione de' Novizi," now mortuary chapel of the Hospital. The Ecce Homo is seen to the hips, under life-size, faded in part and retouched (*e.g.* in flesh and hip cloth), the red ground now visible being probably the preparation for a blue. The chapel itself once contained frescoes assigned to Girolamo Padovano. (Brandolese, *Pitt. di Padova*, p. 98; Moschini (Giannantonio) *Guida per la Città di Padova*, 8vo, 1817, p. 133.) In the upper part of the frescoes the Eternal appears in a glory of angels. In the framing which surrounds the fresco are two standing figures in niches, to the right a female with a crown and palm in her hand, very like the St. Giustina in the altarpiece signed "Romanin 1521," at Padua, to the left a male saint greatly injured; above these, in circular framings, prophets, amongst whom we distinguish Habakkuk, Ezekiel, Malachi; in the recess slant, in rounds, SS. Scolastica, Placidus, Benedict, Prodocimus, Felicity and Maurus; in the corners of the rectangle, circumscribing the whole, the four symbols of the Evangelists. The lower part of the fresco is discoloured.

² Padua, Santa Maria in Vanzo, choir and apsis. These frescoes are assigned to Bartolommeo Montagna (Brandolese, *ub. sup.*, p. 73, and Moschini, p. 145). The two principal figures in the Coronation are rubbed down to the preparation, and most of the blues in every part are scraped away. To the left of the throne we notice, amongst the saints, Jerome, Eugenius, Peter; to the right, Lorenzo Gustiniani, Louis. The ceiling is whitewashed, leaving bare Christ in a triangular nimbus in the centre, and the four symbols of the Evangelists. Amongst the half-lengths of prophets in lunettes at the sides of the choir we distinguish David, Malachi, Daniel, all much damaged. The execution here is coarse. In the style of these frescoes and those in the mortuary chapel at Santa Giustina is a canvas—Descent from the Cross—assigned to Domenico Campagnola in the Gallery of Padua; a paltry work, injured by repaint,

or del Santo. He was employed in 1518 in the church of the Santo, where he completed an unfinished altarpiece in the chapel of San Sebastiano, and he was chosen by Alvise Cornaro in 1524 to decorate the front of the palace built for him by Falconetto. About the same period he is said to have composed a series of frescoes in a chapel at San Francesco of Padua. During five consecutive years, 1541-6, he laboured at a large cycle of subjects from the life of St. Benedict which Parentino had partly carried out in the cloisters of Santa Giustina. After his election to the rank of first *Gastaldo* in the painter's guild of Padua (1546) he was constantly engaged at the Santo, in the vicinity of which he usually resided, and he died in the latter half of the century, after an interval of inactivity caused by blindness.¹ It is most unfortunate that a large proportion of the works of this prolific artist should have decayed, and that what remains should be disfigured by so-called restoring. The frescoes of the Cornaro Palace and most of those in the Santo have disappeared; whilst those of the cloisters of Santa Giustina were broken into fragments, but something is left of a Crucifixion with saints and a tree of the prophets, on a canvas in the Santo, and the frescoes of San Francesco are still extant. The subjects depicted at San Francesco are chiefly taken from the history of the Madonna. To the right and left, as we enter the chapel, are double courses of episodes—the Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Marriage, and Annunciation,—on the altar-face the Eternal, with allegorical figures of Faith and Charity; above and below, busts of Prophets. The sections of the ceiling in the aisle before the chapel contain the Evangelists, and in the archings are between sixty and seventy busts of prophets and Sibyls. All this is much damaged by repaint. The style is similar in most respects to that which distinguishes the frescoes in

¹ Compare Pietrucci (Napoleone) *Biografia degli artisti padovani*, 8vo, Pad. 1858, p. 76. Anonimo ed. Morelli, pp. 11, 12. Gonzati, *La Basilica*, *ub. sup.*, I. pp. xlii, 57, and 295. Brandolese, *Pitt. di Padova*, pp. 100, 246, 281. Della Valle, *Pitt. del Chiostro di Santa Giustina Lettera al Principe Ghigi*, *ub. sup.*, p. 8. Statutes and regulations of the guild or Fraglia of Padua, MS. in the City Library at Padua, where it is clear that Girolamo del Santo, "primo Gastaldo" on June 17, 1546, is identical with "Hieronimus Surdus de contracta Sancti Antonii confessoris." See also Moschini (*Vicende*, *ub. sup.*, p. 83), who turns the name Sordi into Sardi, and the same (p. 61) who cites a record of Sept. 1530, in which appears as a witness: "Mag. Hieronimo pictore q. Ser Andrea de Surdis habitator in burgo Campionis."

the play-room of the novices at Santa Giustina. In the scenes from the life of the Madonna, in the Eternal, and some rounds of Prophets especially this similarity is striking. The broad treatment, simulating that of Romanino and Moretto when imitating Pordenone, the strained affectation of grace which is often a blemish in Moretto, also recur; Moretto's forms of expression and movement repeat themselves in the Evangelists of the ceilings; whilst peculiarities of one or the other of the Brescian masters alternate in the Sibyls and Prophets of the archings.¹ The same remarks apply in their utmost comprehension to the Crucifixion and tree of the prophets at the Santo, of which it is said that they were ordered of Girolamo del Santo in 1518.²

It may be that Girolamo Sordo came in contact with Romanino and Moretto at Padua or in some other city of North Italy, and, having been Romanino's journeyman, afterwards formed a style based on the reminiscences of his youth. He might in this way have produced the Virgin and Child with the forged signature of Romanino and the date 1521 in the Paduan Gallery, the Madonna of the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, and the numerous frescoes of Paduan convents. In some of these creations he was but perhaps an executant of Romanino's designs. There is so much obscurity upon all these points that it is hope-

¹ Padua, San Francesco. Second chapel to the right as you enter the portal. Of the frescoes in this chapel, the Anonimo (ed. Morelli, p. 12) says: "fu de mano de Geronimo Padoano che ora vive e ha dipinto ancora la facciata della Casa de M. Alvise Cornaro." Other authorities cited by Moschini (*Guida per la città di Padova*, p. 107) and Rossetti (*Il forastiero illuminato*, p. 162), ascribe the paintings to one Franceschetto da Porcigla, to Domenico Campagnola and Dosso Dossi. They were repainted by Francesco Zanoni (Brandol. p. 246), and thus almost deprived of their original character. In the vaulting of the aisle are numberless Prophets in the archings, and the Four Evangelists in the ceiling. In the chapel itself are the subjects enumerated in the text. Decidedly in Romanino's Pordenonesque style are the subject-frescoes, the Eternal, the Prophets in rounds in the three lunettes, and those in the skirtings below. In the mixed character of Romanino and Moretto are the allegorical figures on the wall against which the altar rests, the Evangelists in the aisle ceiling which recall those of Moretto at San Giovanni Evangelista of Brescia, and the Saints, Prophets, and Sibyls in the archings.

² Padua, Santo, canvas on a pilaster. See *antea*, ii. 68. In the branchings of the tree-cross in this canvas are rounds of prophets very like those in the mortuary chapel at Santa Giustina.

To the same hand might also be assigned some of the more modern fragments of the frescoes saved from the cloisters of Santa Giustina. (See *antea*, ii. 63, n. 1.)

less, with our present materials, to dispel it. But there are other considerations connected with the subject which invite attention. On Dec. 2, 1511, Titian signed a receipt for the balance due to him for frescoes done in the Scuola del Santo at Padua. On the 8th of the same month "Maistro Jeronimo" gave a discharge of a similar tenor for a composition of the same series.¹ The surname of Jeronimo and the subject of his picture are unfortunately omitted, but it has been assumed that he painted the fresco representing the death of St. Anthony in the Scuola del Santo. The scene in this fresco is cleverly arranged. The saint's bed, in the middle of a ruined cloister, with a view towards Padua, is guarded by a mendicant and a cripple. A friar prays over the dead body, whilst brethren of the Order stand around in various attitudes. In the middle ground to the left an old man goes weeping away and two naked boys hold a scroll, on which is written: "Le morto il santo." There is a very obvious coincidence of style between this work and the Madonnas of Padua and the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli. A common mould of form and contour, vulgarity of shape, and neglected drawing mark them all. The naked boys, the distant landscape, the drapery and colouring, are alike. But the painter of the fresco is the painter of other numbers of the same cycle and certainly the author of the neighbouring fresco, the Conversion of Aleardino the Heretic.²

Are these wall-paintings by "Maistro Jeronimo"? Is "Maistro Jeronimo" the composer and designer of the canvases and frescoes we have considered? Is he Romanino or Sordo? These are questions which remain for the present in suspense. Two or three facts are positively known. Romanino's presence at Padua on or before April, 1513, his stay at Santa Giustina, and his commission for two extant pictures are certain. His

¹ The original receipts are in Gonzati, *La Basilica*, I. clxiii., and in facsimile at the end of the same volume.

² Padua, Scuola del Santo. The first and only writer who suggests that Girolamo del Santo is the same person as "Maistro Geronimo," whose name appears in the receipt of 1511, and that the Death of St. Anthony in the Scuola was executed by this painter is Gonzati (*La Basilica*, vol. I. p. 289). The fresco is painted with substantial colours and shows a rough surface, the flesh is brownish and raw, with cold shadows, and the general tone is cool and bright. The execution is, however, less rude than that of the Conversion of the Heretic.

retirement from Padua in 1516-17 is perfectly authenticated. In 1516 Brescia was recovered by the Venetians. In 1517 Romanino was resident there, and in 1521, the alleged date of the Madonna at Padua, he signed a contract by which, in company with Moretto, he consented to paint the chapel of the sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista of Brescia.¹

A clear proof of Romanino's residence at Brescia in 1517 is his return to the income-tax, a paper from which we learn that he was at that time thirty-three years old, single, living with his mother, Madonna Margareta, and his famulus, Girolamo, aged nineteen.²

But previous to settling at Brescia, Romanino was invited to Cremona to value the frescoes which Altobello Melone had executed in the Duomo, and during the performance of that duty in October, 1517, he probably recommended himself to the Cremonese authorities as a fit person to compete with Melone. Between 1519 and 1520 he composed in the choir of the Duomo no less than four subjects, Christ before Pilate, the Flagellation, the Crowning with Thorns, and Christ Delivered to the People, and at no period of his life did he paint more effectively. A competent rival to Boccaccino, Bembo, and Melone, he had neither the daring nor the power of Pordenone, but his art was still very remarkable as intermediate between that of the Friulans and Cremonese. As a composer he kept to the modern and monumental style, setting his groups in large spaces, and dressing his figures in the slashed tights and plumes familiar to Giorgionesques. As a painter of expression, he succeeded more than once—for instance, in the Christ brought before Pilate or the Crowning with Thorns—in giving life to animated action and groups; but his incidents, and even his attitudes, were not always free from triviality and strain. The senatorial dignity of some personages contrasts with the vulgarity and Herculean coarseness of others, in which the finer shades of thought necessarily fail; and it is peculiarly unfortunate that the strongest realism and

¹ See *postea*, Romanino and Moretto.

² Polizza d' Estimo, No. 38, An. 1517, Quadra VI, di S. Faustino. Hieronymo de Rumàno depentor d'anni 33. M^{ra} Margherita mia madre d'anni 60, &c. (copy of record in the Brescian archives). (See *antea*.) [* Cf. Fenaroli, *ub. sup.*, pp. 202, 282 sq.]

the commonest form of movement should occur precisely where selection is most to be desired. The drapery is no longer curveless; it has more of the swell of lined stuff and less of the break of stiffened cloth. In tone there is too much and too harsh an uniformity, and the dark strips of shadow which cut upon the sombre flesh or strong vestment tints is too abrupt; but the resulting effect is not without vigour.¹

On Romanino's settling in Brescia he found himself the

¹ Cremona, Duomo. Romanino's valuation of Melone's two frescoes, the Flight into Egypt and Massacre of the Innocents, is dated Oct. 1, 1517. There are payments in 1519 and on Aug. 26, 1520, for Romanino's frescoes in the nave, and on Sept. 25, 1520, the balance of the whole sum bargained for (625 lire) was handed over (Giuseppe Grasselli, *Abecedario biografico dei Pittori, &c. Cremonesi* 8vo, Milan, 1827, pp. 40 and 170). The frescoes of Romanino, four in number, are on the right side of the nave between those of Altobello and Pordenone. They bear no dates, and two of them are assigned to Cristoforo Moretti, erroneously, as we observed by comparing their treatment with that of the two others acknowledged as genuine Romaninos. (1) Christ, brought before Pilate, is surrounded by guards, in half armour, with slashed hose and plumed hats. Pilate wears a strange conical cap of red wool; he stands on a throne raised three steps above the ground on which the group before him is placed. On a still lower floor, to the left, are spectators, one of them standing pensively, with a very fine gravity of pose and expression. At an opening on the left, through which a park is seen, sit a man and a woman; at right angles to this an archway opening into the town is decorated with two recumbent statues. An outline of this fresco is in Rosini's atlas; the flesh is a little brown and heavy, and the tones in general are somewhat raw and uniform. Here and there we may notice retouching. (2) The Flagellation. Christ is bound to the pillar of a colonnade forming the basement of a house; to the right, under the colonnade and before it, soldiers and an executioner preparing to strike; to the left a second executioner striking and a third stooping to tie a bundle of rods. To the left spectators, and the captain of the party sitting with one hand on the pommel of his sword, the other hand on his thigh, looking over a wall; in the distance, people in various costume. The colour in this fresco, though it is altered by time and repaints, is strong and rich. There is also appropriate chiaroscuro; but the figures are in many cases immoderately common, herculean, and square; the head of Christ is ferociously threatening. (3) Christ, bound, sits in the middle of the foreground, in a court round which a Renaissance colonnade runs. He is surrounded by the scoffers and people; there is more atmosphere in this than in the other frescoes, and the background in shadow is particularly good. (4) Christ is shown to the people by two guards. He stands holding a reed at the opening of a balcony, to which there is an ascent by steps. Below on each side are groups of people, and on the steps a boy playing with a dog. Beneath the feet of Christ are the words: "Hyer. Roman. Brix." This fresco is the most injured and repainted of the four. The figure of Christ is paltry, and unpleasantly realistic. There is no atmosphere in the picture. Cf. Zaist, *Notizie Istoriche*, i. 24, 25.

friendly rival of Moretto, with whom he shared almost all the patronage of the place. It is not easy to distinguish amongst his numerous works those which particularly belong to this period, but there is such a striking resemblance between the large canvas of the Marriage of the Virgin at San Giovanni Evangelista and the frescoes at Cremona that we should place it here. A peculiar breadth and fullness in the shape of figures united into a typical composition indicate ripeness of power and a large command of means.¹

In 1521 he joined Moretto, as we saw, in a contract to paint the chapel of Corpus Christi at San Giovanni, and for his part he executed the frescoes of the Adoration of the Eucharist, two Evangelists and Prophets, and canvases representing the Resurrection of Lazarus and the Magdalen anointing Christ's Feet in the House of the Pharisee. Though greatly disfigured by time and restoring, it is apparent, from the heavy shape and coarse drawing of the *dramatis personæ* and the careless casting of the drapery, that the master did not bestow upon them that care and attention of which he was sometimes capable, though his treatment generally bespeaks facility of hand and conscious skill.²

¹ Brescia, San Giovanni Evangelista. Canvas, life-size. The high priest joins the pair in the presence of spectators in front of an open archway. At Joseph's feet is a dog. The picture is very freely handled, but almost ruined by grime and repaint.

² Brescia, San Giovanni Evangelista. Cappella del Sacramento or Corpus Domini. The agreement for these frescoes and canvases has been kindly communicated to us by Don Stefano Fenaroli. It runs: "1521, 21 Martii. In Jesu Christi nomine anno a nat. ejusdem millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo primo indictione nona die vigesima prima mensis Martii, in Sacrestia posita apud Ecc. S. Joannis . . . Brixie . . . presentibus D. Fratre Faustino de Brixia &c. Ibi R^ds D^{ns} Pater prior monasterii S. Joannes, D. Joannes T . . . de Ocanonibus, &c., &c., dederunt . . . capellam et quadros . . . partim a mane et partim a sera Altaris ipsius capelle ad pingendum Magistris Magro Hieronimo de Rumanis sive de Romani et Magistro Alexandro de Bonvisinis, pictoribus civibus et habitatoribus Brixie, ibi presentibus, &c., &c." "Cum infrascriptis pactis, &c. . . videlicet quod predicti pictores . . . obligati sunt ipsam capellam et quadros quolibet pro dimidia et de quadro in quadrum . . . depingere, &c. . . in termino annorum trium . . . ad complendum dictum totum opus." The canvases are much injured. Above them, in the lunette, is the fresco of the Eucharist, at the sides the two Evangelists, and on the arching the half-lengths of Prophets. These also are faded and injured. There is much in all this to remind us of the hasty work of the Last Supper at Padua.

Between the date of this agreement and its completion Romanino painted a

In many other religious edifices besides San Giovanni Romanino proved his talent as a fresco-painter. In San Domenico he finished episodes from the legend of St. Dominic; in the Town-hall, subjects of which fragments are preserved; and in the church of San Salvatore a faded and injured cycle.¹ The finest remains of this kind are the Supper at Emmaus and the Magdalen in the house of Simon, transferred from the village church of Rodengo to the Galleria Martinengo at Brescia. The bold, free handling of figures larger than life and the coloured warmth of the flesh give a good idea of the original effectiveness of these pieces.²

Presentation in the Temple, inscribed with the words, "Hieronimo Brix. 1522." This picture was once in the Avveroldi College, but now belongs to Signor Antonio Bruccello at Brescia (not seen). Cf. Odorici, *Guida*, p. 174. [* Present whereabouts unknown.]

¹ (1) Brescia, San Domenico. Ridolfi mentions the frescoes in the cloisters of this convent (*Marav.*, i. 351); they were part of a series in which one of the Bembo's had a share (O. Rossi, *Elogi, ub. sup.*, p. 191). But, besides these, Romanino painted a Coronation of the Virgin (our notes mislaid), and an organ screen with scenes from the life of St. Dominic (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 351). [* The Coronation of the Virgin is now in the Galleria Martinengo at Brescia.] (2) Brescia, Town Hall. Romanino here painted much and variously, e.g. two choirs of angels at the sides of the North window (Chizzola, *Guida*, p. 14, and Odorici, *Guida*, p. 121), and other subjects. Fragments of a large fresco from this hall are in the Galleria Martinengo. They represent two saints with crosses kneeling on clouds, of life-size, and beneath them other figures. In the "Salotto del Capitano" Romanino painted subjects from the fable of Hercules (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 352), now missing. (3) Brescia, San Salvatore. In the crypt of this church is still to be seen a headless figure of St. Epimenacus, by Romanino: and in a chapel, fragments of compositions illustrating the life of St. Obiccius. On one face, Christ in glory; beneath, St. Obiccius in the dress of a knight with pieces of armour at his feet, a kneeling youth, and traces of other personages (? women and children); distance, sky and landscape. On the wall to the right of the entrance the Virgin and Child in glory, and beneath, a dame with a child, kneeling, presented by a saint (? Obiccius), and a girl also kneeling with her hands joined in prayer; above a window on the left side, a saint wafted in air and an angel carrying a nail, and in the slant of the window the portrait of the knight repeated, some figures of nuns, and a male personage. These are fragmentary and injured frescoes with many of the prominent faults of Romanino, but originally executed in the broad manner of his fine period. On the outer face of the chapel is a figure of a saint with a sword on a basement supported by three angels; in a lunette, the knight again on horseback and traces of other figures. On the painted cornices are remains of an inscription of which we can read: "Obicii. . ."

² Brescia, Galleria Martinengo. The figures in the fragments are larger than life, the colour red and hot, the shadows narrow, dark, and warm. It is interesting to study the handling closely as we can do here. The shading is done in a

Various forms of the painter's golden style are to be found in altarpieces belonging to Brescian and continental galleries. Sentimental grace and an unusually small mould of form characterize an altarpiece in the Erizzo-Maffei mansion at Brescia, where the Virgin, on a square podium, holds the child, who turns with an elastic spring to bless a kneeling donor presented by St. Francis, whilst St. Anthony of Padua stands devotionally in attendance.¹ The Berlin Museum contains Palma Giovine's favourite amongst Romanino's pictures—the dead Saviour bewailed by the Marys, John the Evangelist, and apostles, a large panel originally at San Faustino of Brescia, of highly coloured tone and rapid, tricky execution, but not without genuine expressiveness and passion. There are few of the master's compositions in which nature is better or more resolutely reproduced.²

A picture in which inward calm and prayerful reverence are very beautifully displayed is the Communion of St. Apollonius in Santa Maria Calchera at Brescia, a scene cleverly caught from the daily life of Italian churches. Three men and a lady of station in the rich dress of the period kneel at the sides of an altar upon which a dead Saviour adored by the Marys is depicted. St. Apollonius, on the altar-step, blesses the holy wafer; two acolytes hold the cup and censer, and two others look on. We almost lose sight of neglected form or generalized detail in breadth of execution and luscious softness of modelling.³

The most important creation of the time, and perhaps the splashy way with the numerous barbs of a large brush, out of which the colour was partially shaken out. The type of Christ in both frescoes is the same, the hair long, the beard divided into two long points and without curl. We may object to the inexpressiveness of some faces and the trivial purposelessness of some gestures and movements.

¹ Brescia, Erizzo-Maffei collection. Canvas, with figures under life-size. Behind the Virgin, whose head and hands are disfigured by repaints, is a green curtain. The whole picture is flayed and injured, but the colour was originally fluid and golden. [* Present whereabouts unknown.]

² Berlin Museum, No. 151. Wood, 6 ft. high by 5 ft. 10½ in., from San Faustino Maggiore at Brescia. The composition is well arranged—the Christ unusually fine for Romanino. (Cf. Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 352.)

³ Brescia, Santa Maria Calchera. Altarpiece, figures large as life, engraved by Sala; not free from the effects of cleaning and threatening to scale; here and there retouched. In a predella the Last Supper. This piece may be of a later date than the Nativity in the National Gallery.

ROMANINO



Alinari photo.]

[Brescia, Santa Maria Calchera.

THE COMMUNION OF ST. APOLLONIUS.

finest production of the master, is the Nativity with SS. Alexander, Roch, Philip, and Gaudiosus in the National Gallery—an imposing altarpiece designed and finished in 1525 for the high altar of Sant' Alessandro of Brescia. In its original shape a triptych with Christ between the Virgin and Evangelist as a pinnacle, it was closed by shutters containing the Adoration of the Magi and the Virgin and Angel Annunciate, which perished. The naked and chirping infant on a white cloth on a knoll receives the adoration of the Virgin and St. Joseph, whilst two boy angels hang in the air. The Virgin kneels and prays as Joseph leans thoughtful on his staff. A silver-grey distance verges to brownish yellow in a foreground variegated with patches of grass and shrubs. Near a farm on a hill a shepherd tends his flock. St. Alexander, to the left, in armour, supports an unfurled banner, turning his head with a gentle downward inclination towards the Saviour. St. Roch, on the other side strides over the ground beating his breast with a stone. St. Philip and his companion are specimens of the Palmesque mask which affects extreme shortness of vertical proportion and breadth of jaw. There is so much fire in the treatment, such brilliance and sparkle in the flesh, such variety in the full rich tints, that we forget the styleless cast of drapery and pardon the puffy forms of angels. The low nature, bony muscularity, and large working shape of St. Roch are amply compensated by the freshness of youth displayed in St. Alexander, the kindly expression in St. Joseph, and the pleasant, motherly person of the Virgin. There are signs in this charming piece that Romanino was labouring to subdue the somewhat conventional warmth peculiar to his earlier works. He had always painted in brown-red tones. By degrees he reversed this theory of technical treatment and preferred a clearer tinge.¹

One of the first pictures in which Romanino turns from

¹ London, National Gallery, No. 297. Wood, centre 8 ft. 7 in. high by 3 ft. 9½ in.; upper side compartments, 2 ft. 5½ in. high by 2 ft. 1½ in.; lower side compartments, 5 ft. 3 in. high by 2 ft. 1½ in. Cozzando (*Istoria Bresciana*, 1623, p. 120, cited in National Gallery Catalogue) gives the date of the execution as 1525. The picture was taken from San Alessandro by one of the Counts Avveroldi. It was bought of Counts Angelo and Ettore Avveroldi in 1857. The pinnacles and doors are described by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 351-2) and Averoldo (*Scelte pitture, ub. sup.*, p. 148).

amber and gold to pearl and silver is the Nativity at San Giuseppe of Brescia, in which small but interesting varieties of incident are embodied. The infant lying on the ground is adored by the kneeling Virgin, but St. Joseph, with energetic gesture of both hands, shows the new-born Messiah to the shepherds near him, whilst three angels sing Hallelujah in the air. We are reminded of Pordenone's artful boldness in the large and muscular mould of the angels, in the breadth and size of the Christ, and in the matronly air of the graceful peasant Virgin; but original cleverness is displayed in the attainment of portrait effect. The painter's aim being to surround the form of Christ with argentine light, he dresses the Virgin in the rich folds of a mantle of whitish silk, the skirts of which are shaded with grey and spread on the ground as a bed for the child. To this light and sparkling drapery a foil is given by deep and luscious harmonies of surrounding tints, and a twilight glow as of silvery sunset is thrown over the picture in the fashion of Savoldo. Broad sweep of brush and masterly modelling in a stiff and copious impasto add charms of an uncommon kind to the scene.¹

In the same cool and bright character and very fine for outward expression of grieving is the picture of the Marys and apostles lamenting over the dead body of the Saviour, an altarpiece in San Giuseppe of Brescia.² Equally fine and illustrative of the same feeling for tone is the Marriage of St. Catherine with attendant saints in the Erizzo-Maffei collection. Here especially

¹ Brescia, San Giuseppe. [* Now Galleria Martinengo.] Canvas, figures life-size. The three angels who sing from a scroll are very boldly foreshortened, and remind us of Pordenone and Lotto, but particularly of Pordenone on account of their muscular build. The surface of the canvas is injured and retouched in many parts.

² (1) Brescia, San Giuseppe. Second altar to the right. [* Now Galleria Martinengo.] Canvas, with life-size figures. Besides the Marys, we have St. Paul to the left and St. Joseph in rear, to the right, looking on. The distance is hilly, showing Golgotha. The female to the right, with her right hand on the shoulder, and her left holding the wrist of Christ, is unnatural and strained. Much restoring and consequent opacity of tone is noticeable. Averoldo (*Le scelte pitture*, *ub. sup.*, p. 39) assigns this picture to Moretto. (2) St. Paul between SS. Jerome, John the Baptist, Mary Magdalen, and Catherine. An arched canvas, life-size, at the eighth altar of San Giuseppe, was painted for the Avogadro family. It is ruined and repainted. Cf. Averoldo (*Scelte pitture*, *ub. sup.*, p. 42). [* This picture also is now in the Galleria Martinengo.] (3) St. Louis and other saints, a canvas on the third altar described by Chizzola (*ub. sup.*, p. 19), is missing.

we admire the cleverness with which flesh of extraordinary brilliance is worked up from verdegris shadow through purple grey to a penetrant rosy light ; and vestment tints are harmonized in the richest shades. The charm is increased by graceful slenderness of shape and comeliness of face in the Virgin, whose sentimental elegance recalls the Raphaelesques and revives in Parmigianino. Were it not for the unwieldy size and strength of the boy Redeemer, whose stature is not in keeping with that of His mother, this would be a masterpiece of setting and drawing as well as of colouring and technical handling.¹

We should assign to this period of Romanino's practice the round of Christ carrying his Cross in the Galleria Martinengo² and a grand Assumption in Sant' Alessandro of Bergamo in which freedom of handling is united to Titianesque grandeur of attitude and action.³

In the neighbourhood of Bergamo, three quarters of a century before Romanino's art had risen to its full expansion, Bartolommeo Colleoni, the great *condottiere*, had built or restored the old castle of Malpaga which came by descent to the Martinengo Colleoni of Brescia. Some members of that family took Romanino

¹ Brescia, Erizzo-Maffei collection. Canvas, life-size. St. Catherine kneels to the left in a yellow-brown dress ; to the right an aged female in a warm brown robe and a white headcloth ; in rear between her and the Virgin St. Ursula with the banner, full face ; to the left, St. Lawrence with the palm and gridiron. Distance, a hilly landscape of silver-grey tone, contrasting with the warm brownish foreground. The extremities are more correctly drawn than usual.

In this collection a head of the Baptist on a dish by Romanino is erroneously ascribed to Titian. The Martyrdom of St. Catherine by Romanino in this gallery is a ruined picture. The three panels of the Virgin, St. Peter, and St. Paul, once in San Pietro in Oliveto (Chizzola, p. 140), assigned to Romanino, are perhaps by Calisto da Lodi. The Death of Lucrezia, noted here by Chizzola (*ib. sup.*, p. 153), is missing. [* The Marriage of St. Catherine above-mentioned is now in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond. The editor has been unable to trace the other paintings mentioned in this note.]

² Brescia, Galleria Martinengo, property of the Great Hospital. Canvas, bust of Christ in a round, life-size, with white sleeves ; warm silver tone of blended modelling worked out in fluid touches of great breadth pervades the flesh-surface. Compare Odorici (*Guida*, p. 88) and Chizzola (*ib. sup.*, p. 97).

³ Bergamo, Sant' Alessandro in Colonna. Arched canvas, life-size. In the sky the Eternal, beneath him the Virgin ascending amidst angels in a sky full of soft vapour ; below, the apostles round the tomb in a landscape. This is a picture of Romanino's best period, but injured and faded. It seems to have been of a bright silver tone.

to Malpaga to paint that notable incident in Colleoni's career, when, called by Paul II. to lead an army of crusaders, he was invested with the baton of command in the presence of the Pope and his Cardinals. The fresco which represents this incident still covers the walls of a court, though broken into fragments by wear and weather.¹

After an interval of years we lift a corner of the veil which time has spread over the painter's private life. Between the lines of an income-tax return dated in 1534 we read of his previous marriage, the birth of his son, and the loss of his wife. He owns land, has something to write down on the debtor and creditor side of his account, and keeps a horse "for his own riding."² No doubt he takes his daily canter for pleasure or business, having picturesque scenery in the neighbourhood and work to superintend in distant village churches. In some hamlet of the Val Camonica, we read, he paints a St. Christopher for a rich but stingy peasantry, and, to shame them, gives the saint such scanty dress that they protest against it. Short skirts, says Romanino in reply, are the consequence of short pay.³ Amongst the painter's debtor's in 1534 are "the men of Pisogne" for 150 lire. For these villagers Romanino composed a large cycle of frescoes in the church of the Madonna, beautifully situated at the junction of the Oglio with the lake of Iseo. He covered the single aisle, the arch of the tribune, the ceilings and semi-dome with scenes from the New Testament, many of which are still free from white-wash. In the double courses of the aisle are: Pilate washing his Hands and delivering Christ to the People, Christ carrying his Cross, Christ washing the Apostles' Feet, the Entrance into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, Christ exposed to the Jews, the Magdalen in the house of Simon, the Resurrection, the Limbus, Ascension, and other faded episodes. Whitewash covers the semi-dome, but the face of the tribune arch contains the Annunciation, Descent of the Spirit, and Christ taken down from the Cross, whilst above the portal we find the Crucifixion, Flagellation, and

¹ Malpaga, seven miles from Bergamo. There are other frescoes in the court by other painters.

² Poliza No. 32. Estimo 1534. "Jeronimo Romani depentor di anni 47. Bonaventura suo fiol de ani 7." [* Cf. Fenaroli, *ub. sup.*, pp. 202 sq. 283 sq.]

³ O. Rossi, *Elogi*, *ub. sup.*, pp. 503-4; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 353.

Crowning with Thorns. In ribbed ceilings are Sibyls, prophets, and children, and in the soffits of intermediate archings half-lengths of saints. There is no appearance in any subject of this group of peculiar care in arranging composition, selecting shape or defining proportion. The treatment is altogether hasty; the faces are vulgar, the hands and feet broad and rustic, the attitudes strained, and a large display is made of figures exuberant in muscle and prominent in bone. But vulgarity is in some measure compensated by audacity of action and unexpected inventiveness of posture. A certainty of hand which has its value in theatrical scene-painting is not less effective when applied to frescoes intended for distant or superficial examination. No attempt is made to produce illusion by subtle modelling or breaks of tone. All that the painter tries for is broad surface-tinting interspersed with touches of contrasting tone indicating cherry lip, peachy cheek, dark shadow or outline. A pleasing group like that of Mary swooning in the Crucifixion fetters attention for a moment. The general spirit of the whole cycle is that of Pordenone's later time. It is Pordenone's distribution and cast of form that Romanino most usually adopts, varying it occasionally with reminiscences of Lotto and Pellegrino.¹

¹ Pisogne, church of the Madonna. In the income return of 1534 we read the following passage: "Per li beni stabili &c. in un credito con li homeni di Pisogne di lire 150." All the frescoes are injured by damp, and some parts are altogether obliterated. One is quite faded and another has been sawn away and removed. (1) The Crucifixion in a lunette is a reminiscence of Pordenone and Pellegrino (San Daniele and Cremona), but the composition is more straggling and the figures are more vulgar, more thickset and square than theirs. Christ rising to heaven in (2) The Resurrection is like one of Lotto's figures, and very much strained in movement—the angels around him corpulent and heavy. The soldiers about the tomb are mere outlines. (3) The Limbus is Pellegrino's composition reversed, and similar to Lotto's predella of 1521 at Ponteranica. Behind Christ, the good thief laboriously carries an enormous cross. In the air are monsters with the heads of oxen or monkeys. (4) The Ascension is mutilated and faded. (5) The Annunciation and (6) Deposition from the Cross are very like Pordenone's in the heavy character of the figures, and recall Pomponio Amalteo's ordinary productions. On the same low level is (7) the Descent of the Holy Spirit, a proof that Romanino worked here with assistants. One of the best frescoes is (8) Christ shown to the People. A child on the steps at the top of which the Saviour stands has been sawn away and carried off. Of (9) Christ carrying his Cross a large portion is scaled away. It was the finest design in the church, and very spirited in the manner of Pordenone.

In the chapel contiguous to the church, now used as a bell-room, are other

Higher up the Val Camonica there are traces of similar work by Romanino: in the church of the Madonna at Bieno, the Marriage and other scenes from the life of the Virgin of earlier date than the frescoes at Pisogne¹; in Sant' Antonio of Breno episodes from the life of an unknown saint thrown upon the walls of the choir with the copious command of figures and luxurious splendour of dresses which characterize the Giorgionesques and the more modern Bonifacio of Verona.²

By such gaudy works as these Romanino soon became favourably known in all the valleys north of Brescia, and at some period on the verge of 1540 he was called to Trent by Cardinal Bernhard von Cles to paint some of the monumental spaces in the Castello.³ There are traces of his hand there in allegorical figures worked into the lunettes of the basement hall, in monochromes and genre on the sides and waggon roof of the staircase. The principal

frescoes by Romanino of a more careful execution, but beyond measure faded. In the ceiling, (10) four cherubs in flight on the walls, (11) Christ at the Column, (12) Massacre of the Innocents, (13) Decollation of the Baptist, (14) figures of Christ, (15) a Female Saint with a palm, and (16) St. Lucy.

¹ Bieno, church of the Madonna, choir. On one side is the Marriage of the Virgin, a pretty composition in the picturesque Venetian style and in the spirit of that in San Giovanni. Evangelista at Brescia, but more copiously furnished with figures, injured by damp, and in some heads renewed. In a balcony forming the background are numerous spectators looking down upon the ceremony. The subject on the altar face is reduced to a few damaged figures, in a court with a balcony and spectators as before. On the third wall the Virgin ascends the steps to the temple, the high priest awaiting her at the entrance; to the right and left of the steps a man and woman, and more to the right another man carrying a lamb, to the left a female with doves—all damaged.

² Breno, Sant' Antonio, choir. Altar-face. The daughter of Herodias presenting the head of the Baptist to Herod (?) in a portico (?); on a balcony above, figures, and above that again Christ in benediction. These are mere fragments partly covered by a picture by Calisto da Lodi, to the right of which again are remains of what seems to be the Last Supper. On a side-wall is part of a composition representing the preparations for an execution. On another wall is a bound criminal before an enthroned king, and a child praying before the fallen body of a soldier. The state of these frescoes is unfavourable to artistic criticism.

At Edolo, some miles from Breno, the frescoes of the church of San Giovanni Battista are assigned to Romanino, but they are by another artist. At Erbanno, nearer to Lovere, other frescoes in the church of the Madonna also ascribed to Romanino are by Calisto da Lodi.

* ³ As a matter of fact, the frescoes by Romanino in the Castello del Buon Consiglio at Trent were painted in 1531 and 1532. See Schmölzer, *Die Fresken des Castello del Buon Consiglio in Trient*, pp. 41 sqq.

designs upon which his time was occupied are frescoes in the lodge at the top of the first flight of steps, where Apollo on a car drawn by milk-white steeds fills a rectangular ceiling and a cento of sacred and profane incident covers a succession of lunettes. There are also remnants of the same character in a court, and an injured picture of the Virgin and Child with a prelate introduced by a canonized bishop in the cathedral. In all this we trace the painter's hand, and detect more than his usual carelessness of execution. It is clear that he aimed at effect in a picturesque and scenic style, but he was not equal to the difficulty of unusual foreshortening, and his colouring is too uniformly red and opaque in shadow to produce an exhilarating impression.¹

In San Giorgio of Verona, where Romanino must have passed on his way to Trent, he also left his mark in scenes from the legends of St. George and other saints on the screen of the organ; but the tempera of these canvases, which bear the date of 1540, is so thoroughly disturbed by new paint that we can only notice the lively and clever form of the compositions.²

Between 1539 and 1541 Romanino took the first and last payments for the organ-shutters of the old Duomo at Brescia which were substituted for those of Ferramola and Moretto. They represent the Birth of the Virgin and the Visitation in pleasant landscape distances, and are treated with great freedom and speed; but they show little artfulness of arrangement and are not of the best as regards colour. They are all but the latest

¹ Trent, Castello. Hall at foot of staircase; wall and lunettes with figures of males and females, probably allegorical; not to be confounded as regards treatment with half-lengths, three or four in number, on the same place by a ruder hand. Wall of the staircase leading to the first floor, a Man writing, a Gentleman and two Peasants at a parapet, and landscapes. In the furnace vaulting, monochromes of a Man and a Sleeping Female, a Skirmish, Diana, and an allegory of Chastity with an Unicorn. Upper story, lodge with male figures and medallions. Hall, with Apollo in the ceiling; and in lunettes, a Man killing a Woman, a Concert, Judith cutting off the Head of Holophernes, Samson and Delilah and similar subjects, Bacchus, Luna, and other allegories.

The altar-piece in the cathedral is a canvas with life-sized figures in half-length, all but ruined.

² Verona, San Giorgio. Canvas, distempers. Torture of St. George on the Wheel, Torture of a Saint in Boiling oil, St. George before the Emperor, and another subject; on the two latter the letters, "MD—XL."

of the master's creations to which we can point with any certainty.¹ In 1548 he drew up an income-tax return describing his means in the same terms as in 1534, adding to the list of his family Paola, his second wife, and four children;² he lived and laboured many years longer, and the contract still exists in which he agreed (Dec. 15, 1557) with the Benedictines of Modena to paint Christ's Sermon on the Mount, which still hangs in the choir of San Pietro. His death at an advanced age is usually registered in 1566.³

As a portrait-painter Romanino seems not to have enjoyed the fashion of Moretto. Yet he was by no means without skill in that branch of his profession. There is a bust likeness of a gaunt, bearded man in the Galleria Martinengo which gives a high opinion of his powers. Another portrait in the Galleria Martinengo—an heirloom of the Sala family—is a model of free handling, though somewhat marked and raw in tone.⁴

It has been usual to suppose that Romanino, during some period of his life, resided at Venice, and the supposition appears confirmed by chroniclers; who register his works in Venetian churches; but we shall see that the pictures assigned to him are

¹ Brescia, Duomo Vecchio. Nativity of the Virgin and Visitation. Canvases paid for in 1541 (Odorici, *Guida*, *ub. sup.*, note to p. 24). Both injured by time and repainting.

In the same church, at the altar of the Sacrament, are two canvases representing the Gathering of the Manna by Romanino, daubed over with new colour.

² "1548, Poliza No. 163. Poliza di mi Hier. depentor q. d. Romanino da Rumano. Hier. d'anni di anni 62. Paola consorte, &c." [* Cf. Fenaroli *ub. sup.*, pp. 203, 285.]

³ See Campori, *Gli artisti*, *ub. sup.*, p. 410. The picture in San Pietro of Modena has not been seen by the authors.

⁴ (1) Brescia, Galleria Martinengo (Tosio Bequest). Wood, life-size, bust of a man on a dark ground, with repainted hair and forehead. A portrait of enamel surface, warmly coloured. (2) Galleria Martinengo. Half-length of a man in a pelisse of green silk with fur collar, in front of a brown wall and green hanging, one hand on a book, the other holding a glove, life-size; unfinished portrait of reddish flesh-tone, but treated with great breadth.

* There exist also other portraits by Romanino, *e.g.*: (1) Bergamo, Galleria Morelli, No. 78. Male portrait. (2) Budapest Gallery, No. 126. Portrait of a man in a rich brocade dress. (3) Florence, Uffizi. Portrait of the artist, inscribed "Hier. Rom. pict." (4) London, National Gallery, No. 2096. Male portrait. (5) Sandhurst Lodge, Collection of the late Sir William Farrer. Portrait of an old man.

all by Savoldo, who was known at Venice under the deceptive name of Girolamo da Brescia.¹

Alessandro Bonvicino, more familiarly known as Moretto, betrayed such an affinity to Titian in the dignity and stateliness of his mature productions that historians describe him summarily as Titian's pupil; but it is questionable whether, after all, he was more than a diligent student of Titian's works, for his earlier creations exhibit a clear dependence on Ferramola, Romanino, and the Palmesques. Moretto was companion to Ferramola in the execution of an organ-screen finished for the old cathedral of

¹ The following works are registered in Venice: (1) Frari, Claustro. Venice intercedes with the Virgin against the Turks, by Girolamo Romano. (2) The Virgin and Child, St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist and Angels, before whom Venice prays to be freed from plague, by Girolamo Romano (Boschini, *Le R. M.*, Sest. di San Polo, p. 43). Both pieces are missing. (3) Casa Taddeo Contarini: "La tela grande a colla dell'ordinanza de' Cavalli fu de mano de Jeronimo Romanin bressano" (Anon., ed. Morelli, p. 64); missing. (4) Galleria del Signor Paulo del Sera—now in the Uffizi. Transfiguration by "Gerolamo Bressan" (Boschini, *Carta del Navegar*, p. 365. See *postea* in Savoldo). (5) San Giobbe. Nativity, by Girolamo da Brescia (Boschini, *Le R. M.*, Sest. di Canareggio, p. 63. See *postea* in Savoldo). (6) San Domenico. Pictures by Hieronimo da Brescia (Sansov. ed. Martinioni, *Ven. Desc.*, p. 25); missing.

To extant works noticed in the text we may add the following: (7) Brescia, Seminario. Virgin, Child, St. Catherine, St. Cecil, and St. John the Baptist (notes mislaid). This picture was once in San Pietro in Oliveto (Chizzola, *ub. sup.*, p. 140). (8) SS. Nazaro e Celso. Adoration of the Magi—ruined by repaints. Of the frescoes of (9) the Crucifixion behind the altar we have no notice (see Chizzola, *ub. sup.*, p. 60). (10) San Faustino Maggiore. Canvas of the Resurrection—darkened and injured, but originally derived from the same subject by Titian, in San Nazaro of Brescia. Another canvas (11) of St. Apollonius between St. Faustinus, St. Giovita, and other saints is so blackened that we can no longer judge of it. (12) Milan, Brera, No. 329. The Nativity, from Santa Caterina dei Cappuccini in Crema. This picture recalls Romanino, and seems an imitation of his manner by Giulio Campi. [* It is now officially ascribed to the latter.]

The following works are assigned to Romanino in books: (1) Brescia, Sant' Afra. Death of the Beata Angela (Chizzola, p. 112). (2) Arici collection. Half-length of the Daughter of Herodias (*ibid.*, p. 161). (3) Avveroldi collection. 1°, St. Stephen, St. Jerome, and St. Peter; 2°, Virgin and Child, St. John the Baptist, and other saints; 3°, Christ carrying his Cross; 4°, Portrait of Himself; 5°, Portrait of Gherardo Averoldi (Odorici, *Guida*, pp. 175, 179, 180). (4) Avogadro collection. 1°, Last Supper (small); 2°, Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph; 3°, a portrait (Chizzola, pp. 178, 184). (5) Baitello collection. Virgin Annunciate (Ridolfi, *Mar.*, i. 353). (6) Barbisoni collection. Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph (Chizzola, p. 171). (7) Cappuccini. 1°, Dead Saviour in the Arms of the Marys, Magdalen, and St. John; 2°, Virgin and Child (*ibid.*, p. 106). (8) Sant' Eufemia. Frescoes (*ibid.*, p. 104). (9) Fenaroli collection. 1°, Holy Family; 2°, Virgin and

Brescia in 1518; there are grounds for assigning to him a share in Ferramola's organ shutters at Santa Maria of Lovere.¹ It is still puzzling to inquire what form his manner took previous to 1518, and who taught him the elements of his art. When Vasari says that he had a method of painting heads which recalls Raphael, he characterizes with uncommon felicity a certain period of the master's practice, and it is not unlikely that Moretto was led to follow this direction by a natural inclination for the graceful affectedness that clings to Ferramola.² In its later expansion his style assumed a Veronese colour which foreshadowed the coming of Paolo Veronese, but there are some pictures of his youthful time which suggest the study of Palma and Titian, and which prove a decided appropriation and assimilation of elements characteristic in Pordenone and Romanino.

Moretto was born at Rovato near Brescia, about 1498, and was little more than twenty years old when he finished the organ-screen of the Brescian cathedral,³ but an Italian artist in his Child (Odorici, p. 192). (10) San Francesco. Lunette above entrance into the sacristy, Christ carrying his Cross (Chizzola, p. 70). (11) Gaifani collection. Virgin and Child (*ibid.*, p. 150). (12) Secchi collection. Virgin giving the Breast to the Child and St. Barbara (Odorici, p. 186). (13) Le Grazie. S. Gottardo and two kneeling devotees (Chizzola, p. 43.) (14) Maffei collection. Female with Flowers (*ibid.*, p. 157). (15) Erizzo Maffei collection. Virgin, Child, St. Peter, and St. John the Evangelist (see *postea*, Calisto da Lodi). (16) Mantuan collection. St. Sebastian (Inventory of 1627 in D'Arco, *Delle arti di Mantova*, p. 159). (17) Brescia, Ugeri collection. 1°, a portrait; 2°, seven ovals representing Greek Philosophers; 3°, three Sleeping Apostles; 4°, Christ Dead in the arms of Angels (Chizzola, pp. 158, 159). (18) Verona, Casa Cortoni. "Due bizzarre figure di Tedeschi" (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, ii. 305; Dal Pozzo, p. 64).

* In addition to those mentioned above, the following are also extant paintings by Romanino: (1) Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 157A. The Decapitation of St. John the Baptist. (2) Budapest, collection of M. S. Lederer. The Virgin and Child. (3) Canford Manor, Lord Wimborne. The Nuptials of the Virgin. (4) Cassel Gallery. No. 502A, St. Peter; No. 503, St. Paul. (5) Glasgow Art Gallery, No. 67. Two Musicians. (6) Hanover, Kestner Museum, No. 69. Ecce Homo. (7) London, collection of Lady Jekyll. A Bishop. (8) Collection of Mr. R. Benson. The Holy Family with two Donors. (9) Milan, Brera, No. 98. The Virgin and Child. (10) Collection of Signor Calvi. The Holy Family. (11) Collection of Signor B. Crespi. Christ carrying the Cross. (12) St. Petersburg, Hermitage. The Virgin and Child. (13) Venice, Academy, No. 708. The Virgin and Child

¹ See *antea*, p. 258.

² Vasari, vi. 506.

³ As to the place of Moretto's birth, compare Averoldo, *Scelte pitture*, *ub. sup.*, p. 16. As to the date we have the following: "1548. Poliza di mi Alessandro Bonvisino, cittadino qual sta in Bressa. Mi Alesd^{ro} Pittor di eta de anni circha

twentieth year may be supposed to have had a large experience as apprentice, journeyman, and master ; and we have still to inquire under what guidance and in what places Moretto's youth was spent.

A lunette, at one time part of an altarpiece in San Giovanni Evangelista of Brescia, contains a large tablet with Moretto's signature. The Eternal, on a wide throne, contemplates Christ crowning the Virgin in the presence of SS. Gregory, Augustine, Rose, and other holy personages of both sexes ; an angel on each arm-post of the throne supports the corner of a golden damask cloth on which the principal group is relieved,¹ and a couple of winged cherubs embrace each other on the step. Two currents of education meet in this picture : on the one hand we have Palmesque and Titianesque feeling in the angels, and a close resemblance to similar impersonations in Santa Maria of Loreto ; on the other a simple, perhaps too simple, imitation of Romanino in the coarse and unselect figures of the kneeling saints. Cold and careful treatment, suggesting inexperience, points to the hand of a beginner.

Similar to this, and not unlike the work of a young but conscientious artist of Moretto's fibre, is the Holy Family under Palma's name in the Sparavieri collection at Verona. The Virgin, of swelling form and delicate face, holds the infant Christ on her knee struggling, froglike, to snatch a bird from the grasp of the boy Baptist. Naïve affectation in the forced inclination of her head towards St. John betrays the effort of an imperfectly trained craftsman to realise elegance of action. The shape of the Madonna and children is closely related to that of the saints and angels in

cinquanta Dona Maria mia cusina et infirmagia molti anni &c. &c." In the body of this document we find that Moretto lived at Brescia in a house in the contrada di San Clemente. We owe communication of this paper to the kindness of Don Stefano Fenaroli of Brescia. [* There is no proof that Moretto was born at Rovato. The family to which he belonged had its original home at Ardesio, near Bergamo ; and two of its members, Ambrogio and Moretto, acquired in 1456 the right of citizenship of Brescia. Alessandro Bonvicino was no doubt a descendant of the second of these, from whom he inherited his sobriquet "il Moretto" ; and it seems very likely that he was born at Brescia. See Fenaroli, *ub. sup.*, pp. 35 *seq.*]

¹ Brescia, San Giovanni Evangelista, panel lunette once belonging to a picture on the fourth altar, now in the Fabbriceria, figures large as life. On a cartello we read : " Divis Opt. Max. Alexander Brix. faciebat." The figures are thirteen in number, almost all seen against the sky.

the pictures of *Lovere* and *Brescia*. St. Joseph alone, in thought with his chin on the hand holding the staff, imitates a Titianesque type, whilst the drapery, of deep substantial tinge and shallow breaks, is cast in the fashion of *Palma Vecchio*. Characteristic of Moretto's constant method, yet *Palmesque* in its origin, is the blue sky against which a broad expanse of yellow hills is thrown, with intermediate spacings of brown cut up at intervals by patches of green trees. The flesh, of moderate but solid impast, merges from yellow light into purple shadow, and contrasts with an umbrons foreground and deep-tinted dresses in a melancholy chord of tone.¹

We shall not be justified in sternly denying *Ridolfi's* statement that Moretto's youth was spent in the atelier of Titian, whom he might have met at Padua before 1511 or at Venice and Vicenza after that date,² but the dominant influence apparent in these early pictures is that of *Ferramola*, *Romanino*, and the *Palmesques*; and it is not without the limits of probability that Moretto, having visited Bergamo, in his childhood, should have followed *Romanino* and helped to produce that curious mixture of styles which we have noticed in numerous convents and churches at Padua.³

In 1521 Moretto and *Romanino* jointly began the decorations of the chapel of *Corpus Christi* at San Giovanni Evangelista of Brescia, and Moretto, for his part, painted the *Last Supper*, *Elijah* under the juniper in the desert of *Beersheba*, the *Gathering of the Manna*, *St. Mark* and *St. Luke* the Evangelists, and several half-lengths of *Prophets*. Some scent of the *Raphaelesque* may be detected in the affected elegance of figures forming the confused groups of the *Gathering of the Manna*, but the prevalent character of the treatment in the Evangelists and Prophets, though it shows improvement and progress, is still a mixture of *Romanino* and

¹ Verona, Casa Sparavieri. Canvas, with figures under life-size. The whole group is in front of a clump of trees. Near the boy Baptist to the left is a lamb, in the distance to the right water and small figures. The Virgin's head is thrown up so as to show the under part of the chin and its junction with the neck. The figures of the children are broad and puffy with small hands and feet. There are slight retouches here and there, and the surface is dimmed by old varnishes. [*The editor has no clue to the present owner of this picture.]

² *Ridolfi, Marav.*, i. 342.

³ Among the earliest extant works by Moretto is a picture of Christ adored by a donor, in the Galleria Lochi at Bergamo, dated 1518. Morelli, *Die Galerie zu Berlin*, pp. 112 sq.

Pordenone in similar proportion to that which marks the frescoes of San Francesco of Padua.¹ The church of San Giovanni was one in which Moretto, at various periods of his career, received employment. At the outset he designed the Coronation of the Virgin, noted amongst the most elementary of his works. In maturer years he produced for the high altar the Virgin in Glory with numerous saints, the Baptist and Evangelist, and for other shrines the Parting of the Baptist from Zachariah and the Sermon in the Desert; but the condition to which time reduced all these canvases, enables us only to discern their original breadth and grand facility of treatment under a cloud of repaints.²

The Raphaelesque feeling which struck the attentive eye of Vasari breaks out in the beautiful altarpiece at San Giovanni which represents the Massacre of the Innocents. In a lodge on the battlements of Jerusalem, Herod gives the signal for the slaughter; and the soldiers in the court below proceed to their task with ruthless ardour. A cloud overhanging the scene encircles and supports a naked boy bearing the cross, whose veil flutters in the wind. Thin make and chastened action distinguish the mothers struggling for the rescue of their babies; life and energetic motion are displayed in the persons of the soldiers, firmness and elasticity in the frame and limb of the boy in the clouds; and there is so much Umbrian sentiment in the setting of the groups, in the tasteful choice of dress and head-gear, that Moretto may be suspected of having seen some of Raphael's prints and sketches. But in the

¹ Brescia, San Giovanni Evangelista. Chapel of Corpus Christi. See the contract of 1521, *antea*, p. 274, n. 2. (1) The Last Supper; lunette, canvas. An animated composition, darkened and injured by repaint. (2) Elijah under the bush asleep, in the middle ground a stream, a fisherman and two men on a road; farther off Jerusalem, in the air the angel bringing a loaf and a flask; an ivy-bush creeps along the trunk of the juniper-tree; canvas, dim, faded and retouched. (3) St. John, sitting on the ox with one foot between its horns, reading. (4) St. Mark astride of the lion; canvas, in similar bad condition. (5) The Manna; canvas, equally injured. (6) Prophets; half-length on canvas, damaged.

² Brescia, San Giovanni Evangelista. (1) High altar, Virgin and Child in Glory; below, SS. John Evangelist, Augustine, Agnes, and John the Baptist; above, the Eternal, and a prophet; canvas, very dim. [* Signed "Alexander Brix. f."] (2) The Evangelist and Baptist, equally dim, at the sides of the altar; canvas temperas. (3) St. John kneeling before Zachariah to receive the blessing, whilst his mother and two females look on; canvas tempera. (4) St. John preaching in the desert, tempera. Both the latter, spoiled by retouching, are composed of figures above life-size.

care with which the drawing is finished and detailed, in the run of the contours, and in the studied cast of drapery thrown into copious folds we are as clearly reminded of the youth of the artist as in the smooth enamel and blending of the dim-coloured flesh.¹

The graceful, gentle spirit which distinguishes form, and especially female form, in the Massacre of the Innocents recurs more expanded in a noble Coronation of the Virgin at SS. Nazaro e Celso of Brescia, where the Virgin kneeling to the Saviour who crowns her is enwreathed in a halo of clouds and a glory of angels. On the foreground below St. Michael treads on the dragon transfixed by his lance, whilst St. Joseph looks up, St. Francis prays, and St. Nicholas attends in thought. In slenderness of proportion, in sympathizing grace of attitude and pleasant, characteristic faces, this altarpiece is the very best of its kind; cold perhaps in silver-grey surface, but full of bright harmony and colour.² Almost equally effective in arrangement, expression, treatment, and tone is the Virgin and Child in Heaven in the Galleria Martinengo, an altarpiece composed for the church of Sant' Eufemia, in which the young Baptist takes his place in the clouds, and two bishops, Benedict and Paterius, kneel on the foreground protected by St. Agnes and St. Euphemia. There is a deadened peachy bloom in the flesh of these pictures which absorbs light and produces a neutral soberness contrasting strongly with the vivid brightness of the drapery hues. The surfaces of flesh and drapery are pulpy and soft; when carelessly wrought, they are spongy; when flayed, they have the hardness of stone.³

¹ Brescia, San Giovanni Evangelista, third altar to the right. Wood; on a tablet above the angel: "Innocentes et recti adæserunt mihi." The angel's torso is abraded. The general tone of the picture is cold and silvery, the dress-tints changing. Cleaning and varnish have taken away the freshness from the surface, and some pieces are scaling.

² Brescia, SS. Nazaro e Celso. Wood, figures of life-size. Christ seated crowns the Virgin, who kneels to the right in a circling cloud with angels. The surface is somewhat raw from cleaning. The arching at top has been filled into a square. The predella, we may suppose of this piece, is that now in the sacristy (panel) representing the Annunciation and Nativity.

³ Brescia, Galleria Martinengo, from Sant' Eufemia and Sant' Afra (compare Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 345; Chizzola, p. 102; and Odorici, p. 72) Wood, figures life-size. The Virgin in the clouds is surrounded by rays of light. On her lap is the infant Christ, and near her the boy Baptist. Winged cherubs' heads support the clouds. The figures below are on a pavement of coloured marbles in front of a landscape.



Alinari photo.]

[*Brescia, SS. Nazaro e Celso.*
THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.

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Smaller pieces rivalling these in elegant and elevated gentleness are the Virgin and Child—an echo of that of San Nazaro—a Sibyl, and a Magdalen in the Fenaroli collection at Brescia.¹

Akin to these again in the tranquil grace and pure feeling of many of its parts is the altarpiece of the high altar at San Clemente, the parish church and burial-place of Moretto at Brescia, where the Virgin and Child under arches, adorned with garlands of leaves and fruit amidst which cherubs play, looks down from a thorne resting on a semicircular entablature. Within the curve of this novel sort of niche St. Clement in state gives the benediction, in presence of SS. Dominic, Florian, Catherine, and Mary Magdalen. One fault in this otherwise well distributed and harmonized composition is the strained posture of St. Florian, whose conventional action as he shows the banner and palm recalls Caroto's impersonations; but in other respects the figures are models of stately dignity.²

A fine general effect of cold and silvery duskiness combined with sprightly action in numerous figures is the Assumption, ordered in 1524 and finished in November 1526 for the old cathedral of Brescia, contemporary as to date with the celebrated fresco of the Miracle of the Blood on the Porta Bruciata, which perished in the sixteenth century.³

In other compositions of these and subsequent years we note the impress of Romanino's and Savoldo's styles clinging

¹ Brescia, Fenaroli collection. Sibyl, full-length, under life-size, in a landscape, holding a tablet with a motto. Magdalen, side view, all but life-size, with the ointment vase in her hand. Virgin and Child under life-size. [* The Fenaroli collection is now dispersed. The Sibyl forms at present part of the collection of Mr. W. C. Alexander at Heathfield Park, Sussex; the Magdalen in 1898 belonged to the dealer, P. Scalvini, at Brescia (da Ponte, *L'opera del Moretto*, p. 50), and may be identical with one now in the Farrer collection at Sandhurst Lodge.]

² Brescia, San Clemente, high altar. Canvas, in its old gilt frame, with figures of slender proportions, large as life. This canvas was originally arched, and is now a rectangle. St. Catherine and the Magdalen kneel. The flesh parts are not free from abrasion. That Moretto was buried in San Clemente we learn from Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 350), who took the fact from Rossi (*Elogi*, *ub. sup.*, p. 505).

³ (1) Brescia, Duomo Vecchio. Canvas, with life-size figures. The Assumption was ordered in 1524 and finished on Nov. 5, 1526. Zamboni (*Memorie*, *ub. sup.*, p. 105) cites the document in support. (2) Brescia, Porta Bruciata. Miracle of the effusion of the blood of SS. Faustinus and Giovita. This fresco was finished on Nov. 3, 1526, and replaced in the sixteenth century by another fresco of which Bagnadore was the painter. Manuscript *Memorie di Pandolfo Nassino*, favoured by Signor Pietro da Ponte of Brescia. Cf. also Chizzola (*ub. sup.*, p. 13).

to Moretto's handling; reminiscent of the former, the lively composition of an organ-screen representing incidents from the legend of St. Peter in San Pietro in Oliveto, the Virgin appearing to Moses (!), and medallions of Prophets, which are fragments removed from the Martinengo palace "al Novarino" in the Galleria Martinengo;¹ reminiscent of the latter, the Magdalen anointing Christ's feet in the house of Simon, a dim and damaged altarpiece in Santa Maria Calchera, and a sombre Nativity at Santa Maria delle Grazie, suggesting memories of Velasquez.²

It was in 1530 that Moretto displayed in its fullest development that form of his art which had been modelled on Palma and Pordenone by producing the grand and broadly treated Majesty of St. Margaret with SS. Jerome and Francis in San Francesco of Brescia. In the graceful affectedness of swelling shapes, in the comprehensive delineation of frame and limb, or in the broad cast of ample draperies, Pordenone is as clearly reproduced as Romanino in the bend and foreshortening of heads, whilst powerful dim colour is modelled in blended gradations, in the low key which, with all its softness, sadly veils so many of the master's creations.³

¹ (1) Brescia, Vescovado, but originally in San Pietro in Oliveto (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 343; Chizzola, p. 138; Odorici, p. 65). Canvas, distempers with figures of life-size: (a) SS. Peter and Paul kneeling and supporting the temple; (b) and (c) Flight and Fall of Simon Magus, much damaged and repainted. [* These pictures are now in the church of Santo Cristo at Brescia.] (2) Brescia, Galleria Martinengo. Fragments of fresco from a ceiling in the Casa Martinengo del Novarino. In the largest fragment we have Moses looking up to the Vision of the Madonna and medallion half-lengths of Prophets.

² (1) Brescia, Santa Maria Calchera. Arched canvas, with a fine arrangement of moderately proportioned figures of life-size. At a table is the Saviour with the Magdalen at his feet and a servant in rear-carrying a plate full of pears; behind the table Simon, bearded, in a turban, and a page. The colours are opaque from repainting and altered by damp. (2) Brescia, Santa Maria delle Grazie. Canvas, in the choir, with life-size figures. The Virgin gives the new-born Christ to a kneeling waiting-woman. St. Joseph, to the left, kneels near the water basin. In the distant landscape are shepherds, and in the air three angels singing. This low-toned, iron-grey picture is executed at one painting with strong impact. [This picture is now in the Galleria Martinengo at Brescia.]

³ Brescia, San Francesco. Wood, figures of life-size, seen through arches looking out on the country. In the centre, Margaret with the double cross, her foot on the monster; to the right St. Francis, to the left St. Jerome. There is some retouching, and the surface generally is cleaned off to some extent, but the colour is of enamel smoothness; on the foreground are the ciphers "MDXXX."

MORETTO



Hanfstaengl photo.

ST. JUSTINA.

[Vienna, Imperial Gallery.]

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Of equal grandeur in its fullness and studied contour, but clearer and brighter in hue, is the allegory of Faith, a picture of this period in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg—a symbolic ideal in the shape of a beautiful female holding the cross, the wafer, and the cup.¹

More elevated still, and of greater dignity in its combination of the Raphaelesque and Palmesque, is the Kneeling Knight at the Imperial Gallery of Vienna protected by a richly dressed damsel with the unicorn at her side as emblem of chastity. Majestic beauty dwells in her face, and melody of silvery colours combines with soft and highly blended modelling to produce an impression of great freshness and brilliancy.²

A most winning example of simple incident is the votive altarpiece of 1539, executed for Galeazzo Rovelli in Santa Maria de' Miracoli at Brescia. A pleasant naturalism attracts us in the Virgin, who looks down from the pedestal of a side-altar on which she holds her state. She supports the infant Christ astride of her knee, chirping at possession of an apple, and points to a boy on the foreground under the protection of St. Nicholas of Bari, who brings an offering of the fruit. Nearer the spectator is another boy holding the bishop's mitre, and two others in rear in tender attitudes of devotion. In its variety of tinted stuffs of wool, of silk, or brocade—for distinguishing which Moretto was famous—there is no more harmonious picture of the master. The treatment is facile; and form is rendered in a generous and fleshy mould, and there are few compositions in which we more honestly commend judicious setting, applied perspective, and realistic action united to Titianesque gravity.³

¹ St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 113. Kneepiece, 3 ft. 4 in. high by 2 ft. 6 in. The modelling is broad, tender, and silvery, and the general tone is extremely bright; at the bottom of the picture is a bunch of roses and jessamine and a banderol, with the words: "Justus ex fide vivit."

² Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 218. Wood, 6 ft. 3 in. high by 4 ft. 5 in. This grand picture was taken in 1662 from the Hofburg at Innsbruck to the castle of Ambras, and subsequently to Vienna, where it was long considered to have been painted by Pordenone (see *antea*, and cf. Waagen, *Kunstdenkmäler in Wien*, i. 32). [* The female figure is St. Justina.]

A replica is noticed by Krafft (Catalog, *Wien*, 1854, p. 167), in possession of one Signor Giovanni di Terza Lana at Brescia.

³ Brescia, Santa Maria de' Miracoli [* now Galleria Martinengo]. Canvas, life-size. On a curled sheet at the foot of the altar: "Virgini Deiparæ et Divo

That Moretto at this period was ambitious of rivalling Titian in breadth of touch, in splendour of colour, and in stateliness of demeanour is apparent in many of his works, and in none more than in the Majesty of St. Anthony of Padua between St. Nicholas of Tolentino and St. Anthony the Abbot of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Brescia. There is a serious and severe distinction in this piece, and a combined excellence of contour, drapery, chiaroscuro, and colour which, added to bold freedom of handling, mark it as an exceptionally valuable specimen of Moretto's skill.¹

In another and perhaps more nearly perfect example—the Supper at Emmaus in the Galleria Martinengo—we find a very successful approach to the highest performances of the Venetian school, with the master's individuality fully preserved. The picture is of a deep warm tone and rich substantial handling, with types in which form is less striking for selection than earnestness. A very decided realistic feeling prevails in the outspoken nature of the movements and expression, which have the strong and straightforward bluntness of middle or poor-class life. Christ, behind the table in a grey hat, the falling brim of which overshadows his brow, is breaking the bread, whilst an apostle to the right, thrusting himself forward on his seat, leaning his cheek on his hand and his elbow on the table, gazes with intentness, as if desirous of imprinting every feature of the Redeemer's lineaments on his mind. The second apostle sits and seems to await the result of this examination. To the left, the host descends a flight of steps, and a girl to the right, in fanciful cap and bodice, carries a dish. Moretto strives to give the Saviour, whose face is really not above the common, a calm and settled air. He follows Titian in the effort to obtain effect by colour, by massive chiaroscuro, and picturesque costume. The drawing is studied and comparatively clean; the proportions are good, the drapery ample and well cast, with adumbrations that

Nicolao Galeatius Rovellius ac Discipuli D. MD . . . XXXIX." The head of St. Nicholas is injured.

¹ Brescia, Santa Maria delle Grazie [* now Galleria Martinengo]. Canvas, life-size. This picture is described by Ridolfi as the best of Moretto's works (*Marav.*, i. 345). St. Anthony of Padua, with the palm, is seated high up in a large niche, beneath which stands St. Nicholas of Tolentino, who looks up, and Anthony the Abbot, with one foot on the step, the staff in his right hand, and the bell in his left.

distinctly recall Palma and Titian. The modelling is soft, sweeping, and peachy, and balances equal proportions of red light and dusky shade in blended transitions.¹ Titian composes with more elevation of thought, and dwells altogether in a higher sphere. His drawing is finer and his colours more purely harmonious, but Moretto comes exceptionally near him here by vigorous realism and a happy introduction of varied incident and motive thought.

In 1540 Moretto again found himself in friendly competition with Romanino; and the "gay duel of art" which began twenty years before at Brescia was continued at Verona. In the church of San Giorgio, where Romanino painted the organ-screen, is Moretto's Glory of the Virgin Mary, with St. Cecilia on the foreground and the martyrs Agnes, Agatha, and Lucy, round her. The date of 1540 on the canvas contrasts to some extent with gentle cast or thin make of figures and cold grey tinting reminiscent of an earlier time.²

More powerful in its relief and richer in tone, though but little later in date, is the Virgin and St. Anne, with their babes and saints, at Berlin, commissioned in 1541 by Arnoldi, abbot of the Umigliati of Verona. But such colossal canvases as these, particularly when injured by repaint, bear less than any other transfer to a modern gallery, and the composition, being broadly painted for a high place on the walls of a church, suffers from its nearness to the eye on the screens of a museum.³ We must also

¹ Brescia, Galleria Martinengo, from the Great Hospital; figures life-size. Under the table is a dog.

² Verona, San Giorgio. Canvas, in which the shadows are blackened and the colour generally has become blind; figures of life-size; inscribed: "Alexander Morettus Brix. f. MDXL."

³ Berlin Museum, No. 197. Canvas, 8 ft. 6½ in. high by 6 ft. ½ in.; inscribed: "Ales. Morettus Prix. f. MDXL." This canvas represents the Virgin Mary with the infant Christ and St. Elizabeth with the young Baptist, the latter offering a fruit to the Saviour. In the centre of the group is an angel with a scroll; below, Bartolommeo Arnoldi and his nephew in prayer. It was ordered for the Chiesa della Giara at Verona (cf. Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 347).

But these are not the only works which Moretto painted at or for Verona. Dal Pozzo (*Pitt. di Verona, ub. sup.*, pp. 307, 309) describes in his own collection (1) the Virgin and Child with the young Baptist between the angel and Tobias and St. Vitus, holding a drawn sword, and (2) a portrait of a child. We shall note (3) an altar-piece in London which came from Verona, and Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 347) describes (4) an altar-piece in Sant' Eufemia of Verona representing St. Ursula

bear in mind that Moretto in these years was overwhelmed with orders and worked with unusual speed. He finished in 1541 the Christ in Glory with Moses and David in SS. Nazaro e Celso of Brescia,¹ the Virgin and Child with the Four Doctors and John the Evangelist in Santa Maria Maggiore of Trent, and probably also the companion altar-piece in the Stædel at Frankfort, where the same subject is almost repeated; whilst in 1542 he completed the Madonna in Glory with St. Francis and an Angel presenting a kneeling patron for San Giuseppe of Brescia.²

During his journeys at this time he probably became acquainted with some of the men who formed the circle of Titian and conceived the idea of extending his practice by cultivating their friendship. He was well aware of the influence wielded by Aretino, and sought to obtain his interest by judicious flattery. It was Aretino's habit to put artists of name under contribution, and especially to induce them to paint his likeness. With this in his hand he visited the palaces of Italian princes and greater potentates, from whom he levied considerable sums of money.

between St. Peter and Anthony the Abbot with the Virgin and Child above them, whilst dal Pozzo (*ub. sup.*, p. 233) describes another in the same church—(5) a Virgin and Child beneath which are (6) St. Anthony and St. Onofrius, (7) a Nativity (p. 220), with (8) St. John the Evangelist and St. George in the Chiesa della Ghiara, and (9) a Virgin and Child (p. 284) in Sant' Elena. [* The Virgin and Child, with SS. Anthony and Onofrius, is still in the church of Sant' Eufemia at Verona.]

¹ Brescia, SS. Nazaro e Celso. Canvas, life-size, painted, according to records cited in Odorici (*Guida, ub. sup.*), in 1541. This picture has been very ill-treated.

² (1) Trent, Santa Maria Maggiore, second altar. Canvas, life-size. The Virgin and Child in a round glory with cherubs. St. John the Evangelist with a scroll between St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, and in front, seated, St. Gregory and St. Jerome. Very feeble canvas, and probably a school-piece, but much injured. (2) Frankfort Stædel, No. 45. Canvas, 8 ft. 10 in. high by 5 ft. 10 in. From San Carlo al Corso in Rome, whence it came into the Fesch collection. St. Gregory and St. Jerome stooping over the Bible and Vulgate at the foot of the throne occupied by the Virgin and Child, at the sides St. Augustine and St. Ambrose. The Virgin and Child are not of the master's best. (3) The Virgin and Child between St. Sebastian and St. Anthony the Hermit, with an angel playing on the step. No. 44. Canvas, with life-size figures; is inferior to the foregoing, and altered by restippling. (4) Brescia, San Giuseppe [* now Galleria Martinengo]. Arched canvas, with the Virgin and Child in Glory, beneath St. Francis and an angel presenting "one of Casa Lusaga." A poor work, mentioned by Ridolfi in San Giovanni (*Marav.*, i. 345). At one corner we read: "MDXLII." The Nativity recorded in the same passage of Ridolfi as by Moretto is, as we saw, by Romanino.

In communicating with princes he puffed the artists who painted the portraits, and in his letters to artists he puffed the princes, whose amiable qualities or political virtues he extolled. At the close of every year, or oftener, if it served his purposes, he published the correspondence. Moretto's portrait of Aretino reached Venice in the autumn of 1543, and came to its destination through Sansovino's hands. About the same time Vasari had done Aretino some service, in return for which he asked for Aretino's protection in obtaining an appointment. Moretto's picture was forwarded to the Duke of Urbino with a judicious eulogy of the painter's talent and a prayer in favour of Vasari's cousin, and Vasari was made acquainted with the transaction in a note flattering to himself, Moretto, and the Duke.¹

We may believe that Moretto derived no advantage from this appeal to one of the most venal publicists of any age. It is certainly curious to observe that he chose a time for making it when his talent had reached its culmination and required no artificial forcing. The date of his present to Aretino is also that of his celebrated canvas in Santa Maria della Pietà at Venice, representing Christ in the House of Simon, a canvas which may be considered the most important that Moretto ever produced. It was not commissioned, as we might suppose, for a Venetian church, having been ordered for the convent of Monselice; but it was not the less calculated, in every respect, to enhance his value in the eyes of lovers of the arts. We very soon remark, in contemplating this piece, how closely the Brescian is related to the Veronese school; a common source, apparently yielding the snake-toned harmonies of Girolamo dai Libri, Francesco Morone, and Morando and the gay contrasts of Moretto or Savoldo, the picturesque warmth of Bonifacio and the glowing scale of Romanino. Moretto foreshadows the Veronese style of his picture at Venice in the Glory of St. Anthony at the Grazie of Brescia. The feast in the house of Simon is the model of the luxurious monumental style which found so grand an exponent in Paolo Veronese. If in earlier works we mark a combination of blunt expressiveness and gesture with gorgeous colour and

¹ Aretino to Moretto, Venice, September, 1544, in Bottari's *Lettere Pittoriche*, *ub. sup.*, iii. 122, and Aretino's *Letters*, 8vo Paris, vol. iii. p. 59, *tergo*. Aretino to Vasari, Venice, September 1543, Bottari, iii. 113.

massive chiaroscuro, we now observe the same qualities allied to palatial architecture and splendid dress. The house of the Pharisee is a residence with lofty halls and colonnades and openings showing vistas of sky and landscape. Christ sits at a table in the middle of a vaulted space pointing to the Magdalen prostrate at his feet. Behind the board, and resting both hands on the cloth, a bare-armed servant in attitude and expression of surprise gazes at the incident, whilst another servant, equally astonished and more curious, peeps over Christ's shoulder. Simon, to the left, with his head in a turban and his frame in a fur pelisse, looks on with a Titianesque senatorial calm. Clinging to a column in the foreground is the dwarf buffoon with an ape on his shoulder, and near him a servant with cup and flask; to the right two females communing on the event. The mere description of this scene suggests the name of Caliari; but we are still more reminded of him by the grey architecture on which the figures are relieved, the fine perspective of the pillars and friezes, the positive solidity of flesh-tints broken with minium and red earth in light and verdigris in darks, the bright vigour of costly raiment-painting, and sweeping, facile touch.¹

Paolo Veronese was prolific to such an extent in turning out pictures covering yards of canvas that it is difficult to realize or remember their number. Moretto's examples of the same kind are extremely rare; and there is but one worthy to be placed by the side of Simon's Feast, and that is the Marriage of Cana in San Fermo at Lonigo. Here, again, Moretto is the precursor of Veronese in the colossal subject which now fills a wall at the Louvre, but his version of the miracle has not the comprehensive size or splendour of Paolo's and is unfortunately injured.² There are some traces of the same grand principles of treatment in the noble Virgin with the Child and Saints in the National Gallery,

¹ Venice, Santa Maria della Pietà, choir. Canvas, with figures large as life, inscribed on the pedestal of the pillar to the left: "Alexander Morettus Prix f." and in the similar space to the right, "MDXLIII." The ciphers are all repainted. This important canvas was in the refectory of San Fermo of Monselice (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 348); it must have been very beautiful before it was injured by restoring.

² Lonigo, San Fermo. Canvas, with figures of life-size; till 1819 in the choir of the church. The Saviour at the table is surrounded by the guests wondering as the drawer orders the wine to be poured into a fresh flask. Above the table a red curtain. The surface of the canvas is covered with new paint.

an altarpiece which seems to have been completed for a Veronese church.¹

It is not improbable that Moretto would have given more time to this class of productions had he not been so frequently engaged on portraits. Amongst his works of this kind Rossi and Ridolfi describe those of Moretto by himself, of Matteo Ugoni, Bishop of Famagosta, a celebrated doctor of canon law, of Brunoro Gambarà, a general in the Imperial service who once refused Paul Jove a bed because he said he had room for soldiers but not for scribblers; of Bartolommeo Arniggiò, a surgeon who fell a victim to one of the contagious epidemics of the sixteenth century.² But the number of Moretto's extant portraits is much larger than this scanty list might lead us to suspect, and some of them with dates give us a clue to the changes in his style.

In the Fenaroli collection at Brescia is a full length of a young man in tight green hose and a black silk mantle, leaning his elbow on the base of a pillar. He stands in a fine attitude of ease in a portico looking out on a landscape, his left hand resting on the hilt of his rapier.³ This masterpiece of the painter's Raphaelesque period, done in 1526, is remarkable for dignity and noble expression. The portrait of a "medico" in the Brignole Palace at Genoa bears Moretto's initials and the ciphers of 1533, and seems to represent a person of high station fond of the cultivation of flowers. He stands at a table covered with a green cloth near the brown-tinged ruin of a wall intent upon the leaves of a book and bunches of roses. The gesture of his hand suggests a soliloquy. His dress is black silk over a white shirt; his hair and beard are

¹ London, National Gallery, No. 625. Canvas, 11 ft. 7 in. high by 7 ft. 6 in. In the sky the Virgin and Child in Glory are adored by St. Catherine and St. Clara. Beneath St. Bernardino holds aloft the name of Christ, and at the sides stand or kneel St. Jerome, St. Nicholas of Bari, St. Joseph, and St. Francis. This fine work, which belonged to Signor Faccioli at Verona, was in the Northwick collection. It is vigorously coloured with solid impasto, in the silvery chord with which we become familiar in Paolo Veronese.

² Rossi, *Elogi, ub. sup.*, pp. 260, 280, and 392. Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 348, 349. The portrait of Moretto, according to the latter, was on one canvas with that of Agostin Gallo, a writer on agricultural subjects, and was in the house of Signor Francesco Gallo (?) at Brescia.

³ Brescia, Fenaroli collection. Canvas, life size, inscribed: MDXXVI. [* This picture is now in the National Gallery (No. 1025).]

black, and he holds a glove in his right hand. Ivy branches creep along the ruined wall. In the low greenish adumbration of the flesh and broad handling of this powerful piece we are forcibly reminded of Sebastian del Piombo.¹

The broad effectiveness and dusky surface which characterize these canvases and recall Titian as well as del Piombo recur in a fine half-length of a gentleman in a black cap with a white feather and a slashed red satin vest in the Galleria Martinengo as well as in a portrait at the Pitti.² Titianesque and Giorgionesque in movement or massive contrast of light and shade is the half-length of a man with a scroll and sand-glass in the Erizzo-Maffei collection at Brescia, one of those finely blended creations in which Moretto aims at an aristocratic blanching of complexion.³ Equally aristocratic and full of clear brilliance is the Sciarra Martinengo at the National Gallery, in which reminiscences of Lotto are distinctly marked.⁴ The treatment here coincides with that of

¹ Genoa, Palazzo Brignole. Canvas, half length, inscribed: "vov φvxcic MDXXXIII A B. (the last letter mutilated).

² (1) Brescia, Galleria Martinengo. Canvas, half-length, life-size, relieved on the brown wall of a room hung with green. Through a window to the right a landscape is seen. The dress is a lake-coloured vest, with buttons and black silk cloak. The right hand, which rests on the green cloth of a table, holds a card. The flesh is abraded as well as the background. The picture is an heirloom of the Sala family. (2) Florence, Pitti, No. 493. Wood, half-length of a man in a black cap and mantle with a glove in his left hand. The panel is also injured by restoring, but is finely enamelled in a dim grey tone.

³ (1) Brescia, Galleria Erizzo-Maffei. Canvas, life-size. [* This picture belongs at present to the Marchese Fassati in Milan.] (2) In the same gallery is another half-length whose face is much restored, with his left hand on a book. There is an ink-bottle on the table and the ground is brownish. But much of the charm of the work is lost under repaints. [* This picture was in 1898 in the Salvadego collection at Brescia. See da Ponte, *L'opera del Moretto*, pp. 49 sq.]

⁴ London, National Gallery, No. 299. Canvas, 3 ft. 8½ in. high by 3 ft. 1 in., from the Lecchi collection at Brescia, half-length of a man, with a green vest, fur pelisse and blue cap with a plume. The head rests on the right hand, the left hand on a book, on the cap is a label with the words: TOT ΔΙΑΝ ΠΟΘΩ [* Mr. W. Fred. Dickes (in *The Athenæum*, June 3, 1893, pp. 706 sq.) has shown that the correct reading of these words is "ΙΟΤ ΔΙΑΝ ΠΟΘΩ, i.e. "Alas! I aspire too high"—a phrase which suits the expression of the person represented very well. Mr. Dickes further suggests that this motto might also be interpreted as a declaration of love if read "ΙΟΤΑΙΑΝ ΠΟΘΩ, i.e. Giulia Potho, or "I long for Giulia." This leads Mr. Dickes to infer that this is a portrait of Giacomo Gromo di Ternengo, who married Giulia Pozzo (or Potho). The identification of the sitter as Count Sciarra Martinengo Cesaresco rests apparently only on tradition.]

another half-length in the Erizzo-Maffei mansion assigned to Titian and representing a gentleman in a yellow dress damasked in green and a cap of the same with a white plume.¹ Other likenesses attributable to Moretto are to be found in this and other public and private galleries.²

There are periods in the lives of painters in which memories of old forms long abandoned or forgotten seem to revive with a sudden and irresistible force. In the Frizzoni collection on the lake of Como is a large canvas representing Christ in death bewailed by the Marys and disciples. At one corner we read: "Año dōm MDLIV mens. oct"; elsewhere: "Factus est obediens usque ad mortem." This is obviously a composition over which Moretto spent the last breath of his life. We revert in it to the large style of composition and the weighty mould of form which characterized the period in which he mostly clung to the models of Pordenone.³

We can only illustrate the life of a painter so industrious and

¹ Brescia, Erizzo-Maffei collection. Wood, half-length of a man life-size in front of a green curtain. To the left a window. The forms are large and the treatment bold, but it is difficult to decide exactly whether Moretto or Romanino was the painter. The surface is slightly changed in tone (the head especially) by retouches. [* Present whereabouts unknown.]

² (1) Rome, Palazzo Colonna. 1°, Portrait of a man (half-length) in a red vest and hose and black mantle, with his left hand on the head of a hound (cold ground); 2°, portrait of a man in a fur pelisse with a glove in his right hand. To the right an opening through which a landscape is seen. These two portraits are apparently of the Brescian school. One of them is a Morone, the other unworthy even of Morone. (2) Florence, Uffizi, No. 639. Wood, half-length of a man playing a mandolin, a dark and repainted picture of the Brescian school, but a doubtful Moretto. (3) St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 114, 3 ft. by 2 ft. 10 in. Portrait of a man with his left hand, holding a glove, on a pedestal and his right hand on his hip. In the upper corner to the right a green hanging. If this be the portrait of Vesalio the surgeon, that ascribed to Titian and supposed to represent the same person is erroneously named. The two portraits represent different persons. (4) Longkiddry, Earl of Wemyss. Portrait of a man seated in a dark pelisse and cap, his left hand on the hilt of his sword. This is a dark-tinged picture, which, seen but for a moment, appeared not unlike a genuine Moretto. (5) England, Locko Park, Mr. Drury Lowe. No. 254 at Manchester. Male portrait, with the name of Bartolommeo Capello and the date of April 1546 on a letter in his right hand. (6) Broom Hall, Lord Elgin. An old man at an anvil. No. 255 at Manchester.

³ Frizzoni collection, Lake of Como. Canvas, life-size; probably the same described by Chizzola (*ub. sup.*, p. 50), in the Disciplina di San Giovanni at Brescia. [* This picture is now in the Weber collection at Hamburg, No. 128.]

rapid as Moretto by a selection from his works.¹ There remains a list of his performances still to register.

*Brescia, San Giuseppe.*² Arched canvas. Descent of the Holy Spirit. A faded composition of sombre general tone with ordinary figures reminiscent of Moretto's pupil Morone.

Brescia, Santa Maria Calchera. Beneath the pulpit. Christ attended by St. Jerome and St. Dorothea (notes mislaid).

Brescia, Santa Maria delle Grazie. Arched canvas, life-size figures; Virgin and Child in Glory; below, St. Martin between St. Sebastian and St. Roch. A poor production, in which we may believe the journeymen of Moretto had the largest share.

Brescia, Duomo (in a private room above the sacristy).³ Arched canvas, with life-size figures. The Eternal and the Redeemer in the heavens hold the crown of glory above the Virgin's head; beneath, an angel in flight giving the keys to St. Peter, St. Paul holding a scroll, and between them allegorical figures of Justice and Peace. This vast picture in Moretto's later form is covered with repaints, through which we still observe the hasty character of its original treatment.

Another canvas in the same room, brought from San Pietro in Oliveto, represents St. Lorenzo Giustiniani, sitting between a matron figuring Wisdom and St. John Evangelist, who adores the Virgin and Child in glory (life-size). This is a weak production of Moretto's shop.⁴

Brescia, San Clemente. Arched canvas, figures of life-size. Christ in the heavens lying on his cross and leaning his head on his right arm, a reed in his left; below in a landscape, a captain reverently removing his helmet to Melchisedek, who offers the sacrament (bread and wine in a flask); to the right a figure of Abraham. This picture is reduced to complete formlessness by retouching.

Same church. Arched canvas, with life-size figures, in the upper part of which the Virgin sits in glory attended by a kneeling female, as the Child on her knee gives the ring to St. Catherine of Siena. In the foreground below, St. Jerome and St. Paul. In the same condition as the foregoing.

*¹ We have seen that the Pietà in the Weber collection was completed in October 1554. On December 29 of that year Moretto was dead. See Fleres, in *Le gallerie nazionali italiane*, iv. 262, n. 2.

*² Now Galleria Martinengo.

*³ Now above the high altar of the church of the Seminario di Sant' Angelo.

*⁴ The picture is now in the Bishop's Palace at Brescia.

Same church. St. Ursula and the Virgins. Canvas, of very feeble execution and much injured.¹

Same church. A very beautiful composition of St. Cecilia between St. Lucy and St. Barbara, with St. Agatha and St. Agnes in front of a niche in the semi-dome of which the Holy Ghost appears in the shape of a dove. This originally beautiful example of Moretto's gentle period is irretrievably spoilt by repainting.

Brescia, Duomo Vecchio, Cappella del Sacramento. Six canvases, viz.: (1) The angel brings food to Elijah in the desert. (2) The Feast of the Pascal Lamb. (3) Abraham receives bread and wine from Melchisedek. (4) St. Luke reading. (5) St. Mark. (6) Lunette with the Sacrifice of Isaac (now in a room above the sacristy).² All these canvases are much injured, the last quite dim. A Head of the Redeemer, above the altar, assigned to Moretto, is too high to warrant an opinion.

Brescia, SS. Nazaro e Celso. Canvas, life-size. Nativity with SS. Nazaro and Celso; devoid of all character, being extensively covered with new paint.

Same church. Two saints, much faded, said to have been parts of the organ-screen by Moretto.

Brescia, Galleria Martinengo. Canvas, tempera, figures under life-size. The Virgin, seated with the infant on her lap in a landscape, is attended by the kneeling St. Joseph and two shepherds: a quiet scene, in which the figures are over-fleshy and strained; but this defect is counterbalanced by freshness in the faces. The colours are sombre and warm and very carefully handled.

Brescia, Galleria Martinengo (Tosio Bequest). The Annunciation in an interior (half-lengths); through a window, a landscape—a pretty, graceful Moretto, and, rarer still, in good preservation. Daughter of Herodias in a landscape, with an inscription on a wall which reads: "Quæ sacrum Joannis caput saltando obtinuit," a careful work, injured in the flesh parts by restoring, and reminiscent of Lotto.

Brescia, Galleria Martinengo, from the Palazzo Comunale. Christ lying on the steps of the tomb with the cross at his side and an angel in rear holding up a white cloth. Canvas, life-size. There is much thought in the composition, and the figures are amongst the pleasing ones of the master.

*¹ The composition of this picture is founded upon that of Antonio Vivarini's painting of the same subject in the Seminario at Brescia. See C. J. Ffoulkes, in *L'Arte*, vii. 296 sq. A repetition, with some variations, of the San Clemente picture belongs to the Museo Civico of Milan, and is probably also by Moretto. Cf. Frizzoni, in *L'Arte*, vii. 297 sqq.

*² The last-mentioned picture is now missing.

Brescia, Galleria Martinengo. Virgin and Child with the young Baptist presenting a piece of fruit. Greatly injured by restoring.

Brescia, Fenaroli collection. St. Roch tended by the angel in a landscape, originally in Sant' Alessandro. The figures are full and heavy in shape.

Same collection. St. Catherine, life-size—a weak specimen of Moretto's manner. Virgin and Child, young Baptist (head repainted), and St. Joseph, half-lengths. This, and a replica, with St. Anna instead of St. Joseph, is feeble work by Moretto, which may be said indeed of other pieces under his name in this mansion, *e.g.* St. Paul, St. Jerome, Solomon, St. Peter, St. John the Evangelist, and a Coronation of the Virgin.¹

Brescia, Erizzo-Maffei collection. The Drunkenness of Noah, and an episode from the life of Moses; canvases, with figures under life-size; genuine Moretto.² St. Cecilia (or St. Agnes); bust, one hand resting on a vase of flowers, much injured by abrasion. As regards character, reminiscent of certain figures of women in the Casa Martinengo della fabbrica at Brescia.³

*Brescia, Casa Martinengo della fabbrica.*⁴ Eight females of elegant stature and graceful movement, seen as if looking over a balustrade; fresco, life-size (seen but for a moment), some of them heavily retouched.

Bergamo, Sant' Andrea. Canvas, life-size. Virgin and Child between SS. Eusebius, Andrew, Donatus, and Damian. Originally fine, but heavy and opaque from repaints.

Milan, Ambrosiana, Sala D, No. 26, probably from San Francesco of Bergamo (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 347; Francesco Bartoli, *Le Pitture di Bergamo*, 12mo 1774, p. 19). Death of St. Peter the Martyr, and his brother friar; in the air a choir of angels, little under life-size. This picture is very delicately wrought, and of bright tone, and reminds us of some of Paris Bordone's altarpieces.

*¹ The St. Catherine was in 1898 in the hands of the dealer P. Scalvini at Brescia (da Ponte, *ub. sup.*, p. 50), while the Solomon and the St. John the Evangelist are now in the collection of Mr. W. C. Alexander at Heathfield Park, Sussex. The Coronation of the Virgin is possibly identical with a picture mentioned by Mr. Berenson (*North Italian Painters*, p. 265) as belonging to Countess Seize-Noris of Vienna.

*² The former picture belongs now to the Nob. G. Fenaroli of Brescia; while the latter—which represents Moses striking the rock—in 1898 was in the possession of the Contessa Fenaroli-Bettoni, also at Brescia (da Ponte, *ub. sup.*, p. 51).

*³ Present whereabouts unknown

*⁴ Now Casa Salvadego.

Milan, Brera, No. 91. Canvas, arched, m. 2.55 high by 1.85. The Virgin in Glory, St. Francis between SS. Jerome and Anthony the Abbot; spirited in character and powerful in colour, the faces unhandsome; careful and pleasant work of the master. In the same gallery are: No. 92a. St. Jerome and an Apostle; panel, m. 1.03 high by 0.60. No. 92b. Assumption with four angels; panel, m. 1.48 by 0.68. No. 92c. St. Clara and St. Catherine; panel, m. 1.03 high by 0.60. No. 93. St. Francis; panel, m. 1.12 high by 0.58.

Rome, Vatican Gallery. Virgin and Child, SS. Jerome and Bartholomew. On canvas, under life-size. A fair and well-preserved specimen of the master.

Florence, Uffizi, No. 592. Death of Adonis. There might be reason for assigning this capital picture to del Piombo rather than to Moretto. No. 1009. The Descent of the Holy Spirit to Limbus. Small picture on slate; is not a genuine Moretto.

Naples Museum, Room XV, No. 22. Small panel representing Christ at the column, full-length, with his hands bound together at the wrists. Over a wall in the background a landscape is seen. This is a fine little work of Moretto in his broad, silvery manner, and modelled with extreme care.

St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 112. Judith standing with her left arm on a stone pillar, her right hand on the handle of a long sword, looks down at the head of Holophernes upon which she has set her left foot. Canvas, 5 ft. high by 2 ft. 6 in. Rhenish. This picture, called Raphael in Crozat's collection, is now catalogued as Moretto, a nomenclature in which Dr. Waagen (*Ermitage, ub. sup.*, p. 66) agrees. Yet the character is not Moretto's.¹

St. Petersburg, Leuchtenberg Gallery, No. 70. Canvas, knee-piece, ascribed to Giorgione. Virgin in front of a rose-bush with the infant Christ on a cushion on her knee. Pleasant in masks and shape and carefully drawn. The colour is warm, blended, and smooth (here and there flayed). This is a most engaging canvas by Moretto.²

*¹ As we have seen (*antea*, p. 36, n. 3), this picture is really by Giorgione, to whom it is also officially ascribed.

*² This picture is now in the National Gallery (No. 2495), and is officially ascribed to Cariani. The editor also believes that it is one of the happiest efforts of this painter, showing him under the predominant influence of Palma Vecchio. The colouring has nothing of the silvery tone of Moretto, but is warm and golden; the figure of the infant Christ resembles that in Cariani's Madonna and Saints in the Brera; the Virgin is also akin in type to Cariani; the treatment of the foliage is paralleled in Cariani's "Vergine Cucitrice" in the Corsini Gallery in Rome. Cf. Cook, in *The Burlington Magazine*, ii. 78.

Berlin, Museum. No. 175. St. Augustine.¹ No. 195. Martyrdom of St. Sebastian. The latter like a canvas of the same hand in the library of the Ambrosiana; all school-pieces. No. 184. Two portraits; are also school-pieces.² No. 187. Nativity. Canvas, 12 ft. 10 in. high by 8 ft. 10 in., signed, "Alexander Morettus Brix. f." Of scenic, neglected execution, and in the lower parts, especially to the left, heavily over-painted. This large piece is greatly inferior to the altarpiece of No. 1541, in the same collection.³

Dresden, Museum, No. 202. 7 ft. 5 in. high by 5 ft. 3 in., from the collection of Herr von Quandt. Virgin, life-size. A fine work of Moretto, the same which he painted to commemorate a vision of the Madonna to a peasant of Castel Caitone for the church of that village (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 346). In the upper corner to the left: "Imago Beatae Mariae Virg. quae mens. August. M.D. XXXIII Caitoni agri Brixani pago apparuit. miraculor. operatione. concursu pop. celeberrimi."⁴

London, Francis Palgrave, jr., Esq. No. 253 at Manchester.⁵ Virgin and Child in clouds, SS. Hippolitus and Catherine below. Canvas, 7 ft. 6 in. high by 4 ft. 6 in.; from the Solly collection. This is a good but not uninjured specimen of Moretto.

Paris, Louvre, No. 1175. Wood, arched, m. 1'13 high by 0'60. St. Bernardino and St. Louis; No. 1176 (companion piece). St. Bonaventura and St. Anthony of Padua, purchased by exchange from the Brera of Milan. Careful, silvery works of Moretto's good time.⁶

Missing, or not seen :

Brescia, Sant' Agata. St. John the Baptist; a Prophet (Chizzola, pp. 75, 76).

*¹ Now on loan to the Town Gallery at Halle.

*² Now on loan to the Town Gallery at Erfurt.

*³ Now on loan to the Gallery at Cassel.

*⁴ As a matter of fact, this figure is copied from the picture by Moretto, which is still in the church at Paitone (not Caitone), and represents the Virgin appearing to a boy. The painting seen by the authors at Dresden is now on loan to the Lehrerseminar at Frankenberg.

*⁵ Now National Gallery, No. 1165.

*⁶ The following extant paintings by Moretto have not yet been noticed: (1) Bergamo, Galleria Loehis, No. 55. The Holy Family with St. John the Baptist. (2) Bergamo, Galleria Morelli. No. 96. The Virgin and Child with St. Jerome. No. 101. Christ and the Woman of Samaria. (3) Berlin, Von Kauffmann collection. Portrait of M. A. Savelli. (4) Bonn, Provinzialmuseum, Wesendonck collection. The Virgin and Child. (5) Brescia, Luogo Pio di Santa Zita. Christ and his Mother. (6) Budapest, Picture Gallery, No. 131. A Saint.

Signor Arici. Full-length portrait (*ibid.*, p. 163).

Avogadri collection, passed entire into the Fenaroli collection (*ibid.*, p. 179).

Signor Baitello. Pictures (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 349).

Barbisoni collection. SS. Francis and Buonaventura, portrait of a man in a pelisse, Virgin grieving, St. John, a head (Chizzola, pp. 165, 166, 171, 174).

Batalboino (near Brescia), church of. Virgin and Child in Glory between St. Francis and another saint; below, SS. Jerome, Anthony, Clara, a bishop, and the kneeling Umberto Gambarà.

Brescia, San Clemente. The Resurrection (Ridolfi, *ibid.*, i. 344); St. Thomas Aquinas (Chizzola, p. 131).

Compagnia dell' Oriflamma. Standard with Christ rising from the tomb between SS. Nazaro and Celso, and the Virgin grieving with St. John and the Magdalen on the obverse (Chizzola, p. 60, and Ridolfi, *ibid.*, i. 343).

San Felice (near Brescia). Incredulity of St. Thomas (Ridolfi, *ibid.*, i. 346).

Brescia, San Giovanni. St. John and a Magdalen at the sides of a carved crucifix (Ridolfi, *ibid.*, i. 345).

Secchi collection. St. John the Evangelist, portrait of a bishop, St. Catherine (Odorici, *Guida*, p. 185, and Ridolfi, *ibid.*, i. 348).

Limone (near Brescia). Virgin, Child, and saints (Ridolfi, *ibid.*, i. 346).

Signori Savoldi. Heads of SS. Faustinus and Giovita (Ridolfi, *ibid.*, i. 349).

(7) Comero, Santuario. St. Anthony the Abbot. (8) Escorial. Isaias; the Erythraean Sibyl. (9) Westonbirt, Holford collection. The Nativity of the Virgin (signed "Alexander Moretus Brix."). (10) Manerbio, Parish Church. The Virgin and Child with four saints and a donor. (11) Mazzano, Parish Church. The Virgin and Child with SS. Roch, Zeno, and Sebastian. (12) Milan, Museo Civico. Jeremiah; St. John the Baptist; St. Anthony of Padua. (13) Milan, collection of Comm. B. Crespi. The Visitation. (14) Milan, collection of Dr. G. Frizzoni. The Virgin and Child with an Angel. (15) Milan, collection of Duchessa Josephine Melzi D'Eril-Barbò. The Virgin and Child. (16) Santa Maria presso San Celso. The Conversion of St. Paul. Signed: "Alexander Morettus Brix. f." (17) Munich, Ältere Pinakothek, No. 1123. Portrait of an Ecclesiastic. (18) Orzinuovi, Parish Church. The Virgin and Child with four saints and a donor. (19) Philadelphia, collection of Mr. John G. Johnson. The Virgin and Child with two donors. (20) Pralboino, Parish Church. The Virgin and Child with SS. Roch and Sebastian; the Virgin and Child with saints and a donor. (21) Richmond, collection of Sir Frederick Cook. Pietà; a Bishop. (22) Venice, Academy. No. 331. St. Peter. No. 332. St. John the Baptist. (23) Venice, collection of the Conte Donà delle Rose. Portrait of a man on horseback. (24) Venice, collection of Lady Layard. Male portrait; the Virgin and Child with two Saints.

Signori Ugeri. Three portraits, one of a bishop, another of a captain in armour (Ridolfi, *ibid.*, i. 348).

Venice, Casa Delfino. Pictures (Sansovino, *ub. sup.*, p. 376).

Milan, Zecca. Conversion of St. Paul (Vasari, vi. 506).

England, Archdeacon of Durham. St. Bartholomew and another saint (Waagen, *Treasures*, Supplement, p. 421).¹

Scotland, Garscube. Virgin enthroned beneath a red canopy supported by two angels. An angel plays the guitar below, and at the sides SS: Augustine, Stephen, and Lawrence (Waagen, *Treasures*, iii. 293).

Ridolfi assigns to Moretto (*Marav.*, i. 344) the wings of Titian's great altarpiece in SS. Nazaro e Celso at Brescia which have disappeared.

Gian Girolamo Savoldo lived longer than Romanino, and died at a great old age about the middle of the sixteenth century.² It has been stated that he was of noble Brescian blood, and that he painted for pleasure rather than for gain; but there is strong reason for doubting the correctness of one half at least of this statement, and the other half is quite likely to be untrue. In certain cold tints and strong contrasts of light and shade Savoldo had something in common with Moretto, but his style was often rugged and slaty, and usually less dignified than Moretto's. Though he studied the models familiar to his Brescian contemporaries, he did not cling to them with obstinacy, and a long residence at Venice enabled him to enter into the spirit of Titian and del Piombo. Romanino and Moretto learnt in course of years to paint in the monumental style improved by Bonifazio and Paul Veronese. Savoldo preferred humbler night or sunset scenes, and sacred genre.

It is characteristic of Savoldo's individuality that he remained constantly true to a peculiar and distinct method of technical treatment, yet there is no artist so persistently ignored; and it is more difficult to find his works under their true name than under the names Bellini, Giorgione, Titian, Pordenone, del (25) Vienna, Academy. The Virgin and Child with St. Anthony the Abbot. (26) Vienna, collection of Prince Liechtenstein. The Virgin and Child with St. Jerome; St. Jerome.

*¹ These two pictures are now in the National Gallery of Ireland (Nos. 80 and 78).

² He was still living in 1548. See Aretino, *Lettere*, *ub. sup.*, v. 64, and Bottari, *Lettere Pitt.*, *ub. sup.*, iii. 176. That Bottari should not have guessed that the Gian Girolamo here named is one person with Savoldo is curious.

Piombo, or Bonifazio. In the cathedral at Bergamo, where we might expect to find him known, he is treated as a stranger, and the Madonna in an early form of his manner is attributed to Giovanni Bellini. She stands with joined hands in front of a background of neutral-tinted architecture, leaning against a parapet on which the child is seated looking at a couple of doves in a basket. The forms are plump, robust, and healthy, the hands short and rustic; and nothing is more clear than their derivation from the Palmesque source with which Romanino was so intimately acquainted. Warm and dusky flesh-lights merge rapidly into purple semitone, which in turn glides into rough dark greys. Additional coldness is given to the picture by deep, harsh vestment tints, and a slimy impast of streaky translucidity.¹

One of the master's favourite effects of evening, a homely version of the Nativity, is preserved in San Barnaba of Brescia, where the Virgin and Joseph are represented kneeling before the infant in a stable, through the opening of which two or three listening men look in. The ox and the ass ruminant behind a manger, and shepherds in the distance receive the message of the angel. Broad sweeps of shade, fringes of dusky light, and slaty general tone distinguish this, as they distinguish most of Savoldo's altarpieces, but the full shapes and stolid types are quite in Moretto's fashion.²

To these examples of the master's practice in the city of his birth we might add a portrait in the Louvre described by Father Dan and Félibien—a knight in armour half recumbent in a gloomy chamber, whose form is reflected in mirrors. Though signed with Savoldo's name and unlike the person whose name it bore, this likeness was long considered a portrait of Gaston de Foix by Giorgione. Far from being an early specimen (Gaston died in 1517) it is a bold, dusky, harsh production of late though uncertain date.³

¹ Bergamo, Duomo. Wood, half-length. See *antea*, in Gio. Bellini.

² Brescia, San Barnaba. Fourth altar to the right. Wood, figures life-size, with a predella of the eighteenth century. The whole panel has undergone restoring. The blues (Virgin and St. Joseph) are new, and the head of a bearded man at a window is repainted in the lighter parts. [* This picture is now in the Galleria Martinengo at Brescia.]

³ Paris, Louvre, No. 1518. Wood, m. 0.91 high by 1.23 broad, half-length, inscribed: "Opera de iouani jeronjmo de Bressa de Savoldo." See the *Trésors des merveilles de Fontainebleau*, by Père Dan, quoted in Louvre Catalogue, and Félibien, *Entretiens*, *ub. sup.*, tom. iii. p. 85.

For more than half a century it was a question which occupied the minds of philosophers and artists whether sculpture was not preferable to painting as a means of exhibiting nature in its utmost variety. Sculptors admitted that marble did not realize the idea of life by colour. Painters asserted that a given form could be reproduced in numberless varieties on one canvas by a judicious use of reflecting surfaces.¹ A replica of the so-called Gaston de Foix assigned to Giorgione at Hampton Court shows that Savoldo was an eager supporter of the doctrine held by the painters of his time, and was fond of repeating what he considered the proof of his opinion.²

Very few and short notices of Savoldo's pictures are to be found in local annals, and some of his canvases at Brescia were obviously executed in the Venetian lagoons. We may conclude that he went early, and perhaps before the catastrophe of the sack, to Venice, where, according to clear but hitherto unnoticed evidence, he resided in 1521.³

It was about this time that the superintendents of the church of San Niccolò at Treviso ordered an altarpiece of an artist named Fra Marco Pensaben, who began it and left it unfinished in the strangest and most mysterious manner.

On April 13, 1520, Vittor Belliniano, whose name we regis-

¹ Compare Vasari, iv. 98. This debate was carried on till late in the sixteenth century, see *antea* in Giorgione.

² Hampton Court, No. 74. "A warrior by Giorgione," of poorer execution than the Louvre example.

³ The earliest record of Savoldo which we possess goes to prove that he became a member of the Arte dei Medici e Speziali at Florence on Dec. 2, 1508; he is definitely called "pictor" in the document in question (see Vasari, vi. 507, n. 4). It is not impossible that a certain touch of classicism and academism in Savoldo's system of design is due to influences received from Florentine art. It has been suggested by Dr. Ludwig that Savoldo was the pupil of one Giovanni da Brescia, who is first recorded as living at Venice in 1512, and who died there in 1531 (see the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxvi. Supplement, pp. 112 *sqq.*). Dr. Ludwig bases his theory on the supposition that Giovanni belonged to an older generation than Savoldo, and on the resemblance to the style of Savoldo which is shown by the organ-shutters which Giovanni and his son Bernardino in 1526 agreed to paint for the church of San Michele di Murano, two of which are still in that church, while two belong to the Museo Correr at Venice. Yet there is reason to believe Giovanni da Brescia was older than Savoldo, if the existence of the former is first recorded in 1512, and we hear of the latter in 1508; as a matter of fact, it seems much more probable that Giovanni da Brescia imitated Savoldo, than vice versa.

tered amongst the third-rates of the sixteenth century, appeared at Treviso and received, in the name of "Fra Marco Pensaben of Venice," earnest money for a promise to paint a picture. On the 24th of the same month "Fra Marco Pensaben" arrived, and on May 4 gave signs of pictorial activity by ordering the necessary basin and gallipots. On August 11 six lire were paid to "Fra Marco Maraveia" for working at the altarpiece, on November 27 "Fra Marco" (? Pensaben or Maraveia) received 131 lire and 13 soldi as part of his due, besides 30 lire and 4 soldi for provisions. On January 31, 1521, "Fra Marco" received 6 lire and 4 soldi. A mysterious and unaccountable interruption then took place. "Fra Marco Pensaben" disappeared without leave from Treviso and defied all attempts at discovery. Fra Alvise, a friar of the Dominican Order, sent on a voyage of discovery in pursuit of Fra Marco, returned on July 16 without finding him. He visited Padua, Monselice, Este, Legnago, and Soave, but in vain. Fra Marco defied pursuit and never returned. We shall see that the person who performed the task then left incomplete was Savoldo.¹

It would be most desirable to test anew the series of records which describes the coming of one friar and his employment as a painter at San Niccolò of Treviso, then registers in the same capacity a second friar of very nearly the same name, and finally conceals the identity of both under the shorter title of Fra Marco. Previous to the publication of these documents Fra Marco Pensaben was altogether unknown. Federici, his discoverer, thought him identical with a friar who entered the Dominican Order in 1502, held the office of under-prior at SS. Giovanni e Paolo of Venice in 1514, and that of upper sacristan of the same monastery in 1524. Marchese and others considered him the painter of a small picture signed "Fr. Marcus Venetus p.," in the Lochis Gallery at Bergamo. Federici alone ventured to assert that Fra Marco Pensaben and Sebastian del Piombo were one person.² It

¹ Compare Federici, *Mem. Trevig., ub. sup.*, i. 121, and following, and pp. 130-2.

² Compare Federici as above with Marchese, P. Vincenzo, *Mem. dei più insigni pitt.*, &c. Dominicani, 3rd ed., Genoa, 1869, pp. 249 *sqq.*, and Rosini. Marchese gives proofs unknown to Federici that Fra Marco Pensaben of the Dominican Order was already in SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice as early as 1512, and died there in 1530. It is therefore incorrect to say, with Federici, that he was unfrocked.

is scarcely credible that the under-prior and upper-sacristan of SS. Giovanni e Paolo should paint at Treviso and employ a layman like Vittor Belliniano to receive earnest-money from a monastery of his Order. It would be strange that a Dominican who ran away from his engagements at San Niccolò in 1520 should be sacristan at SS. Giovanni e Paolo in 1524. It is more within the range of probability that the man who began the altarpiece of San Niccolò should have designed the Madonna of the Lochis Gallery.¹

This Madonna is about one-third the size of life. She wears a white striped veil and sits in the corner of a room damasked with red tapestry. The fingers of her right hand rest in a stiff position on the head of a kneeling abbot, behind whom stand two saints, Peter Martyr and a bishop. Through a large opening in the wall of the apartment we observe a minute landscape with towers, houses, and trees. Shepherds tend their flocks or play on pipes in the distance; on a table to the right a chequered cloth, a book, and, out of the leaves, a scroll with the painter's signature. The figures are all in awkward action or cramped in hand and limb. Uniformity and redness of tint, dry outlines and spare shading, all reveal a painter of small artistic means. The round-backed child is flat, yet puffy in outline; the drawing is full of detail, but incorrect; the hard, flat colours are substantial and veiled with filmy glazes.² There is nothing in the treatment to recall Marziale or Basaiti, but the same types and handling recur in the earliest forms of Previtali and Lotto, and, with marks of a more elementary treatment, in two small panels of the Virgin and Child at Stuttgart, in one of which we read the signature "Marcho d Joa" b.p." We are greatly reminded, in all these pieces, of Marco Belli's Circumcision at Rovigo.³ The first two letters of the signature at

* ¹ The records in question contain exactly what has been related above.

² Bergamo, Lochis, No. 168. Small panel of oblong shape with figures, in half-lengths. [* A picture of similar composition, and bearing the signature of the same artist, was about 1870 in the hands of the dealer Pinti, in London. It is thus described in the German edition of this work (vi. 488, n. 124): "Bust of the Virgin with the Child in her lap; to the left in front of a wide window a saint; signed on the scroll in the hand of the child: 'Fra Marcus Venetus faciebat' (authenticity questionable); wood, small, figures one quarter of life-size."]

³ Stuttgart Museum, No. 429. Wood, 1 ft. 3½ in. high by 1 ft. 5 in. inscribed: "Marcho d. joa" b.p." The infant Christ, sitting on the Virgin's lap, gives a blessing. This picture is much repainted, and attributed to Basaiti; see *antea*. No. 428 in the same museum, wood, 2 ft. 2½ in. high by 1 ft. 8 in., assigned to Giovanni Bellini,

SAVOLDO



Alinari photo.]

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS.

[Treviso, San Niccolò.]

Bergamo are not free from suspicion of falsification ; but, taking them as they stand, they warrant us in believing that Marcus Venetus and Marco Belli are one person. Whether Fra Marco Pensaben is identical with Marcus Venetus and Marco Belli is difficult to say. What we now see in the altarpiece of San Niccolò is the hand of Savoldo, but the work which Savoldo found upon the altarpiece and covered over may have been worthy of Fr. Marcus Venetus or Marco Belli. The very humbleness of the artist whose acquaintance we make at Stuttgart, Rovigo, and Bergamo harmonizes with Marco Pensaben's relation to Vittor Belliniano. The slow labours of Marco Pensaben at San Niccolò, and the manner in which he threw up the commission, square with the notion of his incapacity.

The composition and the lines of the architecture in the altarpiece of Treviso reveal an amount of artistic culture which it is difficult to assign to Marco Belli, Marcus Venetus, or Fra Marco Pensaben. The figures are above life-size; the noble cupola under which they stand and the throne upon which the Virgin sits are in the best taste of the later Bellinesque period. The Virgin, with her left hand at rest and with her right supporting the standing child, the angel playing the viol on the step—the whole group relieved on the umbrous green of a drooping cloth—are a beautiful example of Venetian arrangement. On the foreground to the left St. Nicholas holds the crozier and golden balls, St. Dominic and Benedict IX. in thought behind him. To the right St. Thomas Aquinas looks at the Virgin, St. Jerome reads intently, and St. Liberale grasps a banner. A modern hand, perhaps the hand of Girolamo Pennacchi, gave a coarse broad touch to the two last-mentioned figures, and swept with rapid strokes the lower part of Nicholas's face and dress; but the painter whose treatment we discern throughout the rest of the picture is Savoldo.¹

is by the same hand and also retouched. [* In the current catalogue of the Stuttgart Museum this picture is put down as a work by Basaiti.]

¹ Treviso, San Niccolò. In the choir above the high altar and between two windows, which make it difficult to see the picture. Wood, 20 ft. 6 in. high by 12 ft.; restored as described in the text, and shortly before 1871 flayed and cleaned, which has done the picture harm. We note this flaying and cleaning in the St. Thomas, whose hands are retouched. The right eye of the angel on the steps is repainted. In the cupola, which simulates mosaic, are two rounds with heads of the apostles

The records which Federici has printed inform us that, after Fra Alvise failed to discover Fra Marco Pensaben, another painter was engaged to finish the altarpiece, and on Sept. 8, 1521, "Mistro Zan Jeronimo" (Gian Girolamo Savoldo) received payment for his journey from Venice to Treviso for this purpose. Towards the end of the following month Gian Girolamo finished the work entirely.¹ It now remains to be inquired how much of Fra Marco's design Savoldo preserved, or whether he preserved any part of it. He may have kept the composition and architecture, in which there is something akin to the grandeur of Sebastian del Piombo. Assuming that Fra Marco borrowed his cartoons from a good Venetian master, say Sebastian del Piombo, we can still explain his failure. An artist of facile hand might, under such circumstances, produce work that would stand the test of criticism. Torbido was powerful in applying the designs of Giulio Romano, but Alfani stumbles when he paints on the lines of Raphael, and a feebler craftsman like Fra Marco fails altogether. It is therefore possible that Fra Marco, having tried to execute a cartoon by a better master than himself, found the work beyond his strength, and, having sacked as much as he could of his employers' money, left them in the lurch and covertly departed. Savoldo would thus have found the skeleton or scantling of a fine design before him and infused his own spirit into it. Be this as it may, there is no group in the altarpiece more complete or more in the spirit of the great Venetian than that of the Virgin, Child, and Angel; and in no part of the composition, except perhaps in the weighty shape of the foreground saints, is his style more apparent. We find his treatment in the genuine Brescian type of the Virgin, whose plump face recalls the Palmesque ideal, in the aged and conventional shape of the infant Christ, in the accent of the contours, in the cramped and gnarled structure of the hands and the leathery substance of the flesh. There is nothing more characteristic in Savoldo than the blanket texture and superficial folding of drapery, the warmth of lights and slaty grey of shadows, or the slimy gloss of translucent colour; nothing is more usual with

St. Mark and St. John. A lamp hangs over the throne, behind which we see the sky and clouds (see the line-engraving of the altarpiece in Rosini's atlas).

¹ Federici, *ub. sup.*, I. 131-2.



Alinari photo.]

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS.

[Milan, Brera.

him than to cast large surfaces into twilight; and these are all marked features in the Trevisan altarpiece.

In the Glory of the Virgin at the Brera, which Savoldo painted later for San Domenico of Pesaro, we find reminiscences of the greater Venetian masters natural in an artist of his means. He recalls in equal proportions del Piombo and Titian. His figures are larger than nature, his form of the broad and fleshy character common to Moretto and Romanino. Four saints in couples look up from a meadow towards the Virgin, who rests with the infant Christ on clouds attended by two angels; but the peculiar mixture of ruddy lights and slaty half-tones with which the figures are relieved upon the distant landscape and sky, and the copious glossy vehicle with which the colours are impregnated are very characteristic of the master's individuality, whilst the background of hills and water melts in air with a richness of harmony to which Savoldo seldom attained. The large and powerful shape which distinguishes the principal personages coincides with that of the saints at Treviso; and the drapery has the same blanket texture with more amplitude of fold.¹ In composition and distribution, as well as in details, this fine picture is almost a counterpart of that which hangs above an altar on the left hand in Santa Maria in Organo of Verona—a genuine Savoldo under the name of Bonifazio. There is something unpleasant and raw at all times in the tinted olive of flesh shaded with purple half-tints and darks of iron-grey; the true fibre of the colourist is wanting in a master whose drapery shades are so strong and harsh as Savoldo's, and here, perhaps, these peculiarities are more marked than usual; but we probably take a more unfavourable view of these defects in a picture injured by time and retouching than we should in a specimen of better preservation.²

¹ Milan, Brera, No. 114. Wood, arched, m. 4·75 high by m. 3·07; figures of life-size; inscribed: "Opera de Jonane jeronimo de Brisia de Savoldj." This is probably the picture alluded to at San Domenico of Pesaro by Lanzi (ii. 116). But Lanzi only speaks of the Saviour and forgets the Virgin. *The authors' conjecture as regards the *provenance* of this picture is correct.]

² Verona, Santa Maria in Organo. Arched canvas, with figures of life-size. The Virgin in heaven, within a halo encircled by clouds, looks down upon the standing figures of St. Peter and St. Bernard to the left and St. Zeno and St. Paul to the right. On a stone to the left is the date (suspiciously repainted) of 1533, and on right the escutcheon of the Veronese family della Torre. The whole picture is opaque and blind from retouching.

The Transfiguration at the Uffizi, of which there is a large but inferior replica in the Ambrosiana of Milan, though disagreeable and hard in the marked depth of its outlines and in the rock-greys which are introduced into its darker parts, is remarkable as a specimen of Savoldo's peculiar taste for startling effects. By placing the principal figures in front of an almond-shaped halo which lights the whole scene, the Saviour and the prophets, and the apostles beneath them, are thrown into a neutral tinted darkness relieved by a mere fringe of cold and half-reflected rays.¹

A warmer and more attractive example of similar treatment, the Adoration of the Shepherds, under Titian's name at the Pitti, either shows that Savoldo usually failed to achieve the success which attends Vecelli, or, on some rare occasions as on this one, nearly attained to the richness of tone and handling peculiar to that master.²

The subjects which Savoldo, in his tricky manner, most habitually preferred, were the Nativity, Epiphany, or the Infant Christ presented to the veneration of saints. In one of the latter at the Turin Museum, a series of half-lengths long assigned to Pordenone, the name is to some extent justified by affinity to Palma; and we find the germ of the same conception in one of Romanino's altarpieces, St. Joseph lifting a white cloth from the form of the waking infant, who receives the prayers of the Virgin and St. Francis.³ A counterpart of this composition in Savoldo's most characteristic manner is preserved at Hampton Court as a work of Pordenone and only differs from that of Turin by the substitution of a Female for St. Francis.⁴ A

¹ (1) Florence, Uffizi, No. 645. Wood, half life-size. The panel is split, and not free from retouching. It was originally in the Gallery of Leopold of Tuscany (Boschini, *Carta del Navegar*, ub. sup., 365). (2) Milan Ambrosiana, Sala D, No. 27. With life-size figures, but dimmed by time and superposed colours? original. [* According to the current catalogue of the Ambrosiana this picture was acquired in 1674 as a work by Lomazzo, and still bears traces of that name at the back.]

² Florence, Pitti, No. 423. Small panel with full-lengths, ascribed to Titian.

³ Turin Museum, No. 573. Canvas, m. 90 high by 1·37; half-lengths.

⁴ Hampton Court, No. 631. Canvas, with life-size half-lengths. Since the lines in the text were written, the name of the painter in full is said to have been found on the picture. [* It is signed in the upper right-hand corner: "Savoldus da Brescia faciebat 1527."]

Nativity with small figures in the Museum of Turin reproduces a beautiful effect of dusk after sunset in a mountain landscape. The Virgin kneels to the right before the child, whose infant majesty is worshipped by the shepherds in varied attitudes. We seldom find more finish, atmosphere, or blending in the master's canvases.¹ A different arrangement of this incident, akin to that in San Barnaba of Brescia, may be found in an injured state at San Giobbe of Venice.²

Savoldo's Epiphany in the Leuchtenberg collection at St. Petersburg, is catalogued as Giorgione, and is but a charming repetition of the composition adapted to an Adoration of the Shepherds by the same hand in the Manfrini palace at Venice.³

Savoldo is one of the few North Italians in whom genial humour and spirit are illustrated by solitary female figures. In portraits, conversation pieces, allegories, or illustrations of classic fable we find occasional studies of expression. We seldom or never see a more naturally subtle display of feminine character than that illustrated in the Venetian Girl at the Berlin Museum. The hour is sunset. The shape is that of a woman, young, warm, and impulsive. Her form, half hid in a mantilla, glides round the corner of a ruin. The light just tips her nose and leaves the rest of the face in gloom. The right hand concealed in the

¹ Turin Museum, No. 574. Wood, m. 1.41 high by 0.96.

² Venice, San Giobbe. Canvas, with figures of life-size, cleaned and renewed in many parts, and hence perhaps without the date of 1540 noticed by the annotators of Vasari (vi. 507, n. 4).

³ (1) St. Petersburg, Leuchtenberg collection, No. 22. Wood, 2 ft. 5 in. high by 3 ft. 1½ in. To the left, in front of the penthouse, the Virgin seated with the infant on her lap, attended by St. Joseph; to the right of the group two shepherds kneeling, and in a distant landscape the procession of the kings; to the left a cherub looking into a sarcophagus, ascribed to Giorgione, called Pordenone by Waagen (*Hermitage*, p. 375), but a genuine Savoldo. The episode of the cherub is similar to that in the so-called Titian Love Sacred and Profane in the Borghese Palace at Rome. The colour is dusky, raw, and enamelled, the drawing heavily marked; shadow, as usual, predominant over light. [* This picture was in 1903 in possession of Mr. Asher Wertheimer in London. Judging from the reproduction given in *The Burlington Magazine*, ii. 85, the editor should say it differs considerably in style from Savoldo.] (2) Venice, Manfrini. Canvas same as the foregoing, but that the infant Christ is asleep in a basket. The Virgin kneels in prayer, and the young Baptist is seen approaching. Here the catalogue correctly gives the name of Savoldo, but the execution is lower than usual, and the picture may be a school-piece. [* It is now in the National Gallery (No. 1377).]

silk, which it lifts to the chin, the left hand clutching the skirts, the furtive archness of the glance, the twilight in which the scene is shrouded, are full of mystery.¹ It was a successful picture in its day, and Savoldo repeated it in the Zingara assigned to Titian at the Fenaroli mansion in Brescia. But there the mystery is diminished. A table with a vase stands in a corner, the figure no longer glides, but halts; and Venice, with its waste of waters and island buildings, greets us from the distance.²

A fine and effective portrait of a flute-player in the garb of a shepherd, with massive shadows projected over his face by a broad-brimmed hat, and a charming clouded landscape, passes for a Giorgione in the Earl of Wemyss's Scotch seat of Longniddry³; it is by Savoldo, as likewise the manly likeness of a soldier in a breast-plate belonging to the Liechtenstein collection at Vienna.⁴

That Savoldo produced largely and approvingly during a long and active life is apparent from the works we have reviewed. The list deserves to be enlarged and completed.⁵

¹ Berlin Museum, No. 307. Canvas, 2 ft. 11½ in. high by 2 ft. 4½ in., from the Solly collection, inscribed: "Joannes Jeronimus Savoldus di Brescia faciebat." Knee-piece.

² Brescia, Fenaroli mansion. Canvas, life-size, knee-piece. The same, perhaps, described as a Magdalen in the Averoldi mansion at Brescia by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 355). [* This picture is now in the National Gallery (No. 1031).]

³ Scotland, Longniddry. Canvas, half-length of life-size, in a dark-grey vest and lake-coloured sleeves, and holding a flute. The colour is somewhat opaque from cleaning and retouching. In the distance to the right houses and trees, in front of which is a well, and several figures, male and female, with an ox, an ass, and sheep. This picture exactly corresponds to that described as a Sebastian del Piombo in the Muselli collection at Verona (see Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi*, &c., Svo, Modena, 1870, p. 188.)

⁴ Vienna, Liechtenstein collection. Canvas, life-size. A man in armour and red sleeves leans his right elbow on a projection covered with the folds of a yellow mantle. In his left he holds a staff, and his head is bare. In the distance to the right St. George kills the dragon. This also goes under Giorgione's name. The colours and outlines are enfeebled by retouches. [* This picture is now catalogued as a work by Savoldo.]

⁵ It may be enlarged as follows: (1) Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 208. Entombment. Wood, 2 ft. 6 in. high by 3 ft. 9 in.; half-lengths, assigned to Lotto, in Savoldo's hard, dull tones, perhaps the same picture to which Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 355) alludes as being in the Casa Antelmi at Venice. A copy of this piece is in the Venice Academy under No. 77 (Cat. of 1867), and the catalogue states that "the original in the Belvedere at Vienna was in Santa Maria dell'Orto



Alinari photo.

III. 318]

ST. JEROME.

[*Venice, Lady Layard*

We gain some knowledge of the position which he held in the estimation of his contemporaries in a letter written by Aretino in the winter of 1548. The friend and comrade of Titian describes, in the fulsome style to which we are accustomed, the rare qualities of Savoldo, deplores the weight of years which lames his powers, and suggests comfort for his advanced age in the value set on his numerous and important creations.¹

at Venice." [* The picture seen by the authors in the Venice Academy is now in the church of Santa Maria dell' Orto. Another version of this composition is in the Budapest Museum. The Vienna picture which is now officially ascribed to Savoldo was formerly in the collection of the Archduke Leopold.] (2) Venice, Lady Layard, from the Manfrini collection. St. Jerome in the Desert, the same, it is said, which Ridolfi mentions (*Marav.*, i. 355) as having belonged to "Mme d'Ardier," but (?) Mme d'Ardier's pictures, St. Jerome and a Magdalen, were taken to Paris, as we infer from Félibien (*Entretiens, ub. sup.*, ii. 85). (3) Venice Academy, No. 421, from the Manfrini collection. The Hermits Peter and Paul, with an inscription "Jacopus Savoldo, fato . . . (some read 1570) Brixia." This picture is quite in Gian Girolamo Savoldo's manner, yet bears the name of "Jacopus." If we accept the usual reading of the inscription as well as its genuineness we have a later Savoldo walking in the footsteps of the earlier one. In this style we have in the same gallery (Venice Academy) No. 88. Wood, St. Elias, and No. 161, a lunette with a bust of King David from the Manfrini collection. [* Both numbers are those of the catalogue of 1867. These pictures are not now exhibited in the Venice Academy.]

The following extant paintings by Savoldo remain to be noticed: (1) Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 307. A Pietà (possibly identical with a picture which was formerly above the high altar in the church of Santa Croce at Brescia). See Chizzola, *ub. sup.*, p. 81. (2) Montreal, Sevenoaks, Earl Amherst. Flute-player (signed). (3) Paris, Louvre, No. 1519. Portrait of Bernard di Salla (cf. *antea*, ii. 145, n. 1). (4) Rome, Galleria Borghese, No. 139. Bust of a Youth (painted from the same model as the figure of St. John in the Berlin Pietà). (5) Rome, Capitol Gallery, No. 14. Portrait of a Lady as St. Margaret (cf. *antea*, p. 47). (6) Urbino, Albani collection. Rest on the Flight into Egypt (7) Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 213. Aristotle. (8) Vienna, Liechtenstein collection. Pietà. (9) Windsor Castle. Male Portrait.]

¹ Aretino to Gian Maria, Venice, December 1548, in Bottari, iii. 176, and Aretino, Lett. v. p. 64. [* Paolo Pino speaks of Savoldo as follows in his *Dialogo di Pittura* (Venice, 1548, fol. 5, v.): "Vedete messer Gierolimo Bresciano maestro di Paolo Pino, huomo raro nell' arte nostra ed eccellente imitator del tutto come ha ispesa la vita sua in poche opere e con poco preggio del nome suo. Vero è ch'un tempo fù provvigionato dall' ultimo Duca di Milano" (i.e. Francesco II., 1522-35).

Various documents relating to Savoldo are published by Ludwig, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxvi., Supplement, pp. 117 *sqq.*

The following works noticed in old authors are missing: (1) Venice, (?) Zecca. Four night-scenes (Vasari, vi. 507). (2) Casa Tommaso da Empoli. A Nativity, night scene (*ibid.*). Query, the so-called Titian at the Pitti, No. 423.

Amongst the numerous Brescian artists who held a subordinate rank in the sixteenth century, two or three deserve to be recorded.

Girolamo d'Antonio of Brescia is a Carmelite who took the frock in 1490 at Florence, and practised for the benefit of his Order till 1529. The realistic vulgarity and weight of his figures in early frescoes seem derived from the school of Andrea del Castagno, whilst a later composition at Savona betrays acquaintance with the models of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio and the Umbrians of the time. Christ as the Man of Sorrows, in the second cloister at the Carmine of Florence, a half-length (fresco) inscribed "Hieronimus de Brixia, pinxit 1504"; a Dead Christ on the Virgin's lap, a fresco in the same convent, illustrate this phase of Fra Girolamo's art. Christ adored by the Virgin and St. Joseph, and the kneeling forms of the donors attended by St. Francis and another saint, an altarpiece in the Scuola della Carità (originally San Giovanni) at Savona, is an example of the second phase. We read in the latter: "Opus fris Hieronimi de Brixia Carmelite 1519 28 aprilis." Of all these pieces, the altarpiece especially is injured by time and repaints.¹

(3) Casa Francesco Zio. Christ washing the Feet of his Disciples (Anon. ed. Morelli, p. 70). Query, the picture under Pordenone's name, No. 165, at the Berlin Museum, in which there is something of Bonifazio and Rocco Marconi, but which might be Savoldo's in his old age. (4) San Domenico. Picture in the chapel of Lorenzo Massa (Sansovino, ed. Mart., p. 25). (5) Casa Odoni. A nude female on a bed (Anon., p. 62), and the Continnence of Scipio (*ibid.*). (6) Cavalier Gussoni. Night effects (Ridolfi, *Marac.*, i. 355). (7) Brescia, Casa Anselmo Oliva. Virgin giving the breast to the Child, and Joseph drawing water in a room (*ibid.*). (8) Brescia. San Francesco. Sposalizio (*ibid.*). (9) Brescia, Santa Croce, high altar. Virgin at the foot of the Cross (Chizzola, *ub. sup.*, p. 81). [^{*} Cf. *antea*, p. 318, n. 5.]

¹ There are records concerning Fra Girolamo in Filza 29 of the Carmelite archives now preserved at the Archivio Centrale di Stato of Florence. From extracts kindly made for us by Padre Mattei of the Carmine we learn that Fra Girolamo professed on March 28, 1490, and sang his first mass in 1494; but on March 26, 1498, he received a dispensation to attend exclusively to art. He painted a likeness of Padre Niccolò of Venice, an eloquent preacher of his day at Siena and Pisa. He died on August 6, 1529. The fresco of the Ecce Homo is life-size; that of the Virgin with the Dead Saviour, which is on the convent staircase, displays more skill and is under life-size. In the distance of the latter, Jerusalem is figured by a view of Florence. The blues are all faded, the flesh-tones dim and purplish in shadows. In the altarpiece at Savona, a panel with two vertical splits, the figures are large as in nature, but injured by scaling and repainting, the least injured heads being those of St. Joseph and the Virgin (cf. Lanzi, iii. 235). [^{*} The last-mentioned picture is now in the Savona Gallery.]

Ottavio Rossi relates of Paolo Zoppo that, having spent two years in painting the Sack of Brescia on a crystal basin for Doge Gritti (1523-38), and having lost the fruits of his labour by a fall which broke the glass, he became so seriously affected by the loss that he took to his bed and died at Desenzano on the lake of Garda. He adds that Zoppo was a painter of pictures and frescoes, but better known as a miniaturist. The name of Paolo Zoppo is found in the correspondence of Pietro Bembo, where he appears as a friend of Giovanni Bellini in 1505. Much that he is supposed to have left behind in Brescian churches has been lost, but, judging of these works by an extant panel at San Pietro in Oliveto, in which Christ is represented carrying his cross, it is possible to assume that Paolo Zoppo has been confounded with Vincenzo Foppa the younger.¹

Yet of the younger Foppa, our knowledge is slight and dubious. He is not mentioned in guides or chronicles of any antiquity, nor is there any authentic account of his birth, manhood, or death; he is only described in general terms as related to Vincenzo Foppa the elder, and taught either by him or Ferramola. The teaching and influence of the latter are

¹ The frescoes assigned to Paolo Zoppo in Brescia are the following: (1) San Pietro in Oliveto. Frescoes of Christ in the House of Simon, Christ at Emmaus and Marriage of Cana, and Christ on the road to Calvary. (2) SS. Cosimo e Damiano. Virgin and Child between SS. Cosmo and Damian (missing). (3) Santa Croce. Christ crowned with thorns, and the Flagellation (missing). (4) San Domenico. Nativity. (5) Santa Maria degli Angeli, St. Augustin trampling on two prostrate heretics, between two saints. (6) San Barnaba. Virgin with the dead Saviour, Magdalen, St. John the Evangelist, Augustine, and Barnabas (O. Rossi, *Elogi*, *ub. sup.*, p. 508; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 342; Averoldo, *Scelte Pitture*, *ub. sup.*, p. 205; D'Arco, *Delle arti Mant.*, *ub. sup.*, ii. 60; and Chizzola, *Pitt. di Brescia*. (7) In the Carrara Gallery, Nos. 204 and 206, representing angels carrying the symbols of the Passion, are given to Paolo da Brescia. They are altogether different in style from the Christ carrying his Cross at San Pietro in Oliveto of Brescia.

* These pictures are now officially ascribed to the early Bergamasque school.

The miniature painter, Paolo Zoppo, has been confused with Vincenzo Foppa's nephew, Paolo Caylina, also called Paolo Foppa, who was a painter of frescoes. No authenticated works by the latter artist are known to be extant. As to Vincenzo Foppa the younger, it is now abundantly clear that no such artist ever existed. He is an invention of the time when Vincenzo Foppa "the elder" was wrongly supposed to have died in 1492, and when the records of him, dating from later years, were thought to refer to another person. The paintings formerly ascribed to Paolo Zoppo and Vincenzo Foppa the younger must at present, before any definite clues to their authors have been discovered, simply be classed as works by the Brescian school of the sixteenth century. Ffoulkes and Maiocchi, *Vincenzo Foppa*, pp. 260 *sqq.*

certainly apparent in a considerable number of frescoes, at Brescia, in the churches of Santa Giulia, San Salvatore, Santa Maria in Solario, the old "Scuola del Sacramento," and the ex-oratory of San Casciano, and in another form in a Christ on the road to Calvary in the Galleria Martinengo, and a Last Supper in San Barnaba; but in later creations, such as the Christ carrying his Cross at San Giovanni Evangelista, he copies a Titianesque design and treats it after the fashion of the Leonardesques, and in the Glory of the Virgin, with St. Jerome, a friar, and two beatified nuns, at Santa Maria delle Grazie, or the Annunciation and Martyrdom of two Saints at SS. Nazaro e Celso of Brescia, he shows himself a follower of Moretto and Romanino.¹

Better known as a representative of the Brescian school, Calisto da Lodi deserves to rank amongst the most industrious of the pupils of Romanino. He was carried at an early age out of the Leonardesque into the Venetian current, and laboured assiduously at Brescia whilst his father² practised at Lodi; but it is not improbable that, previous to his unconditional adoption of the Giorgionesque style, he painted pictures reminiscent of the

¹ The works assigned to Foppa the younger may be enumerated as follows:

(1) Brescia, Santa Giulia. Frescoes of the Crucifixion, and other scenes from the life of Christ—except the modern Christ in Glory and Annunciation in the nave, and scriptural and legendary episodes in chapels. (2) San Salvatore. Frescoes, the Eternal and incidents from the legends of SS. Onofrio and Obizzo on the inner wall of the portal, and scenes from the history of Christ and the Virgin injured by repaint in a chapel. [* The two last-mentioned churches now contain the Museo Medievale.] (3) Santa Maria in Solario. Injured and dimmed frescoes; scenes from the life of Christ, St. Julia, and other saints, with the dates of 1518 and 1519, a ceiling with the Redeemer and symbols of the Evangelists, and a Triumph of Religion. (4) Scuola Elementaria, or old Scuola del Sacramento. Repainted frescoes; episodes fourteen in number, from the lives of SS. Faustinus and Giovita. (5) Ex-oratory of San Casciano (now school of elementary drawing). Frescoes; subjects from the Passion. (6) Galleria Martinengo (of old in the Commune). Tempera of numerous figures under life-size, much injured by scaling and abrasion, in which we notice the usual groups, the Fainting Virgin, and St. Veronica. (7) San Barnaba, sacristy. [* Now Galleria Martinengo.] Last Supper. In oil, life-size, much repainted. (8) San Giovanni Evangelista. Christ carrying his cross with three soldiers or executioners. Half-lengths, on canvas. (9) Santa Maria delle Grazie. Virgin and Child and four saints. Faded and retouched, life-size. (10) SS. Nazaro e Celso, sacristy. Annunciation on two canvases, ruined; organ-doors on canvas, with the Martyrdoms of SS. Nazaro e Celso. Disfigured by repaints, life-size figures (Consult Chizzola's, Sala's, and Odorici's Brescian Guides).

² Martino Piazza; see *antea*, ii. 407, n. 2.

CALISTO DA LODI



Allinari photo.]

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS.

[*Milan, Brera.*

elder Piazzas.¹ In the Visitation which he designed for Santa Maria Calchera in 1521, but still more in the Nativity which he finished for the baptistery of San Clemente at Brescia in 1524, he combined the sombre tone, the free outline and handling of Romanino with the slender make and affected grace of the Southern Lombards, and in many compositions subsequent to these—the Annunciation at San Clemente, the Virgin and saints at San Rocco, and the Madonna with St. Peter and St. John the Evangelist in the Erizzo-Maffei collection at Brescia—he preserved those characteristics;² but he soon learned to imitate the colossal form, as well as the technical system, of Romanino, and the Madonna with the Baptist and St. Jerome at the Brera, or the Decollation of the Baptist in the Imperial Gallery of Vienna, are notable instances of the change.

There is a striking contrast in the Brera altarpiece between the large size of the infant Christ or the herculean shape of the half-nude saints and the gentler person of the Virgin. The Decollation—a composition of frequent recurrence—shows Herodias's daughter surrounded by spectators holding the dish into which the brawny executioner drops the head, whilst the

¹ Turin, Museum, No. 136. Canvas, m. 0.63 high by 0.80. This canvas, with a half-length Virgin carrying the infant Christ astride of her arm, who clings to her breast, is under the name of Cesare da Sesto. It is not without Umbro-Raphaelesque *smorphia*, but indicates a cold and careful young painter bred in the school of the Piazzas. Thin impast, clean outline, and bright variegated landscape confirm this impression.

² Chizzola's Brescian Guide (p. 141) gives a description of an altarpiece "in several fields," with the Nativity in the centre, and at the sides, SS. Simon and Giuda. This altarpiece, signed and dated 1514, in SS. Simone e Giuda of Brescia, is not traceable. (2) Brescia, Santa Maria Calchera. Canvas, life-size. Eight figures in a landscape, inscribed: "Calistus Laudensis faciebat 1521"; injured by time and repainting. (3) Galleria Martinengo, from San Clemente. Canvas, tempera, figures under life-size. To the right, the Virgin kneeling before the Infant supported by a winged angel, and in a movement of studied grace; to the left, kneeling in front of a landscape, SS. Stephen and Antonino; on a paper: "Calixtus Laudensis faciebat 1524." The colours are dim and, partly repainted; the Virgins mantle renewed. (4) San Clemente. Canvas, distempers of the Virgin and Angel Annunciate; much injured. (5) San Rocco. Wood, under life-size. Virgin and Child in a landscape between SS. Margaret, John the Baptist, Anthony of Padua, and Roch. A picture of dusky but coloured tints not free from restoring. (6) Erizzo-Maffei collection. Virgin, Child, SS. Peter and John the Evangelist. Wood, half life-size, the yellow and blue draperies of St. Peter renewed, the rest of the panels injured. (7) In the same collection, a small St. Jerome, ruined. [* The editor has been unable to trace the two last-mentioned paintings.] Consult Averoldo, *Pitt. Scelte*, *ub. sup.* pp. 213, 324; Odorici, *Guida*, *ub. sup.*, p. 145.

trunk of the Baptist lies, cleverly foreshortened, in the foreground; all the figures are in quick and natural action, the treatment boldly superficial, the colour of dusky tone; the rawness inseparable from work produced at one painting is obviated by scumbles giving mellowness to the different planes of the picture; but something in the contours which recalls Garofalo and the Ferrarese imitators of Raphael tells, even at this time, of influences not exclusively Brescian.¹

A large and complicated version of the Marys and Disciples mourning over the dead body of the Saviour, with the date of 1527, in the parish church of Esine, brings us back to the false anatomy and defective drawing of Romanino's athletes. The Virgin and Child of 1529, in the church of Cividale, plagiarizes Romanino's Madonna of 1513 at Padua.²

In 1529 Calisto lost his father and journeyed to Lodi, where he entered into some sort of partnership with his brothers, and promised to join them in finishing one of the altarpieces left incomplete by Albertino Piazza.³ So, no doubt, originated the altarpiece in courses which represents the Massacre of the Innocents, and other subjects in the cathedral of Lodi. We may attribute the combination of vivid colour and mild impersonations which mark that piece to the united influences in play at the time of its execution.⁴

¹ (1) Milan, Brera, No. 339. Wood, m. 2.15 high by 1.88, from San Francesco of Brescia (Chizzola, *Guida*, p. 66); full-length figures of life-size. A curtain behind the Virgin partly intercepts the view of a landscape; at the Virgin's feet a small winged angel plays the viol. (2) Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 223. Wood, kneepiece, 3 ft. 9 in. high by 2 ft. 11 in. On the back of the panel: "D. Beneventus Brunellus iussit fieri anno 1526 Callistus Laudens. f." The foreshortening of the trunk of the Baptist is very bold and successful. The same composition with nine figures, much injured, but in Calisto's manner, is No. 553 at Schleissheim under the name of Giovanni Bellini. See *antea*, i. 187, n. 9.

² (1) Esine, above Pisogne, on the lake of Iseo (church of). Pietà (wood) with seven figures, half the size of life, above which a panel with two angels adoring the chalice; inscribed: "Calistus Laudensis faciebat. 1527." The predella contains half-lengths of saints. High up on the wall of the church two figures of SS. Peter and Paul, much faded, are assigned to Calisto. (2) Cividale (church of). Wood, life-size. Virgin and Child enthroned between the standing saints, Stephen and Lawrence, the kneeling Baptist and Andrew (?). Two angels in flight at the upper corners of the throne; on a card: "Chalistus Laudensis faciebat." The figures are dry and slender, the colour somewhat faded and scaled.

³ As we have noted previously, Albertino Piazza was not the father of Calisto.

⁴ Lodi, Duomo. Altarpiece in six arched parts, with figures on panel, one quarter of life-size. Lower course, Massacre of the Innocents between two saints in armour, a pope, and a bishop; upper course, Virgin and Child with the Magdalen and a kneeling female between SS. James, Paul, Michael, and another

Contemporary with this monumental production we have the damaged Decollation of St. John, dated 1530, in the church of the Incoronata of Lodi, and numerous other compositions in the same church, in which the styles of the Piazza family are represented.

For many years afterwards Calisto received orders for the Incoronata, painting numerous episodes from sacred and legendary history, and as late as 1538 a Deposition of Christ from the Cross.¹ His largest and most important undertakings were those of a still later time.

The Virgin and Child between St. Sebastian and St. Roch and two other saints, at Sant'Antonio of Breno, is one of his altarpieces in which there is most energy of life, and one in

saint. There is a mixture here of the schools of Lodi and Ferrara (see record of Aug. 20, 1529, in Calvi, *Notizie*, ii. 130, 131 and 139). (2) In the chapel which contains the altarpiece are the following panels in oil: St. Paul the Hermit with St. Anthony, the Temptation of St. Anthony, St. Anthony over the dead body of St. Paul and the lions scratching the grave, St. Anthony struggling with the demons, St. Anthony's Sermon. All these are dim and of feeble execution, and may be by Scipione Piazza. But of Scipione we have an authentic altarpiece—(3) the Virgin and Child between SS. Peter and Paul, in Santo Spirito of Bergamo, inscribed: "Scipio Laudensis"; a careful work, with clear and rosy flesh-tones. [* The series from the life of St. Anthony was ordered in 1549 from Scipione; after his death Calisto, in 1552, was commissioned to complete it. Gualandi, *Memorie originali*, ser. i. p. 174.]

¹ (1) Lodi, Incoronata. Altarpiece, tempera. Decollation of John the Baptist, opaque, injured, and restored. Inscribed, "Calistus de Platea faciebat MDXXX." (2) In the same chapel, four panels in oil: the Nativity, the Baptism, the Sermon of John, and Herodias's Daughter with the Baptist's Head. Figures under life-size, recalling Romanino and Garofalo. [* These pictures were valued in 1532. See Gualandi, *Memorie originali*, ser. i. p. 173.] (3) In another chapel, Deposition, arched canvas, figures large as life, in tempera, inscribed, "Calistus de Platea Land faciebat MDXXXVIII." (4) On the walls of the chapel are the following panels by the same hand: The Flagellation, the Capture, Christ carrying his Cross, and Christ Crucified (oil, under life-size). [* Calisto and his brothers agreed in 1534 to execute these paintings within the next three years. Gualandi, *loc. cit.*, p. 173.] (5) On the piers of the choir hang the following panels, all of them dusky and uniform in tone: St. Joachim distributing Alms, St. Joachim expelled from the Temple, Meeting of Joachim and Anna, and Birth of the Virgin. [* These pictures were ordered in 1557 and completed in 1559. Gualandi, *loc. cit.*, p. 175.] (6) In the sixth chapel, above the altar. The Conversion of St. Paul. A cold, faded panel with figures of life-size. [* Calisto executed this work in collaboration with some painters described in a document as being from Soncino. He received payment for it in 1553. (Caffi, in Oldrini, *Storia della coltura laudense*, p. 180.)] (7) Above the portal are four canvases representing subjects from the Old Testament: dull, unpleasant school-pieces of Scipione Piazza. [* These pictures were ordered from Calisto, who died before finishing them. In 1562 his son Fulvio was entrusted with their completion. (Gualandi, *loc. cit.*, p. 175.)]

which vividness of colour seems to indicate acquaintance with Dosso Dossi and the Ferrarese.¹ His frescoes of St. George and the Dragon, St. John the Baptist martyred, and the Assumption at Erbano, and a large surface of mural paintings which may be ascribed to him at Edolo, sparkle with the spirit of the Brescians, and are judged worthy of Romanino.² It was unavoidable that some moments of his practice should be marked by careless conventionalism and lack of expression, and these faults are conspicuous in a Madonna with saints completed in 1535 for Santa Trinità of Crema.³ But Calisto to the very last preserved a considerable share of power, and the frescoes which he executed in the monastery of Sant' Ambrogio at Milan in 1545 are remarkable for variety of thought and freedom of execution.⁴

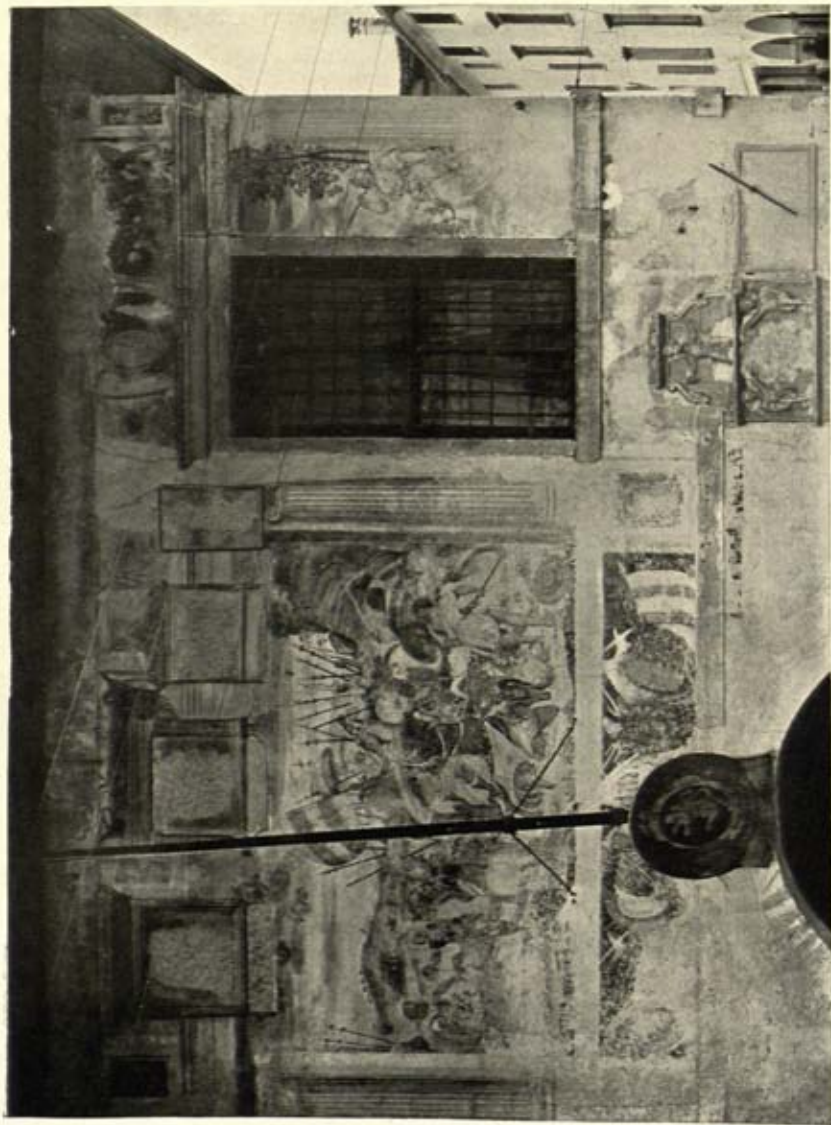
Luca Mombello, in numerous pieces at Brescia, and particularly in a Presentation in the Temple at the Galleria

¹ (1) Breno. Sant' Antonio. Canvas, injured by abrasion and restoring. Virgin and Child, and two angels supporting a green hanging behind her. On the foreground stand St. Sebastian drawing an arrow from his breast, and St. Roch, St. Anthony, and a bishop kneel nearer the spectator. In the spandrels of an arch are medallions with the Angel and Virgin Annunciate; in a predella three rounds with figures of saints (one of them St. John the Baptist). The Virgin's mantle is new, St. Sebastian injured, St. Roch's dress repainted. (2) In the same church we have the Deposition from the Cross by the same hand, with figures under life-size, and (3) in San Gregorio of Breno a canvas with the Virgin, Child, young Baptist, and SS. Faustinus and Giovita.

² (1) Erbano, church of. Frescoes, partly abraded and partly scaled away, but important works of Calisto, comprising several pleasant compositions, with numerous figures treated in a bold, picturesque, and brightly coloured style; *e.g.*: 1°, St. George and the dragon and the female in flight, the latter graceful, the former awkwardly sitting on a horse (at the side of this subject the scutcheon of the Federici family); 2°, Decollation of St. John as at Vienna, but with full-length figures, and a larger number of spectators (split obliquely); 3°, the apostles round the tomb, and the Virgin ascending in a circle of cherubs, a composition like that of Romanino at Sant' Alessandro of Bergamo. (2) Edolo. San Giovanni Battista, choir. Scenes from the life of the Baptist and Christ crucified, on the walls; in the coving and ceiling, the Eternal, angels, and episodes from the Old Testament. But in these frescoes it is difficult not to err as to the original character of the execution, as most of the parts have undergone retouching. We may therefore hesitate between Calisto and Foppa the younger. (3) In the lunette above the portal (outside) a ruined Virgin and Child with saints (half-lengths) seems of the same period and handling as the frescoes of the choir.

³ Crema, chiesa della Trinità. Canvas of the Virgin, Christ, SS. Joseph, Peter, Paul, Roch, and Sebastian in a landscape distance; inscribed: "Calistus Laudensis faciebat 1535."

⁴ Milan, Brera, from the monastery of Sant' Ambrogio. Marriage at Cana, said to have borne the date of 1545; fresco, with figures above the size of life,



Alluard photo.]

PAINTED HOUSE-FRONT.

[*Asolo.*

Martinengo, proclaims himself an assistant and tame disciple of Moretto; whilst Francesco Richino, of which we have a composition dated 1566 in San Filippo Neri (from San Pietro in Oliveto of Brescia), proves too feeble to deserve any sort of notice.¹

Of more cultivated taste, and not without artificial boldness, Lattanzio Gambara freely combines the style of his master, Antonio Campi, with that of his father-in-law, Romanino. There are still traces of his rich and highly coloured treatment in the frescoes of the "Case del Gambara" in the Corso del Teatro at Brescia—a series representing the Rape of the Sabines, the Death of Patroclus, Æneas and Dido, and other illustrations of classic allegory and fable. They are the lively product of an imaginative mind feeding on the traditions of Pordenone. On the façade of the Casa Soranzo at Asolo we still read the words "Latantius Brixiensis" in the ornamental framings of subjects derived from the Old Testament. Between 1568 and 1572 Lattanzio, assisted by Soiaro, completed the twelve large frescoes of the cathedral at Parma, in which the history of Christ from

likewise thirteen half-lengths in lunettes of King David and the Twelve Apostles. Lanzi also mentions, as in the Monastero Maggiore, the Washing of the Feet, the Miracle of the Loaves, the Epiphany, the Marriage at Cana, and the Baptism, on some one of which was the date of 1556 (Lanzi, *ub. sup.*, ii. 189).

There are descriptions in books of Calisto's altarpiece of 1533 at Codogno, an Assumption (Passavant, *Kunstblatt*, 1838, No. 75). [* This painting is still in the church at Codogno.] Lomazzo (*Trattato*, p. 598) notices frescoes of the Muses in the garden of the President Sacco at Milan, with a portrait of Sacco himself and his wife. Amongst missing works we note the Pietà, once in San Lorenzo of Brescia.

* The following are some extant paintings by Calisto not mentioned by the authors: (1) Alessandria, Cathedral. St. Peter enthroned between SS. Paul and John the Baptist (1550). See Caffi, in Oldrini, *Storia della coltura laudense*, p. 178. (2) Lodi, Museo Civico. The Virgin and Child, with St. Bassanus and a donor (1535; formerly in San Domenico at Lodi). (*Ibid.*, pp. 177 sq.) (3) Milan, Brera, No. 338. Fragments of a Crucifixion. (4) No. 340. SS. Stephen, Augustine, and Nicholas (from San Benedetto in Bergamo; signed "Calixtus f."). (5) No. 341. The Baptism of Christ (from Santa Caterina dei Cappuccini in Bergamo). (6) No. 342. Portrait of Lodovico Vistarini. (7) Santa Maria presso San Celso. Ambulatory. Fifth chapel. Ceiling frescoes (ordered, it appears, in 1542; see Frizzoni, in *Giornale di erudizione artistica*, iv. 170). (8) Verona, Museo Civico, No. 83. The Daughter of Herodias.

Calisto died in 1560 or 1562 (Gualandi, *loc. cit.*, p. 175). For further notices of him see Caffi, in Oldrini, *ub. sup.*, pp. 175 sqq.

¹ Consult the Guides, as above, and Vasari, vi. 505. [* See also Fenaroli, *ub. sup.*, pp. 180, 200 sq.]

the Annunciation to the Transfiguration, and numberless figures of prophets and saints and contemporary celebrities are depicted; but there is no part of this vast decoration that has not been disfigured by restoring or obliterated by time. Amongst the most spirited compositions of this prolific master are the damaged frescoes in the Castello of Brescia: Dædalus and Icarus, Pagan deities, Seasons, and the Triumphs of Bacchus and Ariadne. In the old pharmacy of the Benedictines, now part of the organ-loft at San Faustino Maggiore in Brescia, the ceiling is filled with gods and goddesses, who listen to the lyre of Apollo. The large Nativity on one of the altars of San Faustino is one of Lattanzio's most important compositions, and swarms with angels sporting about the roof of the ruined penthouse.¹

¹ Compare the Guides, as before; see also Ottavio Rossi, *ub. sup.*, pp. 511-13; Vasari, vi. 490 *sq.*, 498, 506 *sq.*; and Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 357 *sqq.* [* Lattanzio Gambara was born about 1530, and died in 1573 or 1574. Cf. Fenaroli, *ub. sup.*, pp. 143 *sqq.*]

CHAPTER VI

THE CREMONESE

CREMONESE painting, though it had no real originality, was at various periods distinguished by its own peculiar mark. In early times Bonifazio Bembo carried to Milan the manner of Gentile, Pisano, and Francesco. As the fifteenth century closed and the sixteenth century dawned, the masters with whom the Cremonese became familiar were Ferrarese. So long as the old style was preserved by the elder Grandi and Costa, so long the Cremonese kept in the path of the Mantegnesques and Bolognese. When Venetian models came into fashion at Ferrara, Cremona fell into Venetian habits. Thus Tacconi reminds us of the Squarcionesques and followers of Vivarini. Boccaccino and Altobello recall Grandi and Costa; Gian Francesco Bembo imitated the Ferrarese Palmesques. Galeazzo Campi alone combined the harshness of Boccaccino with the *smorpha* of Perugino.

Bonifazio Bembo was probably an artist of note at Cremona in the days of the Sforza. He seems as far back as 1455 to have been in the service of the Duke Francesco, and he was registered amongst the decorators of the palaces of Milan and Pavia in 1461-7.¹ At the accession of Galeazzo Maria Sforza in 1467, Bembo retired to Cremona, whither the patronage of the ducal family followed him. Francesco's widow, Bianca Maria, employed him to paint full-lengths of herself and her lost husband in Sant'Agostino, and whilst occupied with this commission in

¹ Calvi, *Notizie*, ii. 87. Lomazzo (*Trattato*, p. 405) calls Bembo Fazio Bembo da Val d'Arno, alluding to the frescoes in the palace of Milan, one of which according to Zaist (*Notizie Istor.*, i. 52, 53), was inscribed: "De Bembis de Cremona, 1461." This is no doubt the fresco praised in Vasari, who, as we shall see, makes no difference between Bonifazio and the later Gian Francesco Bembo.

1467 and 1468, he also painted an altarpiece and two curtain falls in the Duomo. His estimate for adorning the castle of Pavia afresh at the cost of 8,000 ducats is preserved in the Milanese accounts for 1469, whilst his charges for wall-paintings in Santa Maria da Caravaggio and the Milanese palace of the Countess of Melzi are dated 1474 and 1475.¹

Before the partial but destructive restoration of the Sforza likenesses in Sant' Agostino of Cremona, it was easy to perceive that Bembo's style, like that of other early Cremonese, was formed after that of Vittore Pisano, Gentile da Fabriano, and Piero della Francesca. It was minute and highly finished, it displayed a careful study of nature and delicate stippled treatment, and recalls those pictures of Lorenzo di Pietro which cover the walls of Santa Maria della Verità near Viterbo.² We may

¹ Calvi, *Notizie*, ii. 89-91, Rosmini (Carlo de'), *Dell' Istoria di Milano*, fol. 1820, tom. iv. pp. 145-50. In proposing to decorate the castello of Pavia, Bembo had a competitor—Costantino da Vaprio, who offered to do the work cheaper. Rosmini, as above. Caffi in *Archiv. Stor. Ital.* Serie Terza, tom. x. part i., 1869, p. 173. [* Bonifazio Bembo was a native of Brescia, but was settled at Cremona as far back as in 1447. The portraits of Francesco Sforza and his wife, and the altarpiece which originally was in the same chapel as these paintings (see *postea*, n. 2) were painted in the lifetime of Francesco. Reference is made to these works in a document of 1462, and in 1469 Galeazzo Maria expressly states that the altarpiece was ordered by his father. In 1472 Bembo, conjointly with Zanetto Bugatti and Leonardo Ponzano of Cremona, decorated a chapel outside Vigevano; in 1475-6 he was the colleague of Vincenzo Foppa, Zanetto Bugatti, Costantino da Vaprio, and Giacomo Vismara in painting the great *ancona* for the chapel of the castle of Pavia, and a series of frescoes in San Giacomo in the same town. See Malaguzzi-Valeri, *Pittori lombardi*, pp. 95 *sqq.*; Caffi, in *Archivio storico lombardo*, ser. i. vol. v. pp. 82 *sqq.*; Ffoulkes and Maiocchi, *Vincenzo Foppa*, pp. 102 *sqq.*]

² Amongst the early pictures of Umbrian character at Cremona we should not forget the Virgin and Child enthroned between two angels holding scrolls—an arched panel tempera in the Palazzo Reale. The prototypes of the painter are Ottaviano Nelli, Boccati da Camerino, or Matteo da Gualdo. The figures are lean and long, and draped in flat cloths cut with straight and broken lines. The flesh-tints are clear, the dresses in part scaled away. Of a later date, and, as it were, a link in the chain connecting Bembo's art with that of the better Umbrians, is of a Virgin and Child enthroned in front of a green hanging, with a kneeling patron at her feet (dress repainted) in the Palazzo Reale of Cremona. The figures on this panel (one-third of life-size) are better proportioned and fuller than those of the foregoing piece; the heads, however, are still unpleasant. Four angels playing instruments stand in various parts of the composite throne, the faces of which are decorated with medallions. In the same style, and in the same locality, are panels with gold grounds containing figures of St. Thomas Aquinas and St. George. The altarpiece with the kneeling donor may be by Bembo, whose treatment was much

regret that so little should have been preserved of the labours of a man entitled to be remembered amongst the better second-rates of Lombardy; yet a dozen of early Cremonese, including Cristoforo Moretti, have been treated with greater scurviness, and only live in the pages of Lomazzo, Zaist, and Vidoni.¹

Francesco and Filippo Tacconi were described as citizens and famous painters at Cremona in a decree exempting them from certain burdens in 1464. They are stated in this decree to have deserved the praise as well as the gratitude of the town for their success in painting the loggia of the public palace, and they are asked, in return for the exemption granted to them, to furnish a picture of the Annunciate Virgin; Venetian Guides of the eighteenth century preserve Francesco Tacconi's inscription and the date of 1490 on the canvas shutters of the organ at San Marco of

the same in frescoes at Sant' Agostino. These frescoes at Sant' Agostino represent the kneeling full-lengths of Francesco and Bianca Maria Sforza (life-size) on opposite walls of a chapel. When first seen by the authors they boasted some original character, but they are now ruined by repaints. Both are profiles; Francesco in a cap, tunic, and tight hose, Bianco also in a cap; both kneeling on cushions. The flesh was rosy, the outlines careful, and the whole softly modelled with very fine hatchings. Zaist (l. 53) and Grasselli (pp. 37-41) mention, as a missing ornament of the chapel, Bembo's altarpiece representing the patron saints Chrysanthus and Daria, and Grasselli says he had seen it in the Averoldi collection at Brescia. Bembo finished an altarpiece in April 1467 for the cathedral of Cremona, which shared the fate of other works in the same place and perished (Grasselli, *Abecedario biografico dei pittori, &c., Cremonesi*, 8vo, Milano, 1827, p. 37). The same may be said of the frescoes of the Nativity ordered by Bianca Maria for the monastery della Colomba, and the portraits of Galeazzo Maria and Bona of Savoy. We shall see that the frescoes assigned to Bonifazio Bembo in the nave of Cremona Duomo are by Gian Francesco Bembo.

¹ Cf. Zaist, *ub. sup.*, Conte Bartolommeo de Soresina Vidoni, *La pittura Cremonese descritta*, Milan, 1824, and Lomazzo's *Trattato* and *Idea del Tempio*.

Of Cristoforo Moretti it is necessary to speak, if only to contradict the belief, which is still general, that he painted frescoes in the nave of Cremona cathedral (Zaist, i. 23, 24). Cristoforo Moretti is noticed by Lomazzo (*Trattato*, p. 405) as one of those who painted in the Palazzo dell' Arengo, at Milan, in Francesco Sforza's reign. We know that in that of Galeazzo Maria (1467-76) he valued frescoes in the Castello di Porta Giovia at Milan, being referee in company of Foppa and others (Calvi, ii. 66, 248). The frescoes erroneously assigned to him at Cremona are by Romanino—not a trace of his work remains.

* Since the first edition of this work was published, a painting by Cristoforo Moretti has come to light. It belongs at present to Comm. Bassano Gabba of Milan, and represents the Virgin and Child enthroned; at the bottom of the picture is the signature, "Opus XP^o (Christophori) de Moretis de Creo (Cremona)." We possess various records of this artist the dates of which range from 1452 to 1476. He is known to have worked at Milan, Cremona, Pavia, Vercelli, and Casale Monferrato. See Malaguzzi-Valeri, *ub. sup.*, pp. 81 *sqq.*

Venice, and give us reason for believing that they were executed with the help of one Urbano da Venezia.¹ Though time and accidents obliterated the inscription and seriously injured the distemper colours, enough remains to enable us to guess at the subjects, which, as we discern, are the Nativity, Epiphany, Resurrection, and Assumption. The style, so far as we can judge, is that of a feeble Squarcionesque. It is but the more strange that Francesco's Madonna of 1489 in the National Gallery should exhibit different characteristics, and display a strong tendency to imitation of the Vivarini.²

We might add to the list of Cremonese artists Antonio della Corna, whom we saw proclaiming himself a pupil of Mantegna in a picture of the Bignami collection, but that we fancy he is entitled to be classed amongst the craftsmen of Pavia. A more serious illustration of Mantegnesque influence in the Cremonese school than that which della Corna furnishes is to be found in frescoes adorning a house in the Contrada Belvedere at Cremona. By a most ingenious and deceptive arrangement of lines and

*¹ Urbano, a native of Vienna, was really the builder of the organ. See Ludwig, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxvi., Supplement, p. 8.

² Grasselli (*Abecedario*, *ub. sup.*, pp. 242-3) publishes the decree mentioned in the text; it bears the date April 4, 1464. Vidoni (*Pitt. Crem.*, *ub. sup.*, p. 124) describes the frescoes in the town-house of Cremona as they stood at the beginning of the last century. They were afterwards whitewashed. Moschini (*Guida di Ven.*, *ub. sup.*, i. 287) and Vidoni (*ub. sup.*) give the inscription on the shutters of the organ at San Marco on the authority of the Venetian Stringa (seventeenth century), and Vidoni perhaps most correctly as follows: "O. Francisci Tachoni Cremon. Pictoris MCCCCXC. Mai xxix." The canvases are in a lumber-room within the basilica of San Marco. They are distempers blackened by time, with figures of life-size, injured by scaling and repaints in oil. (1) Nativity. The child is on the foreground, with a shepherd kneeling in front to the right, the Virgin and St. Joseph kneeling in rear. Two shepherds stand farther back, others in a distance of hills receive the message; and four angels in the sky sing a canticle. (2) Adoration. To the left is the Virgin and Child, with the king kneeling at her feet, St. Joseph behind her to the left, to the right the second and third king and followers, in a landscape. (3) The Assumption. The apostles kneel about the tomb, and the Virgin rises in the midst of two rows of angels, twelve in all, the lower row in prayer, the upper row singing from scrolls. (4) The Resurrection. Christ rises with the banner in his left hand, and gives the blessing; one of the guards runs away to the left; another crouches to the right; three others, in attitudes of surprise, lie on the foreground. The distance is a landscape with hills, trees, and buildings.

The Virgin and child, No. 286, at the National Gallery (wood, 3 ft. 3 in. high by 1 ft. 8½ in.), a full-length, belonged to the Savorgnani of Venice, and in the early part of the nineteenth century became the property of the Galvagna family (Vidoni and Grasselli, *ub. sup.*). It was bought of Baron Galvagna at Venice in

shading, a square ceiling in this house is made to assume the appearance of a ribbed octagon, with a well opening in the centre and coved lunettes at the bases. Through the opening, people at a balustrade look down into the room. Circular recesses in the sections contain figures of eight Muses, Calliope figuring amongst the ornaments of the lunettes, with Apollo and busts of emperors. The model of this decoration is Mantegna's Camera de' Sposi—its style, a cento of Grandi and Mazzolino; the artist a Cremonese of the stamp of Altobello or Boccaccino.¹

Boccaccino, with a rude sort of power which did not escape Vasari's observation, had the misfortune to carry fifteenth-century art into the sixteenth century, when the painters of more cultivated centres were floating on the broad current of the Renaissance. Born about the time when Mantegna settled at Mantua (1460?) and educated amongst men who had taken Mantegna's style to Ferrara, he acquired all the hardness of a manner which required to be tempered by modern graces.² With more nerve

1855. On the throne plinth we read: "Op. Francisci Tachoni 1489 Octu." Behind the Virgin's throne is a green curtain. [* As a matter of fact, this picture stands even nearer to Giovanni Bellini than to the Vivarini. It reproduces the Bellinesque composition, of which there is a version in the Chiesa degli Scalzi at Venice (see *antea*, i. 184, n. 4).

The earliest record of Francesco Tacconi dates from 1458, when he is mentioned in a letter from the Duke of Milan, who two years later granted him a passport. In 1475-6 he worked in the Castle of Torrechiara, near Parma. Payments for the shutters of the organ in San Marco of Venice were made to him in 1490 and 1491, and he is stated to have been in that town also in 1499. About 1494 he seems to have lived at Parma; and in 1500 he decorated the front of the great tower of the Comune at Cremona with a bas-relief of the Lion of St. Mark, and a fresco representing Justice expelling the crimes. Both the bas-relief and the painting were the following year destroyed by lightning. See Malaguzzi Valeri, *ib. sup.*, pp. 218 sq.; (Motta) in *Bollettino storico della Svizzera italiana*, vii. 119; Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, pp. 8 sqq.; Ricci, in *Napoli nobilissima*, vii. 5; Bonetti, in *Archivio storico lombardo*, ser. iv. vol. ix. pp. 181 sqq.]

¹ Cremona, Via Belvedere, No. 6. Calvi (*Notizie*, ii. 80) seems to allude to these frescoes. He speaks of them indeed as representing Parnassus, and follows Grasselli (*Abecedario*, p. 43) in assigning them to Bonifazio Bembo, but both writers are mistaken. The bands and ribs of the ornament are nicely designed, and heightened with gold rivets. The muses, one-third of life, and the life-size busts of emperors in medallions are monochrome, the figures looking over the balustrade of the well being coloured. [* This ceiling is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.]

² The date usually assigned to Boccaccino's birth is 1460. The earliest work to which reference is made is a series of frescoes, which, we shall see, was done at Cremona in 1497. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, being a master at

as a designer, and more spirit as a colourist than Panetti or Coltellini, he shared their tendency to commingle dryness and Umbrian calm. When or in what manner his connection with the Ferrarese began and ended is not to be fathomed, but as far back as 1497 he was already a master at Cremona, and had painted a series of frescoes in Sant'Agostino;¹ whilst later in the century he was still corresponding on terms of intimacy with friends at Ferrara. In 1499 Garofalo, an apprentice in Boccaccino's shop, had taken into his head to visit Rome, thinking that there was more to be learnt there than by fagging at Cremona; but he had deserted secretly, and without leave. Boccaccino, in a letter which breathed at once admiration of the youth's talent and concern for his fault, communicated the news of Garofalo's flight to his father at Ferrara; and the tone and contents of the letter give colour to the supposition that Boccaccino was familiar with Ferrarese art and people.² At some period of his life Boccaccino also indulged the passion for wandering, and went to Rome; but he had scarcely withdrawn the scaffoldings from a Coronation of the Virgin in Santa Maria Transpontina than the public fell to abusing him, and ridiculed the presumption with which he had criticized the works of Michelangelo.³ His stay at Rome was so embittered by

that time, he was born between 1460 and 1470 (cf. Tav. alfab. to the Le Monnier edition of Vasari); but Vasari (iv. 584) says that Boccaccino died aged fifty-eight. We have no later notices of him than 1518. Hence the assumption that he died in that year, and was therefore born in 1460 (cf. Vidoni and Zaist). [* It is now ascertained that Boccaccino made his will on Jan. 14, 1524, and that the inventory of the property left by him was made on Dec. 26, 1525 (Sacchi, *Notizie pittoriche Cremonesi*, pp. 223 *sqq.*). If Vasari be correct in stating the age of Boccaccino at his death he would thus have been born about 1467. The earliest record of Boccaccino dates from 1493; see *postea*, p. 335, n. 1.]

¹ Anonimo, ed. Morelli, p. 35. Amongst the productions in this series was a portrait of Georgio Lazzolo, founder of the order of Hermit friars of the Observance, signed, according to Zaist (l. 68): "Boc. Boccacinus F. 1497," hence the supposition that the frescoes at Sant'Agostino were done about this time.

² The letter was first printed by Pungileoni. *Elogio di Raf. Santi*, *ub. sup.*, p. 289, then in Gaye, *Carteg.*, i. 344. [* Since we now know, from unimpeachable records (cf. *postea*, p. 335, n. 1), that Boccaccino lived at Ferrara from 1498 to 1500, we must conclude either that this letter—which is stated to have been written at Cremona on Jan. 29, 1499—is a forgery, or that its date has been incorrectly reported. See A. Venturi, *La Galleria Crespi*, p. 118.]

³ Vasari, iv. 582. Santa Maria Transpontina was razed in 1558. Cf. Zaist, i. 89.

sarcasm that he cut it short, and returned to Cremona, where between 1506 and 1518 he carried out, and no doubt carried out with applause, the numerous frescoes which cover the nave and tribune of the cathedral. He also went to Venice, and left some very important works there; but it is difficult to fix the date of their production.¹

In the frescoes of Cremona, Boccaccino reminds us of the schools of Ercole Roberti Grandi and Costa, and more particularly of Panetti, with whom he must have worked as companion or disciple. His compositions are more frequently scattered than compact; his figures are in most cases slender and dry; but they are occasionally short and thick-set; and it is by no means uncommon to detect faulty perspective. The types are Ferrarese, and most like those of Aspertini; the drapery straight in line, broken into acute angles, and often German in cast; flesh tone of a red and uniform glow, the fitting complement of deep and strong vestment tints. We are repeatedly struck by a curious contrast of quick and not ungraceful momentary action, with awkward and affected strain, but there is much readiness of movement and freedom of hand in the latest number of the series.

*¹ Boccaccio Boccaccino was the son of the embroiderer Antonio Boccaccino, a native of Cremona, who is recorded as being in the service of the Dukes of Ferrara from 1468 to 1499. We first hear of Boccaccio in 1493, when at Genoa he contracted to paint the central portion of an *ancona* for the church of Santa Maria at Bisagno near Genoa. In 1497 he was in prison at Milan, but was released through the intercession of Ercole I., Duke of Ferrara; he went subsequently to Ferrara, where he is known to have lived from 1498 to 1500 as painter to the duke. According to an old chronicle, he in February 1499 murdered his wife, having discovered that she was unfaithful to him. From a document published by Dr. Ludwig it seems probable that Boccaccino was at Venice about 1505; but another record which, in the opinion of Dr. Ludwig, proves that the artist stayed in that town also in 1496 really refers to another Boccaccino, the son of one Giovanni, who moreover is not described as a painter in the document in question. The exact date of Boccaccino's visit to Rome is not known; but, as Vasari states that he went there to see the celebrated works of Michelangelo, we may conclude that he visited Rome after October 1512, when the decoration of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel was completed. See Campori, in *Atti e memorie delle R.R. Deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie modenesi e parmensi*, ser. iii. vol. iii. pp. 575 sqq.; Alizeri, *Notizie dei professori del disegno in Liguria*, i. 373 sqq.; A. Venturi, *La R. Galleria Estense*, p. 38; *idem*; in *Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, ser. iii. vol. vii. p. 382 sqq.; Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, pp. 10 sq.

Boccaccino seems to have made his first trial in the large composition of Christ between the Patron Saints of Cremona—St. Marcellinus, St. Peter, St. Omobonus, and St. Imerius—in the semi-dome of the tribune, beneath which Grasselli was able to read the names of the cathedral superintendents and the date of 1506. In 1508 he completed the Virgin and Angel Annunciate above the semi-dome, both deprived by time and repainting of their genuine character. On April 12, 1514, Boccaccino contracted for a thousand imperial pounds to cover the two fields of the nave to the left of the high portal, and painted there the Vision of the Angel to Joachim and the Meeting of Joachim and Anna, the ciphers of "MDXV" in the ornament indicating the period of completion. Lean dryness of form and deep positive tone are the most striking features of the Vision, which involuntarily recalls the treatment of Panetti and other followers of Costa. There is a decided portrait character in the numerous spectators who witness the embrace of Joachim and Anna. In the Nativity of the Virgin which immediately follows, and is also dated 1515, the groups are ill set, the draperies are broken, and the room is in false perspective; but a touch of grace and spontaneous movement may be noticed in single figures. The Sposalizio, Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and Circumcision succeed each other, and are all more or less in the spirit of the Bolognese and Ferrarese manner represented by Aspertini and Mazzolino; but the Sposalizio, which is undoubtedly the best of Boccaccino's designs, is an obvious plagiarism of Perugino. The four frescoes which come after these were finished by Gian Francesco Bembo and Melone, and were executed in 1516 and 1517, during which time perhaps Boccaccino was absent from Cremona. His resumption of duty in 1518 is proved by the date on the Christ Disputing with the Doctors, the last wall-painting on the left side of the nave, and that which displays most art in setting and most freedom in handling.¹

¹ Cremona, cathedral nave. Boccaccino's frescoes are high up on the wall above the arches of the nave, and begin to the left as you look towards the choir. The records containing Boccaccino's agreements with the superintendents are many of them in Grasselli's *Abecedario*, *ub. sup.*, pp. 38-39. The series numbers eight fields and is then interrupted, as above remarked, to make place for compositions by Bembo and Melone. (1) The Angel appears to Joachim. In the middle ground, four shepherds, distance of hills; in the ornament to the right the

BOCCACCIO BOCCACCINO.



THE ANGEL APPEARS TO JOACHIM.

[Cremona Cathedral.]



[Cremona Cathedral.]

THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN.

III. 3365]

Such examples of Boccaccino as are preserved at Venice seem produced at broad intervals of time, some of them with the patient finish and freshness of youth, others with the full maturity of power. Of the first class is the Marriage of St. Catherine at the Academy, a signed picture of gay and

date "MDXV." A long split divides the fresco, which is repainted in the landscape and in the lights of flesh and dresses. The figures are lean and dry, coloured in heavy body-colour of positive tone and reminiscent of Panetti and Costa. (2) Meeting of Joachim and Anna in a street with a crowd of personages around (in all ten); the heads apparently all portraits. All the males, including one on horseback, are damaged. The dusty aspect of the frescoes may be due to natural causes or retouching. One or two of the portraits may be of persons noted in the following inscription at foot: "Maximilianus Maria Sfortia imperante Pietro Martire Stampa duc (1) com̃s et. equite urbem gubernante." On the upper part of a house to the left, "Bocacinus F." The inscriptions are all renewed. (3) Birth of the Virgin. Mary lies under a dais, an old dame sits on a chair near the foot of the bed, whilst two women converse at the side. To the left the nurses wash the child. In the background is a servant drying clothes and two others at work. The ground has been rubbed down and the rest retouched more or less (especially the blues and greens). The figures are ready and sometimes graceful, but the groups are ill set and the perspective is false. There is something of the Ferrarese transalpine character in the drapery. In the border to the right: "MDXV," and lower down "Bocacinus MDXV." (4) Marriage of the Virgin. The usual composition of the Peruginesques, with the high priest in the middle of the foreground and an arch in the background. It is engraved in Rosini's atlas, Pl. lxxv. This, the best of Boccaccino's frescoes, shows how he followed the Ferrarese and Bolognese so as to resemble Amico Aspertini and Mazzolini. It is rubbed down and retouched like the last, but still of a ruddy decisive tone. (5) The Annunciation. The angel to the left in air, the Virgin to the right kneeling with some affectation of grace. (6) The Visitation, with a suite of females at each side in the quaint turban headgear of the time. (7) The infant Christ on the ground adored by the Virgin and shepherds, in front of the pent-house. Three angels sing a canticle in the air. The attitudes are strained and unnatural, and the figures are short and thick-set. The fresco is much changed by retouching. (8) The Circumcision. Greatly injured. The blues are new; on the base of a pillar, "Bocacinus." All these frescoes, but especially the last, recall the Ferrarese style of Mazzolino. (9) Christ disputing with the Doctors. Inscribed: "Bocacinus f. MDXVIII." (retouched). Here Boccaccino's manner is broader, his figures are in better and bolder action than before; injured like the rest. Apsis, above the semi-dome curve, the Annunciation. In the semi-dome Christ seated in benediction between standing saints. Beneath this fresco, which is disfigured by copious repaints, Grasselli (p. 38) reads: "Pedro Offredo I. V. D. Ben. Fodrio Paulo Cambriago Fab. Præ. MDVI." (Cf. the Anon. ed. Morelli, p. 33.)

* A drawing for the figure of Christ in the painting of the semi-dome is in the collection of Prince Liechtenstein at Feldsberg. For documents relating to these frescoes see Sacchi, *ub. sup.*, pp. 180 *sqq.*

lively tint with figures of a pretty, slender shape and a landscape of Ferrarese atmosphere; of the second, a Virgin enthroned between Saints, an altarpiece of weight and size at San Giuliano in which Cremonese glow and deep rich tints prevail.¹

In other specimens with and without the name we have varieties of Boccaccino's style:

At San Quirico in Cremona, a panel of the Virgin and Child enthroned, with St. Anthony and St. Vincent at her sides; inscribed on the throne-stool: "Bocacinus Bocacius f. a. MDXVIII." The surface is altered by repainting, but the treatment originally was as free and bold as that of the frescoes in the Duomo. Another picture, St. Jerome in his hut with the stone in his hand, the cross before him, and the lion at his feet (wood, under life-size), is preserved in the hospital church of the Bene fate Fratelli at Cremona. It is much injured, but of sombre, glowing tone; and, in the shape of the saint or distant landscape, recalls Basaiti. None of Boccaccino's panels so clearly bear the impress of Venetian teaching.²

An earlier tempera on canvas—with the exception of a few touches, well preserved—in the bishop's palace at Cremona, represents another phase in Boccaccino's art. It is the old subject, Christ crucified between the Virgin and Evangelist, in a Ferrarese landscape with a prelate kneeling in profile to the right, the Magdalen looking up as she grasps the cross. The figures (under life-size) are slender and dryly outlined, but not without feeling, the colour red and hot in flesh, deep and rich

¹ Venice, Acad., No. 600. Wood, m. 0·87 high by m. 1·40; inscribed on a scroll: "Bochazinus." The Virgin sits in a landscape with the infant on her knee, who gives the ring to the kneeling St. Catherine. On the right, St. Rose standing and St. Peter and St. John the Baptist kneeling. There are great precision in the drawing and some highly finished detail of grasses and borders. The surface is very glossy (St. Peter's yellow mantle repainted). We are much reminded of the art of Pinturicchio in this piece.

Venice, San Giuliano, first altar to the left. Called Cordella, but signed on a cartello on the pediment of the Virgin's throne with the initials B. B. The Virgin and Child enthroned, attended by St. Peter and St. Michael and St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. Wood, oil; figures under life-size. The style here is broad, as in the later frescoes of Cremona. The surface is slightly changed by restoring, the flesh-shadow especially opaque in the two St. Johns. This altarpiece is engraved in Zanotto, *Pinacoteca Veneta*, fasc. xi. (Cf. Sansovino, *Ven. Descrip.*, ed. Mart., p. 126.)

* * These two paintings are now in the Museo Civico of Cremona.



Alinari photo.

III. 338]

THE MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE.

[Venice Academy.]

in draperies. Careful finish and treatment remind us of Pinturicchio and Panetti, but it is clear that, from the first, Boccaccino was superior to his Ferrarese companion.

Christ on the Road to Calvary (half-life) and a Virgin and Child, which from the Villa Piccenardi, near Cremona, passed into the possession of Signor Baslini at Milan, are probably the pictures described at San Domenico of Cremona (Anon., 34). They are not without reminiscences of Boccaccino's style, and may be school-pieces.¹ The Virgin and Child with St. Joseph (wood, m. 0.34 high by 0.29), No. 1168 in the Louvre and a series of half-lengths on a dark ground is also a picture in the style of Boccaccino's followers.

A Virgin and Child, on canvas, assigned to Giovanni Bellini, in the Ducal Palace in Venice, is Boccaccino's. The same subject in half-length (half-life), with the infant Christ holding a bird and a distance of wall and landscape, is in the Municipal Gallery, and was once in the monastery of the Romite at Padua. It is one of Boccaccino's gentle creations. St. Agatha, half-length (wood, much repainted), in the same collection, erroneously ascribed to the master, has the stamp of Previtali; whereas No. 175 (wood, half-length, heavily stippled over) is probably Boccaccino's though catalogued as a Bissolo.² A half-length Madonna seated with the Child on her lap (canvas, almost life-size), assigned to Raphael, in the Casa Maldura at Padua, commingles the style of Boccaccino with a more modern treatment.³

The "Zingarella by Garofalo," No. 246 (wood, m. 0.23 high by 0.18), at the Pitti in Florence, a bust of a female in a blue turban striped with yellow, a white dress, and a red mantle lined with green, is so thoroughly Ferrarese in spirit that nobody thinks of assigning it to Boccaccino, who no doubt was the painter. The flesh, less red than it was originally, has suffered from slight retouches, but the picture is a pleasant one of the master.⁴

Numerous pieces assigned to Pinturicchio, Perugino, and others, yet in Boccaccino's manner, are to be found in the galleries of the Continent. In the Munich Pinakothek, No. 1029,⁵ now classed in the Lombard school, once called Mantegna (wood, 1 ft. 7½ in. high by 1 ft. 2¾ in.), from Ambras Castle, in the Tyrol, Christ with the Cross in benediction—a brick-toned panel, injured and dimmed by retouching, by Boccaccino or Galeazzo

* ¹ Christ on the Road to Calvary is now in the National Gallery (No. 806).

* ² Now officially ascribed to Boccaccino.

* ³ The Maldura collection is now dispersed.

* ⁴ Now catalogued as a work by Boccaccino.

* ⁵ Now in the depot of this gallery.

Campi. At Rome, in the Doria Palace (No. 125), the Virgin and Child between four Saints, half-lengths, called Basaiti, is a red-toned, glass-eyed Boccaccino. At the Naples Museum (Room XV., No. 31, pretended school of Pinturicchio), small panel, of red golden tone, representing the Virgin, St. Joseph, and the shepherds, and the angel announcing the coming of Christ in a hilly landscape. The surface is shiny and the colour of stiff impast, the figures in Boccaccino's gentle style, and the distance Ferrarese after the fashion of Panetti, Mazzolino, and Garofalo. Injured and retouched are the Virgin's face, the hands of St. Joseph, and the flesh-tones of the shepherds kneeling at the Virgin's side. The panel is so carefully wrought, it might be by Altobello Melone in his youth as well as by Boccaccino.¹ There are several Cremonese pictures suggestive of similar doubts, foremost of which we should note Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles, No. 599, pret. Perugino, with the date "mcccc," at the Academy of Venice (wood, m. 1.33 high by 1.11, from the Manfrini collection). We are reminded in this picture of the schools of Lombardy and Leonardo, of Umbria and Pinturicchio, yet at the same time of those of Ferrara and Ercole Roberti Grandi, as illustrated by Panetti, Costa, Timoteo Viti, and the Zaganelli. The most salient features are those which betray the Ferrarese, namely, red glow and uniformity of flesh-tint and strong vestment tints. The treatment is very like that of Boccaccino in his early period. The disproportion of the figures in their mutual relation, the dryness of their shape, the crabbed character and overweight of some heads and their heavy bushes of hair, the rectilinear break and copious fold of drapery, the careful outline and clean palet, all tell of a youthful hand; and this picture, if we accept it as genuine, may illustrate that phase of the painter's art which distinguished the frescoes at Sant'Agostino of Cremona. The same technical treatment marks three heads in one frame, No. 598 at the Venice Academy (wood, m. 0.38 high by 0.53, "school of Leonardo"), a piece in which we discern some imitation of the method of Antonello da Messina. In the same class, again, we should place the Virgin and Child adored by two devotees, seen to the shoulders (wood, life-size), in the Naples Museum (Room VI., No. 23), where the large round head and slender neck, the spiral tresses, like those of Martin Schongauer, divulge Boccaccino's hand. The two portraits are done with great care, and outlined with Leonardesque precision. The colour is warm and blended, and perhaps less fiery

* ¹ The three last-mentioned pictures are now all officially ascribed to Boccaccino.

PSEUDO-BOCCACCINO



Alinari photo.]

THE MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE.

[*Venice, Santo Stefano.*

than usual, whilst the old sin of disproportion is visible in the smallness and dryness of the hands. The child, unfortunately, is ugly in face and puffy in shape; but the landscape is altogether Cremonese.

Lower in the same scale is No. 490 (m. 0.61 high by 0.52) in the Gallery of Modena, representing the Virgin and Child with St. Sebastian at the Column, a panel assigned to Giovanni Bellini.¹

We miss altogether two altarpieces by Boccaccino in Santa Maria delle Grazie at Cremona (Anon., 36) and the Virgin and Child between St. Jerome and St. John Evangelist, inscribed

*¹ This painting, and also the Virgin and Child with two devotees at Naples, the three heads, and Christ Washing the Feet, at Venice, are by an artist whose style occasionally recalls that of Boccaccino in a general way, but differs markedly from it in many respects. Types reminiscent of Leonardo, hair with a wealth of curls, feeble drawing of the hands, and draperies of an unpleasantly broken cast, are among the characteristics of this painter which are not to be paralleled in the works of Boccaccino. The real name of the artist with whom we are now dealing is not yet known, but, as he has been confused with Boccaccino, Dr. Bode, to whom is due the discovery of this artistic personality (see *Archivio storico dell'arte*, ser. i. vol. iii. pp. 192 *sqq.*) has meanwhile suggested for him the auxiliary name of Pseudo-Boccaccino. As already noted, his types reveal a dependence on Leonardo, and there is something in his landscapes, his portraits, and his colouring that recalls Andrea Solario. At the same time his style shows several connecting links with Venetian painting, and many of his paintings were executed for Venetian churches. That he worked for Lombard patrons is, however, also ascertained. In view of these circumstances we are probably justified in assuming that this artist was born in Lombardy, and first taught there, but later settled in Venice.

In addition to those already mentioned, the following are also works by Pseudo-Boccaccino: (1) Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. No. 1424. The Virgin and Child with SS. Joseph and Lucy. No. 1550. St. Gabriel; at the back, an Evangelist: probably one of the shutters of the organ of the suppressed church of San Basilio at Venice (see Paoletti and Ludwig, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxii. 456 *sq.*). (2) Bribano (near Belluno), San Niccolò. The Virgin and Child between SS. Nicholas and Roch (see *antea*, i. 187, n. 9). (3) London. Sale at Christie's, July 14, 1911, No. 35. The Virgin and Child with SS. James the Greater, Peter, Joseph, an unknown saint, St. John the Evangelist, and a Donor (very Bellinesque). (4) Milan. Brera, No. 317. The Adoration of the Magi. No. 318. The Baptism of Christ. Both from the Church of Santa Maria della Pace at Milan. (5) Milan, collection of Comm. B. Crespi. The Virgin and Child. (6) Milan, collection of Don Guido Cagnola. The Virgin and Child with an Angel. (6) Milan, collection of Conte Luchino del Mayno. Head of a Girl. (7) Milan, collection of Duca Scotti. A Female Saint. (8) Murano, San Pietro Martire. The Virgin and Child with four Saints and an Angel (from San Cristoforo at Murano). (9) Turin, collection of Signor Vincenzo Fontana. The Holy Family. (10) Venice, No. 605. The Virgin and Child with SS. Simon and Jerome. (11) Venice, Santo Stefano. The Virgin and Child with St. Catherine and a Donor, SS. John the Baptist and Jerome (see *antea*, i. 75, n. 6). (12) Venice, Monastery

on a cartello: "Boccaccinus de Boccacciis p. 1515," described by Grasselli (*Abecedario*, p. 54) in the Beltrame collection at Cremona.

A likeness of Galeazzo Campi wearing a black cap and holding a glove is preserved in the Pitti. It was done by his son and pupil Giulio in 1535, when Galeazzo was fifty-eight years old. The bulk of Galeazzo Campi's extant works was executed between 1515 and 1517, and, as he lived till 1536, we might conclude that he found employment as journeyman to other painters, or practised in other branches of art.¹ His style was obviously formed upon that of Boccaccino, but is not without reminiscences of the later Umbrians. One of the quaintest of his compositions was finished in 1515 for the Church of San Lazzaro in Cremona, and represents Lazarus rising from his grave in the floor of a chapel, Lazarus the beggar, whose sores are licked by two dogs, standing in prayer at one side of the opening, and Christ with St. Peter and St. Paul at the other. The subject is treated with sentimental realism, and feebly imitates the Peruginesques.² When we remember that Sebastian del Piombo about this time was painting his grand version of the Resurrection of Lazarus at

of San Lazzaro degli Armeni. The Virgin and Child with a Donor. (13) Verona, Museo Civico, No. 89. SS. Martha and Mary Magdalen, (14) Vienna, Academy, No. 530. Three Heads of Apostles. For further notices of this artist see Fogolari, in *Rassegna d'arte*, ix. 61 *sqq.*, and Frizzoni, *ibid.*, pp. 127 *sqq.*

The following paintings by Boccaccio Boccaccino remain to be mentioned: (1) Merate (near Milan), collection of Marchese Prinetti. The Annunciation. (2) Milan, collection of Comm. B. Crespi. The Virgin and Child. (3) Rathshof (near Dorpat), collection of Herr von Liphart. The Virgin and Child with two Angels. (4) Venice, Museo Civico, Sala II., No. 36. The Virgin adoring the Child; Sala II., No. 37. The Virgin and Child with two Saints. (5) Venice, Layard collection. The Virgin and Child with two Angels.

¹ Galeazzo Campi mio padre . . . passò a miglior vita quest' anno (1536). See Antonio Campi, *Storia di Cremona* in Zaist, i. 95. The portrait of Galeazzo by Giulio is No. 224 at the Pitti. On the back of the panel we read: "Galeas Campus pictor egregio antoni figlio Juli Antoni et Vincenti pater ætatis suæ annorum LVIII effigiato per Julium campum ejus filium et discipulum de anno MDXXXV." But see Zaist, i. 93.

² Casal Maggiore, collection of Canonico Bignami; of old in San Lazzaro of Cremona (Zaist, i. 94). Wood, figures under life-size; on a scroll fastened to the wall: "Galaz de Campo ps. 1515." The forms are slender and bony, the outlines sharply incised and black, and Galeazzo seems to follow the second rates of Bologna and Ferrara, much in the spirit of Zaganelli. But the colours are injured by time and retouching, and have lost all their freshness. [* Present whereabouts unknown.]

Rome, we have the means of assigning to Campi the modest place to which he is entitled in the artistic history of the period.

In the St. Christopher of 1516 at San Sigismondo, or the Madonna with Saints of 1518 in San Sebastiano of Cremona, Galeazzo shows more dependence on Boccaccino than he does in the earlier work of 1515, but his figures are more disagreeably lean, and his colours more positively raw, than those of his prototype, and there is a tendency which recurs in other works to modify the harshness of Cremonese tone with the scumble of Bissolo and Catena.¹ Instances of this kind are the Virgin and Child with St. Joseph and the Magdalen at Sant' Agata, and Christ in Benediction at the Palazzo Reale, of Cremona, or the Virgin adoring the Infant on her lap in the Gallery of Modena.² We revert to Peruginesque imitation in the Virgin and Saints with the boy Baptist in the Municipio of Cremona³—a picture in which Cremonese glare is tempered by Umbrian softness—and in other specimens, forming such a cento as to recall Galeazzo, Aleni, and Altobello Melone.

We register in this class the Virgin and Angel Annunciate in the Baptistery of Cremona, two canvas distempers originally

¹ (1) Cremona, San Sigismondo (fuor di); originally in San Vittore (Zaist, i. 94). St. Christopher with the Infant on his shoulders. A slender full-length. Wood, under life-size; inscribed on a cartello fastened to the stump of a tree: "Galeaz de Campo pinxit 1516." The shadows are changed by retouching, and the panel is otherwise injured. We already here trace something of the manner of Aleni, of whom later. [* This picture is now in the Chiesa del Castello at Viadana. See Sacchi, *ub. sup.*, p. 79.] (2) Cremona, San Sebastiano (fuor di). Virgin and Child between SS. Sebastian and Roch. Wood, figures half life-size; inscribed on a cartello: "Galtas (*sic*) de Campo faciebat 1518 hoc opus F. F. Bernardino Bosellio." This panel is irretrievably damaged. [* The composition is curiously reminiscent of that of a picture by Bartolommeo Montagna in the Galleria Loehis at Bergamo.]

² (1) Cremona, Sant' Agata. Virgin and Child with St. Mary Magdalen offering the box of ointment, St. Joseph leaning on his stick to the right; yellow mantle renewed and scaling. Wood, figures under life-size, inscribed: "Galeazius Campus pinxit anno 150018" (*sic*). A piece has been added to arch the upper part of the picture. Here Galeazzo mingles the Venetian with imitation of Boccaccino's style. (2) Modena, Gallery, No. 426, under the name of Giovanni Bellini. The infant Christ on the Virgin's knees adored by St. Joseph and a shepherd. Wood, m. 0.93 high by 1.16. The picture is better preserved than the foregoing. (3) Cremona, Palazzo. Christ in Benediction. Wood, bust, greatly repainted.

³ Cremona, Museo Civico; from San Domenico. Virgin and Child, St. Christopher, the boy Baptist caressing a lamb, and another Saint. Wood, figures under half life-size.

used to close the screen of the organ, with pleasant life-size figures of mild air and regular shape, carefully drawn in broken rectilinear drapery. Though dimmed by varnish and restoring, the colours are still of sombre warmth, but exceptionally light in the vestments. We may also notice the Virgin in Glory surrounded by Angels (arched panel, half-life) in Sant' Abondio, the Virgin and Child (arched panel, with half life-size figures, in oil) in Sant' Agostino of Cremona, the latter an obvious but poor imitation of Perugino, whose well-known altarpiece hangs in a neighbouring chapel. In the same manner, but much injured, are the panels of a large monumental work in Santa Maria Maddalena of Cremona, representing the Nativity, between St. Gregory, St. Clement, and Mary Magdalen, the Resurrection in an upper course between St. Peter and St. Paul, and four scenes from the life of the Magdalen in a faded predella (wood, the principal figures under life-size). But here, perhaps, we have more particularly to deal with Tommaso Aleni, the friend and companion of Galeazzo Campi (Zaist, i. 103). An altarpiece dated 1517, described by Zaist (i. 94) as representing the Virgin and Child between St. Anthony the Abbot and other saints, in the church of Robecco, is missing.¹ Frescoes and pictures in San Domenico and San Francesco, mentioned by Vasari (vi. 495), are no longer in existence. We miss also the Virgin seated with the Child, who plays with the bell held by St. Anthony and St. Ursula with three companions, inscribed: "Galeaz de Campo pinxit 1519, die 14 Augusto." Grasselli (*Abecedario*, p. 77) saw this piece in the hands of Canon Maximiliano Sacchi, who had it from the Orfanotrofio of Cremona.

Two or three pictures by Aleni exist. One is the Virgin and Child between St. Anthony of Padua and St. Francis protecting a kneeling Franciscan in the Bignami collection at Casal Maggiore, inscribed: "Opus Thome Aleni Cremon^{ensis} mcccco"; another a Nativity: "Thomas de Alenis cremon^{ensis} pinsit 1515," once in San Domenico, now in the Municipio; a third, St. Peter and St. Anthony, in the Cavalcabò collection at Cremona. Being strongly impressed by Perugino's Madonna at Sant' Agostino, Aleni at Casal Maggiore copies the great Umbrian without any correctness of drawing or harmonious

* This picture was in 1893 acquired by the Brera Gallery at Milan (No. 326); the subject of it is the Virgin and Child between SS. Anthony the Abbot and Blaise. It is signed "Galeaz de Campo facebat," but the date mentioned by Zaist is no longer visible.

contrasts of light and shade. In the Nativity and in the Saints of Casa Cavalcabò he jumbles the styles of Boccaccino and Vannucci.¹

It is not without effort that we follow the decline of this sort of art in Lorenzo Becci, Galeazzo Rivelli, and others.²

¹ (1) Casal Maggiore, Bignami collection. A low wall behind the Virgin's throne separates the figures from a landscape distance. Wood, figures almost life-size; injured by restoring. The most disagreeable feature in this piece is the brown light and cold grey shadow of the flesh-tints. Aleni here makes some approach to the manner of Giacomo Francia. [* This picture is now in the Brera Gallery at Milan (No. 328).] (2) Cremona, Museo Civico; from San Domenico. The Virgin kneels with her arms across, the infant Christ outstretched on the ground before her; to the right, St. Anthony with his pig, kneeling; to the left, St. John the Baptist and an angel. Wood, small, daubed with repaint, and vertically split. (3) Cremona, Casa Cavalcabò. Arched panel, figures under life-size; a fragment. [* Reproduced in *L'Arte*, iii. 52.] Zaist (i. 140) says that Aleni was sometimes known by the surname of Fadino. (4) A Virgin and Child, inscribed: "Thomas de Fadinis"—a very poor thing—passed from the Piccenardi collection into that of Signor Baslini at Milan. [* This picture now belongs to Mr. Robert Benson of London.]

² Cremona, Casa Cavalcabò. Virgin and Child enthroned, with a kneeling friar at her feet. Wood, under life-size, inscribed: "Laurentius de becis cremonensis pingebat." This daubed panel is a poor production in the manner of Aleni. [* It is reproduced in *L'Arte*, iii. 53.] Grasselli notes the following in possession of Signor Galli at Cremona (*Abecedario*, p. 31). Half-length, Virgin and Child, inscribed on the hem of a dress: "Laurentius de becis Cremonensis." [* For further notices of this artist, see Sacchi, *ib. sup.*, p. 189, and Schweitzer, in *L'Arte*, iii. 52 sq.]

Zaist speaks (i. 39) of a Virgin and Child, SS. Francis and Omobuono, signed "Jo. Baptista Berci Cremonensis fecit," in a private collection at Cremona. We have no intelligence of this picture.

The same author alludes (i. 47) to pictures of 1486-7 by Antonio Cicognara and a Virgin and Child between St. Catherine of Alexandria and another saint, signed: "14 Antonii Cicognarii 90" (not seen). The name of this painter is not unknown to history. On Aug. 22, 1500, he was at Lodi to value the frescoes of Borgognone in the tribune of the Church of the Incoronata (Calvi, *Notizie*, ii. 134, 203, 254). [* The above-mentioned picture of 1490 is now in the collection of the Avv. Cologna at Milan. According to Herr Schweitzer, it shows the artist as a follower of Cosimo Tura. An illuminated manuscript, signed, "Antonij Cicognarij opus 1483," belongs to the Duomo of Cremona. See Schweitzer, *loc. cit.*, p. 54.]

Of Galeazzo Rivelli, who is also noticed in Zaist (i. 20), there is an unpleasant panel (1) in the Lochis Gallery (No. 11) representing a bishop between SS. Stephen and Francis (wood), with the signature: "Galeatius de Rivellius dictus de la barba 1524." The figures are short and vulgar. (2) In a predella are monochromes representing incidents from the lives of the saints. Grasselli (*Abecedario*, p. 225) notes further: (3) Buseto, San Bartolommeo. The Conception, executed, according to the church accounts, by Rivelli in 1528. (4) Cremona, collection of Maximiliano

Altobello Melone was Boccaccino's competitor previous to Pordenone's arrival at Cremona. He designed seven frescoes with subjects from the lives of the Virgin and of Christ in the nave of Cremona Cathedral, and wrote upon some of them his name and the date of 1517. He had practised art for many years before this date; and, if we trust the evidence of pictures, without signatures or pedigrees as a follower of Boccaccino.

Looking back at the pieces assignable to the school of Boccaccino, there are many which we might take to be illustrative of Altobello's style: the Nativity ascribed to a disciple of Pinturicchio in the Naples Museum, or the Washing of the Feet in the Venice Academy, as specimens of early training; the frescoes of the Muses at Cremona as examples of mature power.¹ Elements which give character to certified pictures of the master are also found in these, especially such elements as are derived from Ercole Grandi the elder and Mazzolino of Ferrara. In four canvases, the Virgin and Angel Annunciate, St. Anthony and St. Paul the Hermit, painted for the organ of Sant' Antonio Abate at Cremona, we notice the thin dry form, the vehement stride and crabbed masks of the Ferrarese, and, equally interesting, the snake-like hair, blistered drapery, and sombre tone of those masters.² A fresher atmosphere, as of the sixteenth century, pervades the frescoes of the cathedral.

The Flight into Egypt on the left side of the nave, in spite of the damage which it has sustained, shows some graceful affectations of posture, movement, and drapery; but the fiery flesh-tone and the positive colours of the vestments often produce a shrill disharmony; and it is not pleasant to dwell on the rough hatching of the lights or the hard accent of the outlines. The Massacre of

Sacchi. The Nativity; inscribed on a cartellino: "Galeazius Rivelli dicta della barba pingebat 1536." (5) Cremona, Conti Carlo Visconti. Virgin adoring the new-born Christ; inscribed on the cushion: "Galeaz de la Barba."

In San Michele of Cremona we find a series of panels (one-third of life-size) about a statue of San Francesco di Paola: (1) left, a saint with cross and book; (2) right, St. Anthony of Padua (?); (3) above, Christ dead in the Virgin's lap (two angels above the side-figures are new). These panels recall Boccaccino and Aleni. The figures are dry and paltry, the drawing incisive. The upper panel suggests reminiscences of the art of Ercole Roberti Grandi. It is difficult to say more of this piece, considering its bad condition, than that it is a Cremonese work of the first years of the sixteenth century.

* ¹ See, however, *antea*, p. 341, n. 1.

* ² Cremona, San Michele. The organ-shutters from Sant' Antonio Abate (suppressed) are now in San Michele. The figures are larger than life, and damaged—especially the two saints—by rubbing and repaint. Here already we notice the style which distinguishes the frescoes of the Muses in Via Belvedere at Cremona. The ornamental borders around the subjects (griffins and vases on yellow ground) are quite Mantegnesque.

the Innocents, combining Ferrarese dryness with something of Romanino's boldness, is marred by figures of curt shape; but some of the soldiers and females are thrown upon the wall with the action and sweep of contour which mark Raphael's composition for the same subject. Drapery alternating between curve and zigzag reminds us of Romanino and Mazzolino. Original power may be detected in portraits of numerous personages in the broad head-gear of the day.

On the right side of the nave Altobello composed the Last Supper, Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles, Gethsemane, the Capture, and Christ before Pilate, the two examples of disproportion in the relative size of figures as striking as the Washing of the Feet at Venice; the rest showing to what extent Melone was indebted to Grandi's predellas for designs and treatment.¹

Judging of his life by these works, we may assert that Melone began his studies at Bologna and Ferrara, and displayed the fruit of these studies in the frescoes on the right side of the cathedral nave at Cremona. Whilst finishing these frescoes he witnessed the coming of Romanino, who was also engaged in the cathedral, and imitated him in the Flight into Egypt and Massacre of the Innocents on the left of the nave. We can trace these two periods of his style in pictures at Cremona and abroad, the earlier in a Nativity and Ecce Homo, with St. Andrew and St. Roch, in the Palazzo Reale at Cremona; the later in two compositions, a bold

¹ Cremona, Duomo, nave. The frescoes are praised by Vasari (vi. 459, 492) as superior to Boccaccino's. The first of them—Flight into Egypt and Massacre of the Innocents—were ordered on the Dec. 11, 1516, on condition that they should be better than Boccaccino's. Three others were contracted for on March 13, 1517, and valued on Oct. 1 of the same year by Romanino. (The records in Grasselli's *Abecedario, ub. sup.*, pp. 169-70.) (1) Flight into Egypt, engraved in Rosini's atlas, faded and retouched, composition of ten figures, a lion pup and a dog on the ground, a palm to the left at which the infant grasps as he passes; in the air three angels singing from a scroll. The dress of the angel before the ass is abraded to the white preparation, inscribed: "Altobellus de Melonibus p. MDXVII." (2) Massacre of the Innocents. This fresco is filled with portraits; it is dated "MDXVII." (3) Last Supper; Iscariot; in front of a table to the left; on a cartello in the middle of the foreground, "Altobellus de Melonibus." This fresco is heavily damaged, yet less so than the remainder of the series. (4) Washing of the Feet. To the left, St. Peter is seated in a shrinking attitude, with Christ kneeling at the basin's edge, people around; to the right apostles standing. (5) Gethsemane. Christ in the centre with outstretched arms, and the angel flying down with the symbols of the Passion; in the foreground the sleeping apostles. The landscape is Ferrarese in air. (6) Capture. The Saviour caught with a rope, as in Grandi's predella at Dresden. The name to the right: "Altobellus p." (7) Christ before Pilate threatened by soldiers. All the signatures are more or less retouched.

and freely handled Christ at the Limbus in the Duomo of Cremona, and Christ on the road to Emmaus in the National Gallery.¹

As a portrait-painter Melone was not without power; and some of his creations in that branch were assigned to great men. Under the name of Gentile Bellini, we have one of his striking panels in the Museum of Stuttgart, a bearded man with a scapular, his head thrown back, his dark eye glistening, and crisp black hair spread fanlike from the ears. The flesh, of a deep glazed brown, is delicately finished. In the same spirit, and less injured by rubbing, are a man in a landscape with a flower in his right hand, a pretended Giorgione in the Lochis collection at Bergamo, and a man in a red-and-yellow dress with the left hand on the hilt of his sword, ascribed to Raphael, in the Castelbarco collection at Milan.²

The Anonimo describes a canvas distemper by Melone representing Lucretia striking her bosom with the dagger, in a private house at Cremona.³

¹ (1) Cremona, Palazzo Reale, under the name of Gaudenzio Ferrari. Nativity; the Virgin adoring the Child, St. Joseph to the left, three angels to the right, St. Andrew and St. Roch full-length, the Christ also full-length seated on the edge of the tomb. The figures are all half life-size, dry and bony and heavily outlined. The colouring is raw and uniform, the dresses deep and dull in tone. (2) Cremona, Duomo. Sacristy, small panel. Christ helps Adam out of the limbus; behind him, the good thief with the cross. The grouping is good, the handling free, the drawing and proportions are fairly correct. (3) London, National Gallery, No. 753. Wood, 4 ft. square, formerly in San Bartolommeo of Cremona, and in the Castelbarco collection at Milan. Christ in the garb of a pilgrim overtakes the two disciples on the road to Emmaus. This is also freely executed, but somewhat conventional in treatment.

² (1) Stuttgart Museum, No. 510, under the name of Gentile Bellini. Wood, 1 ft. 6 in. high by 1 ft. 4 in. There is a clear relation of style between this portrait and those in the fresco of the Massacre of the Innocents at Cremona. [* This picture is now officially ascribed to the "School of Cremona about 1500."] (2) Bergamo, Lochis, No. 164, catalogued as Giorgione. Male in a black cap with long hair and a short beard, holding a flower—treatment as at Stuttgart, Milan. (3) Castelbarco Collection. Called Raphael; a fine work for Altobello. [* Sold at the Castelbarco sale in Paris, May, 1870.]

To these we may add: (4) Milan, Signor Cavaleri. Wood. Transfiguration. Christ between Moses and Elias, three apostles on the foreground, figures a little under life-size. (5) Cremona, San Sigismondo, cloister. Fragments of fresco: Virgin and Child with St. Sigismund and St. Anthony the Abbot; St. Jerome takes the thorn out of the lion's paw. There is little of this work left, and it is hard to say more than that the character is that of Altobello or Galeazzo Campi. Vasari ascribes to Melone (vi. 492) part of the decoration of the old Palazzo at Milan where we saw that Bonifacio Bembo laboured. He also describes the frescoes, symbols of the Evangelists—Vision of Ezekiel, Baptism of St. Augustine, and Marriage of St. Monica, now missing, in Sant'Agostino of Cremona. (Vas. and annot., vi. 492.)

³ Anonimo, p. 37.

The Mantegnesque feeling for which Ferrarese art was so long remarkable did not survive the first decades of the sixteenth century. It was then superseded by the Venetian feeling of Bellini, Palma, Titian, and Pellegrino da San Daniele. Cremonese artists to whom Ferrara was a sort of Mecca observed the change and noted it; and Gian Francesco Bembo, at that time a talented artist in Cremona, became one of its best exponents. We have unhappily but curt notices of this painter, whom Vasari confounded with his earlier namesake; but we know that he contracted in 1515 to paint frescoes in the cathedral of Cremona which are part of the series in which Boccaccino, Melone, Romanino, and Pordenone had a share. They are on the left-hand side of the nave between those of Boccaccino and Melone, and represent the Epiphany and Presentation in the Temple. The first, inscribed: "Benbus Incipiens," depicts the Virgin in a monumental ruin with the king kneeling to the child and the usual incidents of this well-known subject in picturesque variety. In the stature and dress, as in the colouring of the personages, modern Venetian treatment is apparent. A warm vapour covers the scene; and the uniform ruddiness of Cremonese flesh is improved by pleasing transparence. The figures, with oval heads, are of mixed stature and bony structure, and clad in dress of ample stuff; the child broad and fleshy. An easy touch displays the teaching of the followers of Palma Vecchio. The Presentation is put together on correct principles, with males and females of impressive dignity and weight. Though sharp in tone and abrupt in transitions, it surpasses the Epiphany in elevation and spirit; and the Venetian element to some extent recedes to make room for the Tuscan.¹ Is it true that Bembo went to Rome and was known as Gian Francesco Vetrario, of whom Vasari says that he was a promising but short-lived artist? Alessandro Lamo, in a *Life of Bernardino Campi*, written as early as 1584, speaking of the omissions of an earlier historian, accuses him of having forgotten to mention "Gio. Francesco Bembo detto el Vetrario, of whom Vasari speaks

¹ Cremona, Duomo. Some of Bembo's frescoes were allotted to him by contract on Dec. 29, 1615. (Grasselli, *Abecedario*, p. 39; cf. also Vasari, vi. 492.) (1) The Epiphany. The Virgin and Child to the right, with the king kneeling at their feet in front of a ruined arch; behind the latter the two kings kneeling and standing with offerings and the suite; to the left and in rear, other figures. The Virgin's mantle is repainted. (2) The Presentation, engraved in Rosini, Pl. LI. The child on the square altar, with Simeon and the spectators in rear in a colonnade, the prophetess in front kneeling, and with one hand touching the doves held by a child; on the foreground to the right a fine standing male, to the left two females. The striped cloth on Simeon's head is partly repainted. The architecture is fine and in good style.

in his Life of Polidoro."¹ The sweep of the drapery in the Presentation, the taste displayed in the architecture, and the noble mien of the figures might induce us to believe that Bembo was indeed, at Rome, confounded for a time amongst the numberless assistants of Raphael. There is some reason for thinking that he was a travelled craftsman, for his very latest work—a Virgin and Child with a kneeling Patron and Saints dated 1524 in San Pietro of Cremona—is an adaptation of Raphael's Madonna del Baldacchino, with something in the kneeling patron that recalls a similar impersonation in the miracle of Bolsena at the Vatican. Nor is it Raphael alone of whom we are reminded, for a standing saint to the right seems inspired from the masterpieces of Fra Bartolommeo.²

The Cremonese of the period immediately following Gian Francesco plundered their contemporaries with the most pertinacious indiscretion, in proof of which we need but look at Bernardino Ricca's Descent from the Cross in San Pietro of Cremona—a caricature of the style of Daniel da Volterra.³

Niccolò da Cremona, another painter of a still lower type, is known by a Deposition from the Cross in the Gallery of Bologna.⁴

¹ Vasari, v. 147; Alessandro Lamo, *Discorso, ub. sup.*, p. 26.

² (1) Cremona, San Pietro, formerly in Sant' Angelo de' Frati Minori. Virgin and Child, between St. Cosmas and St. Damian, with a kneeling prelate. Wood, life-size, inscribed: "Johāes Franciscus bembinus pinxit d^a. mes. s. b. 2 (?) 1524." (2) A Virgin and Child, with St. Nicholas kneeling and the young St. John, under Bembo's name (canvas, figures of life-size) is shown in one of the rooms of the hospital Fate bene Fratelli at Cremona. This picture exaggerates the manner of Raphael's disciples; it is raw in tone and darkly shadowed, and of a later date than the works of Bembo. The same subject, supposed to have been executed in 1506, is noticed by Zaist (i. 55), who says the picture was in San Niccolò of Cremona.

³ Cremona, San Pietro. Descent from the Cross, inscribed: "1521 Bernardino Ricca fecit opus" (compare Zaist, i. 105, who gives a false version of the inscription). This is a confused jumble of attitudes and postures reminiscent of Daniel da Volterra, but more so of Dono Doni of Assisi. The surface is dimmed by dirt and fungus. A better specimen of Ricca is the Virgin and Child with St. Anne, between St. Jerome and another saint, in the right transept of Cremona Cathedral. We may also assign to the same hand the Last Supper in the refectory of San Sigismondo outside Cremona, a fresco attributed to Gian Francesco Bembo. For notices of Ricca see Zaist, i. 104.

⁴ Bologna, Pinacoteca, No. 822. Christ on the ground after the Crucifixion, bewailed by the Marys and adored by kneeling figures. Wood, 6 ft. 1 in. high by 4 ft. 11 in. This picture, noted by Zaist as bearing the date 1518 (i. 100), has no such date now; but the name "Nichola" is still to be read. The style is a poor imitation of that of Garofalo.

CHAPTER VII

PALMA VECCHIO

FROM the borders of Piedmont on the west to the Gulf of Trieste on the east—in the valleys that imbed the streams running from the Alps, or the plains watered by the Adige and the Po—there is not a city of any pretensions that did not feel the influence of Palmesque art; and yet there is not a single painter of note, Giorgione included, of whom we know so little as of Palma Vecchio. Though it was admitted that Palma Giovine, the grand-nephew of Palma Vecchio, was born in 1544; though it was apparent that some of Palma Vecchio's greatest masterpieces were exhibited before 1512,¹ historians of every age, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, remained unanimous in affirming that Palma Vecchio was born in 1500 and was placed under the tuition of Titian.² That Pellegrino da San Daniele, Pordenone, Morto, and other craftsmen of the time derived their style in part from him was left unobserved. Titian, it was said, worshipped Violante, the fabulous daughter of Palma, yet it was also said that Palma, as a boy, frequented Titian's atelier.³ Palma's will drawn up in 1528, his death immediately after the signature of that instrument, Vasari's statement that he died at forty-eight—give us a clue to the truth.⁴ Palma was born about 1480; he was the contemporary of Giorgione and

* ¹ See, however, *postea*, p. 353, n. 1.

² Vasari is to be excluded from this list; he is silent as to Palma's birth and education, and calls him Palma Veneziano. The Anonimo calls him "Bergamasco" and Boschini does the same. Ridolfi tells us that Serina (or Serinalta) was Palma's birthplace. (Vasari, v. 243: Anon., ed. Morelli, p. 85: Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.*, Preface; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 178.)

³ Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 178, 181; Boschini, *Navegar pit.*, p. 368, and *Ric. Min.*, Preface.

⁴ Vasari, v. 248; Racc. Ven., ser. i. tom. i. Dispensa 2, containing Palma's will.

Pellegrino, and but little older than Titian, Pordenone, and Sebastian del Piombo.

Giacomo Palma was called "il Vecchio" to distinguish him from Giacomo, his nephew once removed; the place of his birth is Serina, near Bergamo; and he was always considered by the Bergamasques as their child.¹ In truth he had of the Bergamasque but the name, and he learnt the elements from Venetian masters. Except in this sense that, looking at the productions of his comrades amongst whom Titian may be counted, and making reproductive what he so absorbed; there is not a line or pencil-stroke in his works that does not divulge the spirit of one who may claim in everything to have been original. The real source at which he drew is more distant than annalists imagined; it will be found in Giovanni Bellini, Carpaccio, and Cima; and, starting from this point, Palma shared with Giorgione and Titian the honour of modernizing and regenerating Venetian art.

Palma was not a great master in the full meaning of the term. He had neither the weight nor versatility of Titian, nor the highest gifts of the colourist which distinguish Giorgione, nor the force or impetuosity of Pordenone; but he was very little behind the master of Castelfranco, and he had a much more elevated feeling than his Friulan rivals. In the small field which he cultivated he was a fine composer; his drawing was quick and resolute, his touch unhesitating, firm, and fluid. The type of figure to which he clung was full and ripe, ennobled in the faces by delicate chiselled features, and wanting only in the perfect dignity of carriage and mien familiar to Vecelli. His forms had seldom those infallible marks of breed which are revealed in clean articulations and perfectly proportioned extremities. It may have been lack of attention, it may also have been want of power to seize and realize the subtlest finesses of anatomy which caused him to conceal the conformation of the human framework under flesh and fat; he certainly generalized with convenience and carried out movements by suggestion more than by analysis; but in this sug-

*¹ The family name of Giacomo was Negreti, or Nigreti; the appellation Palma is for the first time given to him in a record dated 1513. See Ludwig, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxiv., Supplement, pp. 63, 65.

gestiveness he was frequently happy even when verging on affectation. There is something aristocratic at least in the freshness of complexion which he gives to females exuberant in charms, generously furnished with locks, blue-eyed, cherry-lipped, and fair. Even the hale of men is rendered with a fine grain of swarth. The melody of his tones is not so deep nor so rich as Titian's or Giorgione's, but is striking for its "brio"; there is perhaps no painter who dazzles more by his light than Palma. In contrast with pearly skin, especially of women, the clear and varied vestment tints, deadened by juxtaposition, are full of sparkle. Solid oily impast blended with excessive care and purity is brought to a gay transparence in flesh by opal greys forming the transition to shadow. The general preparation remodelled at a second painting by half-bodied scumbles is finished with the very slightest veil of glazes, the whole surface acquiring at last a warm, clear, golden polish. We can always detect the Palmesque handling by the shrivel of the thick first coat of paint and a peculiar form of crackle. Palma's taste in dress was greatly cultivated and condescended to the smallest minutiae of ornament and detail; his drapery is more usually characterized by breadth and flatness of surface than by flow; it is broken by shallow depressions into angular sections of irregular shape and varied by the play of reflections in the texture of silks and brocades. Like Giorgione—and in this the true follower of Giovanni Bellini—he was fond of natural backgrounds and he painted smiling landscapes at the period of their brightest verdure.

A doubtful inscription on one of Palma's Madonnas would lead us to believe that his art had taken an expanded form in 1500; there is evidence to show that he was extensively patronized by the noble Venetian families of Priuli and Cornaro, in whose palaces he not only laboured but lived. Some of the pictures of his best time—the Adam and Eve in the Gallery of Brunswick, a Ceres, and a Woman taken in Adultery—were shown in the collection of Francesco Zio at Venice as early as 1512.¹ The payments made in 1520-1 for his Marriage of the

*¹ In the MS. of the Anonimo Morelliano the notes on the Zio collection are undoubtedly dated 1512; but it is also held by those who have examined the MS. in question that this date is a later addition, made, however, by the author of the notes himself (in all probability Marcantonio Michiel). In other parts of the MS.,

Virgin on the altar of the Querini chapel at Sant'Antonio of Venice are still on record. In 1525 his Three Graces which are now so celebrated as an ornament of the Dresden Museum were exhibited in the Gallery of Taddeo Contarini. He was never, as far as we can now discern, employed by the State.¹

We have no authoritative information as to Palma's having been apprenticed to any painter of name, but like most Bergamasques, and particularly like the Santa Croce, he studied the principal masters of Venice at the close of the fifteenth century. In the process of assimilation he held as a colourist to Giovanni Bellini; but in that—as in the absorption of elements derived from Cima and Carpaccio—his reproduction was modern and original; and he contributed mainly to the creation of that form of art which has too exclusively till now been called

bearing later dates (1530 and 1532), Michiel mentions some pictures and objects of art previously seen by him while in Zio's possession, and the natural inference seems to be that the date 1512 was put down by Michiel from memory after the dispersal of Zio's collection to record the time when it was inspected by him. The correctness of this date is, however, open to some doubt. Michiel mentions a picture by Jan van Scorel (The Drowning of Pharaoh) as belonging to Zio, and, as pointed out by Dr. Frizzoni (*Notizia d'opere di disegno*, p. 177), it is scarcely credible that a work by this artist, who was born in 1495, was in a Venetian collection as early as 1512. Dr. Frizzoni would date these notes 1528, or shortly before, since in his opinion they are written with the same pen and ink as the notes on the collection of Zuanantonio Venier which immediately follow them in the MS. and bear that date. On the other hand, Dr. von Frimmel (in *Quellen-schriften für Kunstgeschichte*, ser. ii. vol. i. p. xx.) dates these notes, on graphological grounds, early in the 'twenties, and suggests that 1512 may be a slip for 1521. Moreover, Jan van Scorel, who first came to Venice about 1518, was about 1520 back there from a journey to Palestine, during which he executed sketches which were later utilized by him for subjects akin to that of the Zio picture. Unfortunately, the date of Zio's death is not ascertained; we only know that he made his will on March 1, 1523 (see Cicogna, *Iscr. Ven.*, v. 59).

¹ Sansovino, *Ven. Descr.*, pp. 375, 385-6; Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.*, s. di S. M., p. 24; Anonimo, ed. Morelli, pp. 64, 65, 70; Cicogna, *Iscriz.*, i. 163, 361. There are four items of payment of 25 ducats each to Palma for the Querini altarpiece which is lost; one dated May 21, another Sept. 3, a third Nov. 22, 1520, the last, July 27, 1521. [* A fragment of this picture, containing part of the figures of the Virgin, St. Joseph, the high priest, and St. Anne, is now in the Palazzo Giovanelli at Venice. See Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 178, and Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, p. 66.] Tassi pretends (*Vite de' pittori . . . bergamaschi*, i. 97) that Palma painted in the Hall of Great Council, but he is mistaken. [* The earliest record which proves Palma's presence in Venice, dates from 1510. In 1524 he paid a short visit to his native place, Serina, to regulate the affairs of his deceased brother Bartolomeo. See Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, pp. 64, 66 sq.]

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Girardon photo.]

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THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS AND A DONOR.

[Chantilly, Musée Condé.]

the Giorgionesque. In portraits, and most frequently in portraits of women, where he revealed that sort of excellence which has been coupled with the name of Giorgione, he remained unsurpassed for clean brilliancy of palet, rich blending and softness of tone, elegance of demeanour, and taste in dress.

The very first picture which claims attention in connection with Palma is a Holy Conversation in half-lengths on the model of those invented by the earlier artists of Venice. Once an heirloom in the Venetian family, subsequently of Giustiniani and in possession of M. Reiset in Paris, it is unique of its kind as being authenticated by the following inscription :

"IACH
OBVS
PALM
A M
D."

Much as we may feel inclined, upon looking at these lines, to doubt that the date has been preserved unaltered, we shall for the present accept it as genuine, and conclude that Palma in 1500 had developed his first manner. There is nothing more clearly proved by the evidence of pictures than that Palma, in the first years of his practice, was a careful draughtsman and was more accurate in finishing his outline and modelling his surfaces than later. Here we have a firm, decisive contour with the usual cast of beauty and peculiar type which characterize the master. The Virgin, of ample, but not too portly figure, is a fresh and rustic model in the Bellinesque mould, but with more realistic and seductive charms than we find in the Madonnas of Giovanni Bellini. Of powerful bone, she is still delicate in complexion and dainty in the smallness of her hands; she looks tenderly at the infant on her knee. St. Jerome, to whom the child's glance is directed, holds a book out, of which the scroll depends on which the painter's name is written. His bony frame and head recall the grand ascetics of the same kind in Pordenone's pictures. Equally stern is St. Peter, who protects the donor, showing profile, shoulders, and joined hands above the lower framing.

In both the saints the shape is marked, the hands and articulations are weighty and strong; a pretty landscape—in mass and breadth worthy of Bellini, in touch and tone as

free as only Palma's modern art could make it—encircles the group.¹ As a composition this beautiful piece has its counterpart at Rovigo, where St. Jerome again holds the book and St. Helen, in deep devotion, prays and supports her cross, both being turned towards the Madonna, who supports the naked, standing child. The kindly expression of the faces, the graceful feeling of adoration in the bending head of St. Helen, the pretty turn of the child looking up to the Virgin, the rich colour and careful execution, are all enticing.²

With that versatility and skill Palma changed the motive thought and incident in subjects of this kind is beautifully illustrated at Dresden, where the Virgin presses the infant Christ to her bosom and cheek as she receives a scroll from the Baptist in presence of St. Catherine. There is so much loveliness in the serene rapture of St. Catherine, such sprightliness in the child nestling at its mother's throat, so much tender inquiry in the Virgin's eye, and a meaning so earnest in the glance of the Baptist, that we dwell with pleasurable sensation on each figure of the group and wonder at the harmony which it creates. We admire, too, the form, substance, and marble fairness of the skin, the brown-haired, dark-eyed types of the child and its mother, the yellow auburn of St. Catherine, the muscular swarth of the Baptist, and the chords of blue, red, brown, and green which vibrate so sweetly to the eye.³

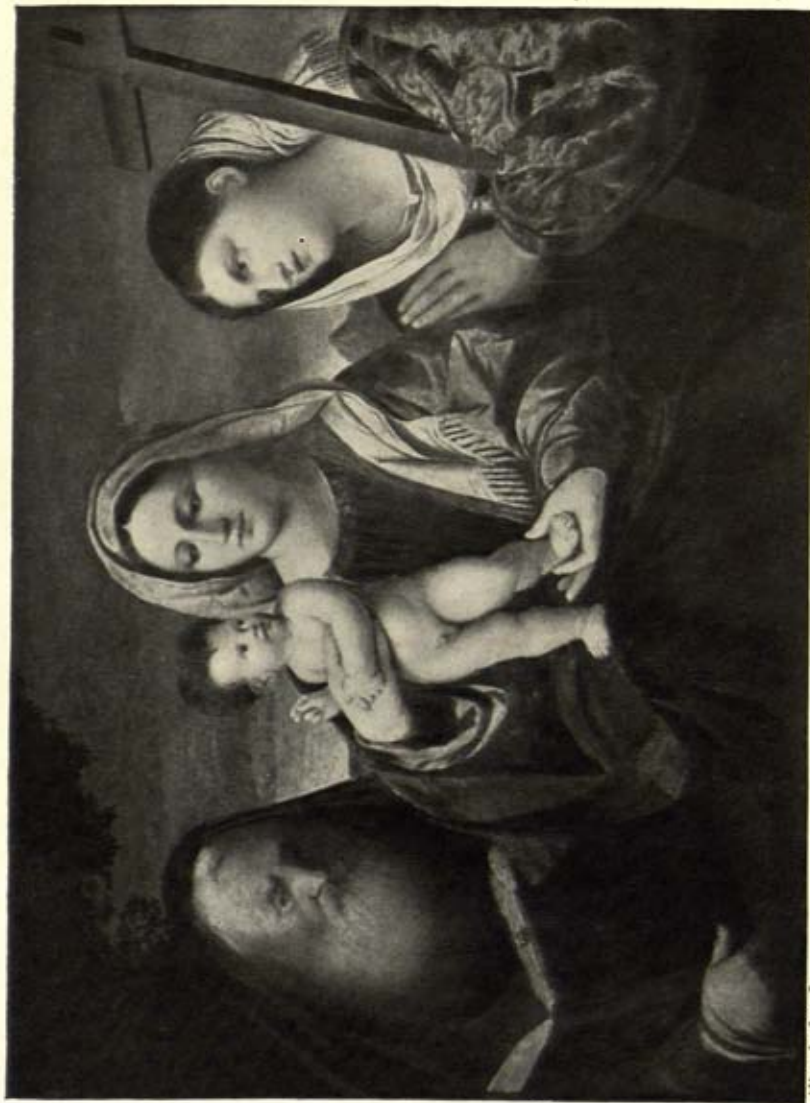
Prettier, because a little less cold in tinge and of greater and more animated variety, is the Christ at the Venice Academy, who stands in the midst of the apostles and heals the daughter of the Canaanite woman, whose bending figure is supported by her mother. In the amplitude of the shapes and the calm serenity

¹ Paris, M. Reiset. Wood, under life-size. The surface is dim and blind from efflorescence. [* This picture is now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly (No. 35). The inscription is now commonly held to be a forgery; with it falls the only tangible reason that could be adduced for thinking that Palma had developed his first manner by 1500.]

² Rovigo, Galleria Comunale. Wood, half-lengths under life-size, abraded and thrown out of focus by retouching. The best-preserved head is that of St. Jerome, the worst that of St. Helen. The eyes of the Virgin are now a little out of place, the left hand and sleeve of the Virgin in fair condition.

³ Dresden Museum, No. 188. Wood, 2 ft. 5 in. high by 3 ft. 6 in., purchased from the Casa Pisano di Santo Stefano at Venice in 1749. The face of the child is slightly deprived of bloom.

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Allard photo.

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS.

[Rouge, *Galleria Comunale*,

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of the features, as well as in the form of the design, we discover the precursors of those which were favourites of Rocco Marconi and Bonifazio.¹

Still more free and bold, and evidence of the master's growing ease in the mechanism of treatment, is the Madonna of the Colonna Palace at Rome, where the Virgin presents the infant Christ to the adoration of a young man protected by St. Peter, her form being finely relieved against a screen of foliage and branches intercepting a distance of hills and clouded sky. With increasing practice Palma gains facility, works off his figures at one painting with great spirit and gives them a plumpness of flesh that sometimes swells—as in the child—to unwieldiness. His portraits even in such sketches as these are admirable.²

One of the most engaging specimens of this class to which we can turn is the Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist and the Magdalen in the Lochis collection at Bergamo. Brown-shaded and sketchy in comparison with earlier ones, this panel is full of pretty affectations: in the child, which timidly lays its hands on the Magdalen's ointment-pot, and with a glance deprecates expected chiding; in the Magdalen, whose fondness is shown by an ecstatic inclination of the head. In open contrast to these are the homely, vigorous head and frame of the Baptist. The fresh but short and portly female shapes remind us of Correggio; they suggest exuberance of health in the full and tender swell of flesh, in the weight and thickness of waving hair. To the usual breadth and delicacy of blending, or the rich fluidity and substantial body of impast characteristic of Palma, is super-added a golden glow, covering alike the figures and the landscape. A melting softness overspreads the picture and foreshadows the coming of the time when the painter bathed his contours in light and hazy mist.³

When too much engaged Palma had his assistants, who took their share in easel-pieces; and of this we have proof in the

¹ Venice Academy. No. 310. Wood, in. 0.92 high by 1.53, from the Contarini collection. The figures are half-length, injured by restoration, and one with a head—that of the apostle behind and to the right of Christ—new.

² Rome, Palazzo Colonna. Wood, half-lengths under life-size.

³ Bergamo, Lochis, No. 183. Wood, half-lengths, almost of life-size. The left side of the Virgin's head is damaged by restoring. [* A similar picture is in the Palazzo Bianco at Genoa.]

Madonna with the Donor, SS. Anthony and Jerome in the Borghese Gallery at Rome.¹ Of a more solid, weighty class, and illustrative of Palma's influence on Pordenone, we have the injured Virgin and Child with a female martyr and a soldier saint at Blenheim—a picture of acknowledged beauty dignified with the name of Giorgione.²

Great as was the attraction of this class of works at the time of their production, and much as they helped to extend the influence of Venetian art in Friuli and the Southern provinces, they had not the same importance as yielding models for imitation to Pellegrino, Pordenone, Romanino, and other provincials as the larger ones with which the churches of Venice and subordinate cities were furnished.

Of special value, as explaining this influence, we should consider the grand altarpieces with which Palma decorated the churches of Zerman, near Treviso, and Fontanelle, near Oderzo.

At Zerman, Palma combines all the qualities of careful finish and bold treatment with shapes moulded on those of the Bellinesque school. The Virgin enthroned, with the child in benediction erect on her lap, is attended by four saints and serenaded by an angel, who raises his head to catch the strains of a viol. In the setting and bend of the figures we observe an artificial grace which betrays affectation and seeking, yet which seldom fails to create a pleasant impression; but there is less strain than in later specimens, and the type of the Virgin's face or that of the child is full of interest as showing its immediate derivation from Bellini. The chords of tone, too, are so much in the feeling of the older Venetian as to indicate with certainty that the date of the composition is an early one, whilst the richness of the palet is already quite Giorgionesque. In the same spirit again, and with much of the charm which strikes us

¹ Rome, Borghese Gallery, No. 163. Wood, half-lengths, under life-size. The donor is a lady in prayer protected by St. Anthony. A green curtain forms the background to the right; to the left is a bit of landscape and sky.

² Blenheim. Canvas, mounted on wood, half-lengths, smaller than life. Injured: flesh of the faces of the female saint and infant Christ, and neck and shoulder of the Virgin. [* This picture was sold at the sale of the Blenheim collection in 1886.

As yet another instance of this type of composition we may notice a Madonna with SS. Mary Magdalen, Peter the Apostle, and Peter the Martyr, in the collection of Lord Scarsdale at Kedleston.]



Allnari photo.]

THE GLORY OF ST. PETER.

[*Venice Academy.*

in Bellini's *chef d'œuvre* at San Zaccaria, is the angel playing on the step of the throne. The slender and elegant proportions of St. Helen supporting the cross, the Titianesque gravity of St. Matthew holding his Gospel, the pleasant shape of the Baptist, the chastened forms and contours, and the grand balance of the composition all point to one of those first and most serious efforts by which Palma strove to vie with the best craftsmen of his time. Nor was the effort unsuccessful, for the Madonna of Zerman became food for meditation to Friulan artists, and was one of those which, by its method and the place of its exhibition, was most calculated to react on Pellegrino, Pordenone, and the students of the Trevisan guilds.¹

Of similar design and handling, but of more daring, whether we consider the movements or the expression of the actors, is the throned St. Peter amidst Saints, removed from Fontanelle to the Venice Academy. In front of a red-and-purple cloth hanging from a bar wound round with foliage, St. Peter sits and marks a page in the volume on his knee. St. John the Baptist to the left calls attention by a gesture to the lamb at his feet, St. Paul to the right leans his hand on the cross of a formidable sword and raises the folds of a rich green mantle from the ground, behind St. Paul stand listening St. Titian of Oderzo and St. Giustina; in rear of the Baptist are SS. Mark and Augusta. None of Palma's works was executed with more energy and force than this; none more fully bears comparison with the contemporary productions of Sebastian Luciani. In keeping with forcible attitudes and movements are the solid breadth and substance of the impast, the large cast and unusually fine style of the drapery, the massively modelled surfaces, the grand shapes, and clean articulations. Here, again, we have a work of great elevation and character peculiarly fitted to impress, and notoriously remarkable as influencing, the later Friulan school. We trace its effects in the attendant saints

¹ Zerman, church of. Arched panel, with full-lengths large as life. Here, as in the altarpiece of Fontanelle, which we shall describe, a green carpet hangs from a cord wound round with foliage. The distance is a landscape of hills. The four saints are SS. Helen and Peter to the left, SS. Matthew and John to the right. Our notes as to the preservation of this piece are unhappily mislaid, but there is no doubt that it has been restored.

of Pordenone's Madonnas at Susigana and Moriago, and in the Baptist of Pellegrino's altarpiece at Cividale.¹

In a more advanced and expanded manner, and—we cannot doubt—in the best and grandest form of his art, Palma painted, for the altar of the Bombardieri, the glorious St. Barbara of Santa Maria Formosa at Venice, with its splendid accompaniments of saints in half and full-lengths, and its grandly mournful display of the dead Christ lamented by his mother. St. Barbara was the patroness of the Venetian artillerists, who came to adore her majesty at this shrine. They made vows of promise on leaving for the wars, or gifts and offerings after a happy return. We can fancy them kneeling there after the battle of Lepanto, and still enraptured with the charms of Palma's palette. Prominent in size above St. Anthony and St. Sebastian at her sides, St. Barbara stands with her palm and crown on a pedestal flanked by two pieces of cannon. The turret, her emblem, is thrown gigantic against the sky; her shape is grandiose, her beauty healthy, serene, and plump; there is noble ease in her movements, and her draperies are not less finely cast than richly balanced in scales of tints. The hands are those of a queen—of a queen whose flesh is fat and dimpled, and of golden fairness. The glance, the massive hair, the diadem and vestments, the full neck and throat, are all regal; and the whole impersonation scents of the Giorgionesque and reveals the sixteenth century. It is the very counterpart of that fine-chiselled and voluptuous fair one who sits so gorgeously in her red dress and auburn locks amongst the Three Graces of the Dresden Museum. So commanding is this noble apparition, that it throws into the shade the stern and weighty St. Anthony with his crook and bell, who carries the holy fire, and the martyred St. Sebastian, whose frame hangs lissom before the tree to which his arms are bound; yet the St. Anthony is one of Palma's most severe ideals, and forcible as it would have been imagined by Luciani. St. Sebastian contrasts with St. Anthony

¹ Venice Academy, No. 302. Wood, m. 2·85 high by 1·76. Arched, with full-lengths of life-size. The surface is flayed, and almost all the figures are injured by repainting, *e.g.* the heads of SS. Mark and Augustine, and those of the three saints to the right, the blue and red of the Virgin's dress. The movements are all vehement and stirring, and the execution is most resolute.

PALMA VECCHIO



Alinari photo.]

[Venice, Santa Maria Formosa.

ST. BARBARA.

by excessive youth, and admirable prominence of clean contours. There is great power in the action; and life beams from a handsome face recalling the chosen masks of Titian. St. John the Baptist, in half-length, carries the reed-cross and shows the scroll, St. Dominic raises the vessel with the flame. Remarkable above all for its display of passion and force is the Virgin on the pinnacle bending over the body of the dead Redeemer—a group unrivalled in Palma's practice for the mastery with which expression is rendered, for the balance which marks light and shade, and the care bestowed on the drawing or modelling of flesh parts. None of Palma's altarpieces combines in a higher measure vigour and harmony of tint with boldness of touch and finished blending. Nowhere is he more fortunate in reproducing the large soft rounding to which he so usually inclines; in no instance has he realized more clever chiaroscuro; his art embodies several elements of charm which strike us in Titian and del Piombo, without any sign of emptiness or lack of flexibility. The rich fluidity of the impast, the sway and flow of draperies, cast without the stiffness and shallow break so often hurtful in work of more sketchy treatment, all contribute to a combination of perfections rare in Palma.¹ We seek for the reason of such uncommon concentration of power, not knowing whether the company of the Bombardieri had a special claim on Palma's attention, or whether it was more generous than others in its payments.

Almost at this period another altarpiece of large dimensions, the Glory of Constantine and Helen with St. Roch and St. Sebastian, which the Duke Melzi in 1804 presented to the Brera, was finished by the same hand, yet finished loosely—and, curiously enough, reminiscent of Cima. St. Constantine and St. Helen support the cross, the saints in attendance are in landscapes at the sides, and St. Sebastian is very like his namesake at Santa Maria Formosa.² Nor is this solitary proof that Palma, unless spurred by weighty cause to superior exertion, could surrender

¹ Venice, Santa Maria Formosa. The three lower panels are arched and contain full-lengths. The three upper ones are filled with half-lengths. See Rio, *ib. sup.*, vol. vi. p. 169.

² Milan, Brera, No. 179. Arched panels with full-lengths of life-size. The head of St. Constantine is injured, and St. Roch is disfigured by a vertical split in the panel. The flesh-tints are clear and rather empty.

himself to ease and carelessness. There was perhaps no occasion on which he should have felt more bound to exert his utmost skill than when asked to design the Purification and its escort of saints for the Duomo of Serina. Serina, the place of his birth, was also the seat of that charitable brotherhood of mercy which, it was said, had paid Palma's journey to Venice and fed him there in the days of his apprenticeship.¹ Yet it would be difficult to find any series of panels more hastily executed than these. In the principal one on the high altar Mary, with a taper in her hand, ascends the steps of the altar followed by a young girl carrying a basket of doves, and bends before the high priest, who receives her in the presence of spectators. Others, dismembered and dispersed to neighbouring walls and altars, contain the Christ of the Resurrection, with two soldiers showing their heads at the base of the picture, full-lengths of St. James of Compostella with the pilgrim's staff and hat, St. Francis reading, St. John the Evangelist and another saint, each carrying a book, half-lengths of St. Joseph, a friar, and St. Apollonia. All these are injured by scaling, ill-treatment, and the worst kind of repainting, but the best of them and those which are most preserved betray sketchiness and incorrectness of drawing, and are unpleasantly raw in tone.²

But not alone in altarpieces meant for display in country places, even in Venetian churches Palma sometimes indulges in slovenliness; and one of his later canvases—an Adoration of the

* ¹ Cf. on this point Tassi, *ub. sup.*, i. 92 sq.; Fornoni, *Notizie biografiche su Palma Vecchio*, p. 9; Locatelli, *Notizie intorno a Giacomo Palma il Vecchio*, p. 14, n. 2.

² Serina, Duomo. Wood; oblongs with figures under life-size. (1) The Purification. Damaged; the Virgin's red skirt repainted. (2) Christ rising with the banner from the tomb, spotted in the torso; the two soldiers below repainted. (3) St. James of Compostella, the colour of his dress in many cases flaked away. (4) St. Francis reading, retouched. (5) St. John the Evangelist with the eagle, the head spoiled by a split, the red mantle discoloured, the left foot smeared over. (6) A fourth saint in a red tunic and green mantle holding a book, the head daubed over, the dress flaking off. [* As pointed out by Freiherr von Hadeln (*Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, i. 1913), this figure represents St. Philip.] (7) St. Joseph, half-length. (8) St. Apollonia, half-length. (9) A friar half-length. The two first fairly preserved. [* According to Freiherr von Hadeln (*ub. sup.*) the friar is St. Dominic.] Two full-lengths besides the foregoing—(10) St. Peter Martyr and (11) another saint—in this church are attributed to Palma, but are more poorly executed, and perhaps by disciples. These panels were known to Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 180). [* Ridolfi



Agnari photo.

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS.

[Vicenza, Santo Stefano.]

Magi, executed for Sant'Elena and now at the Brera—tells to the very last that, whilst preserving memories of Cima and Carpaccio, he could occasionally descend to the level of the poorer Bergamasques, at whose head we shall place the Santa Croce.¹

To the very last also Palma, when he chose, could preserve the grace, the fullness, and gorgeous tone pre-eminently remarkable in his earlier days. In the large and important altarpiece at Santo Stefano of Vicenza, in which the Virgin sits enthroned between St. George and St. Lucy, the Madonna rivals in elegance and sweetness of features that of Zerman; but her complex and, so to speak, Lombard movement, an artificial run in the contours, and a certain disproportion between the small infant Christ and his large portly mother, make it still apparent that the date of this piece is that of the painter's wane. Similar comparisons suggested by other figures, such as the paltry boy-angel con-

mentions that Palma executed two "paintings" for the church of Serina, one (for the high altar) representing the Purification of the Virgin, the other the Resurrection. The picture seen by the authors above the high altar and now, along with the single figures of saints, in the sacristy, does not represent the Purification but the Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple; it seems, however, beyond doubt that it is the painting alluded to by Ridolfi. We must further conclude that the Presentation and the Resurrection formed the central compartments of two polyptychs, to which the figures of saints also belonged. Freiherr von Hadeln (*ub. sup.*) has reconstructed these altarpieces as follows: (i) The Presentation, between SS. John the Evangelist and Francis, above SS. Apollonia, Joseph, and Dominic; (ii) the Resurrection, between SS. Philip and James. Some of these panels are reproduced in *L'Arte*, xiv. 38 *sqq.* Tassi (*Pitt. Bergam.*, i. 101) mentions an altarpiece by Palma representing St. Francis in the church of the PP. Reformati of Serina, which is not now to be found. [* Another mountain village near Bergamo, Peghera, in the Valle Taleggio, also possesses a polyptych by Palma Vecchio in the parish church (reproduced in *Rassegna d'Arte*, vi. 118); while the *anonca* at Dossena, in the Valle Antea (reproduced in *L'Arte*, xiv. 36 *sq.*) is probably merely by some imitator of Palma.

¹ Milan, Brera, No. 119, originally in the church of the island of Sant'Elena at Venice. Arched canvas, m. 4.70 high by m. 2.60. St. Joseph stands to the left behind the Virgin, who holds the child on her lap to the veneration of the kneeling king. To the right two kings standing, followed by their suite; close to the Virgin St. Helen and her cross,—the whole in a landscape. In the sky three angels. The picture is completely daubed over and spoiled, but seems originally to have been executed with the thinner surface-colour which marks the master's late period. Consult Vasari, v. 244; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 178; Boschini, *Carta del Navegar*, p. 146; and *Le Ric. Min.*, Sest. della Croce, p. 49. [* This picture was ordered from Palma on July 3, 1525. See Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, p. 68.]

trasting with the tall St. George in his steel panoply, or the full make and swelling bosom of St. Lucy, confirm this impression; and in other ways, in a certain dullness of flesh-tone, thinness of surface-tints, and haze in the landscape, we not only detect symptoms of Palma's age, but perhaps also traces of the hand of his assistant, Cariani.¹

The small devotional shrines in which half-lengths of the Madonna and saints are distributed with ingenious diversity; the larger altar decorations in which the majesty of the Virgin and Christ is adored in sacred edifices with escorts of holy martyrs, prophets, and angels, were bequests to the painters of the sixteenth century from artists of a previous age. Palma, who was familiar with both, was more frequently successful in the former than in the latter. If we rightly judge his character from the reflection of it in his works, he was neither without art nor without spirit in the delicate apprehension of subtle motive and its outward rendering in a suggestive and appropriate form; but his tendency was to seize the lowly side of things, and in most instances we prefer his homely to his more ambitious compositions. Palma did more, however, than adopt and remodel the old easel and altarpiece. He was the inventor of the large *Santa Conversazione* in which full-lengths of saints hold humble court in the presence of the Virgin, or introduce to her the bending donors in quiet nooks of country attractive alike from their scenic picturesqueness and the lovely variety of their lines.

The most successful of Palma's large holy conversations is that of the Naples Museum, where to the usual enticements of soft and portly shape and sunny colour Titianesque vigour and richness are superadded. The Virgin has taken her seat on a knoll within easy distance of a farm in an undulating country; the weather is fair and warm, and the sun plays upon the clouds and hills and bushes. The mirthful, cheery child gives the blessing to a lady and her lord whose heads and arms appear at

¹ Vicenza, Santo Stefano. Arched canvas with figures of life-size, dulled and blinded by varnishes and retouchings, the head and frame of St. George especially injured. Curious is the contrast here between the panoply of St. George and the buskins of the angel. The distant landscape is very like that of the Meeting of Jacob and Rachel, at Dresden, and it is not unlikely that Palma was assisted in the work by Cariani.



[After photo.]

SANTA CONVERSAZIONE.

[Naples Museum.]

the picture's edge as they approach the foot of the knoll and are introduced by the wild, half-naked St. Jerome. To the left St. John the Baptist, on one knee, points with powerful gesture to the donors; and St. Catherine attends near the trunk of a tree that has just been felled. In the muscular force and energetic movement of the two principal saints and in the full expanded charms of the Virgin we trace again the source of Pordenone's impersonations; in the whole design and its handling we find not merely the models which Pordenone and Bordone appropriated, but the very ideal of treatment which in the course of centuries became identified with the name of Giorgione. It is a noble composition, sparkling with light in the dresses and landscape, with a fine subordination of all the figures to correct laws of distribution, with rounded shapes and pleasant faces, plump flesh and bold, free drawing; St. Catherine especially Giorgionesque; there is no truer or more interesting reflex of nature than we find in the quiet of the scene, the sprightliness of the child, the ardour of the saints, and the reverence of the donors. Nor is that sort of effectiveness to be disdained which results from contrasting the weather-beaten garb and limbs of the saintly dwellers of the wilderness and the fashioned silks and lawns of the prayerful patrons. In this effort of his best period Palma shows an original strength that would alone account for his fame.¹

A simpler and quieter version of the *Santa Conversazione* in full-lengths is that of the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, where the Virgin rests at the foot of a tree and presents the pretty boy Redeemer to the veneration of St. Catherine, St. Celestin, the Baptist and a female saint, all intent and mirthful, and grouped in kneeling or half-kneeling attitudes. The figures are lazily happy, engaging in form, ready and elastic in movement, in the full ripe shapes peculiar to the master. A clear, semi-transparent

¹ Naples Museum, Room XIII., No. 11. Wood, 2 ft. 10 in. high by 6 ft. 6 in. The surface is slightly rubbed away and retouched in certain spots, otherwise the picture is well preserved. It answers the description of one mentioned by Ridolfi as being in the Casa Barbarigo a San Polo (*Marav.*, i. 182). Abraded: the flesh of the Virgin and child, of the Baptist, especially on the shoulder, of the patroness in prayer, and of the patron; retouched: face of the Virgin and patroness, hands of the latter, as well as her white underdress, yellow sleeve and hair, hands and dark fur-collared silk pelisse of the patron, and shadows of St. Jerome's mantle.

pallor and a peculiar archness in the St. Catherine, who turns her back yet looks at the spectator, recalls to mind the delicate elegance of a Bergamasque painter whose acquaintance we shall presently have to make. Though it is but a guess, we should think it not improbable that this Madonna is one of those in which Palma was assisted by his countryman and helpmate, Lorenzo Lotto.¹

In another jewel of the same collection—a canvas in which Joseph and Zachariah witness the meeting of Elizabeth and Mary at the outskirts of a village, the rich-toned landscape and a large cast of form remind us of the time when Palma and Sebastian were together at Venice.²

Of a later date and in a closer style of grouping, but with much of the spirit which we found in the altarpiece of Naples, we have the splendid panel of the Leuchtenberg Gallery at St. Petersburg, once bequeathed by Maria Priuli to the Venetian Senate, and placed by order of the Government in the Hall of the Council of Ten. It is difficult to find freedom and mastery more intimately allied to winning simplicity and grace. There is something almost Leonardesque in the Virgin, who rests the infant Christ on her knee and looks at him blessing a kneeling man. Her hand is outstretched in token of protection towards the donor, whose patron saint, St. Catherine, sits with bending head and fond glance beside him. The Baptist to the left crouches, all attention, and the Magdalen, resting her fingers on the stump of a tree, enjoys the scene. There are few of Palma's compositions in which ease and breadth of treatment are more nearly combined with the elevation of Titian, none in which we more clearly discern Palma's superiority to Pordenone as a painter of gentle and tender feeling. That the masks are pretty and plump, the colour rich and clear and full of brightness is but an additional source of pleasure.³

¹ Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 140. Wood, 4 ft. 2 in. high by 6 ft. 3 in.

² Vienna Imperial Gallery, No. 139. Canvas, 6 ft. high by 11 ft. 9 in.

³ St. Petersburg, Leuchtenberg Gallery, No. 67. Wood, 3 ft. 3 in. high by 4 ft. 3 in.; full lengths in a landscape with a pillar to the left behind the Magdalen. This picture is described in the Hall of Ten at Venice by Boschini (*Le Ric. Min.*, S. di S. Marco, p. 24) and by Zanetti (*Pitt. Ven.*, p. 206). [* The editor has been unable to ascertain the fate of this painting after the dispersal of the Leuchtenberg collection. It is reproduced in *L'Arte*, vi. 340.]

A counterpart of these as to date and execution is the Madonna of the Louvre, in which we may perhaps detect more of the spirit of portrait and more homely fullness of shape than elsewhere; and yet the Virgin who supports the babe before the adoring shepherd and the lady who kneels in prayer to the left of the penthouse are of the buxom and attractive form which answers so completely to the term of Giorgionesque. We seldom find in any of Palma's subject-pieces a more characteristic display of the type for which he had a special fondness, the brown-eyed fair ones whose swelling charms are set off by copious auburn hair, whose large foreheads, round cheeks, and rosebud lips betoken health and serenity. Here, too, there is perhaps an excess of seeking after grace in the Lombard arrangement of the child assisted in the act of benediction by the hand of its mother; but we lose the sense of effort in the kindly Joseph, who calmly takes his share in the still enjoyment of the scene. The draperies are, as ever, marked here and there by shallow breaks; there is a good balance of light and shade, and the usual solidity in the impast, which seems finished with light and but too evanescent scumbles.¹

We might extend these descriptions by touching upon master-pieces similar to these: the Madonna with the Donor and kneeling Saints which belonged to the late Sir Charles Eastlake, the Virgin with the young Baptist, St. Catherine, St. Jerome, and St. James in the Casa Andreossi at Bergamo, the Holy Family in the Dresden Museum, and the Madonna worshipped by St. Roch in the Gallery of Munich.² But we must pass to

¹ Paris, Louvre, No. 1399. Canvas, m. 1.40 high by 2.10; figures under life-size. This fine work has the forged signature of Titian, "Titianus" and "Ticianno," in two places on the foreground. It was bought for Louis XIV., and has lost its bloom under the hands of the cleaner.

² (1) London, collection of the late Sir Charles Eastlake. [* Now collection of the late Sir Wm. Farrer, Sandhurst Lodge.] Canvas, 6 ft. 7 in. broad. To the left the Virgin, in front of a pillar, presents the child to the adoration of St. Joseph, near whom is a patron in prayer; to the right the Magdalen and the kneeling St. Francis in the foreground of a landscape. This picture was bought at Venice of Signor Natale Schiavone, and may be that described by Martinioni (in Sansovino, *Ven. Descr.*, p. 376) and Bidolfi (*Marav.*, i. 182) in the Vidman collection at Venice. [* See, however, *postea*.] The left hand of St. Francis is damaged by repaint. The treatment is not of Palma's best time, and the colours are not of the richest, but there is force in the work notwithstanding. (2) Bergamo, Signor Enrico Andreossi,

another branch of Palma's art, that in which he deals with solitary figures and portraits.

Like other craftsmen of his time, Palma was often asked for ideal representations of heathen gods and goddesses; but what he did of that sort was not destined to live. The Ceres, which belonged to Francesco Zio, afterwards came into the palace of Andrea Odoni and was lost; the canvas with Juno, Pallas, and Venus in the Tassis collection was transferred to that of Van Os in Amsterdam, and has since been missing; the Rape of Ganymede witnessed by Juno disappeared at the sale of the Renier Gallery.¹ The Dresden Museum alone possesses one of those Venuses which became so fashionable in the days of Titian, but it bears no comparison with the noble and formerly in the Terzi collection. Wood, with small figures of the Virgin; the child blessing the young Baptist and St. Catherine, seated on the ground; to the left, St. James, his blue dress oxidized to green, and St. Jerome,—all in a landscape. This little oblong is rich in colour, but waxy and empty in the flesh on account of the rapid sketchiness of its execution. It is a model in the style of which Bonifazio and Schiavone, at a later part of the century, were fond. [* Morelli (*Die Galerien zu München und Dresden*, p. 56 sq.) goes further and ascribes this picture—which is now in the National Gallery (No. 1202)—to Bonifazio. This view is now commonly accepted. It is undeniable that the painting shows a certain relationship to the art of Palma; but the free decorative style which we find in it is essentially unlike him and belongs undoubtedly to a later phase of art than the work of Palma, while it is thoroughly characteristic of Bonifazio. The same remarks apply, in our opinion, also to the preceding picture.] (3) Dresden Museum. No. 191. Wood, 2 ft. 8½ in. high by 3 ft. 9 in. The Virgin, under a tree, holds the infant Christ, who plays with the young Baptist in presence of St. Catherine and Joseph—a pretty scene. The surface is not free from restoring. (4) Munich, Pinakothek, No. 1108. Wood, 2 ft. 1 in. high by 2 ft. 10 in. St. Mary Magdalen kneels with the ointment-pot in a landscape, as St. Roch, in front of her, presents a rosary to the infant Christ on the Virgin's knee. The flesh-tints are flayed and there is some retouching in this little picture, but the figures and action are still attractive by their grace, and the colours almost equal those of Titian in richness and power. [* The following *Sante Conversazioni* by Palma Vecchio are still to be mentioned: (1) St. Petersburg Hermitage, No. 91. The Madonna with SS. Jerome, Anthony of Padua, Catherine, and Magdalen. (2) London, collection of Mr. Robert Benson. The Madonna with SS. Joseph, Catherine and John the Baptist, presenting the Donor. (3) Venice Academy, No. 147. The Madonna with SS. Joseph, John the Baptist, and Catherine (in all probability identical with the picture which in the seventeenth century belonged to the Vidman collection in Venice; see Cantalamessa, in *Le Gallerie nazionali italiane*, v. 51 sqq.)

¹ Anonimo, ed. Morelli, pp. 64, 70; Boschini, *Carta del Navegar*, p. 322; Tassi, *Pitt. Bergam.*, i. 99; Sansovino, *Ven. Descr.*, p. 378; and cf. Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi*, p. 445.

choice creations of the kind which were so admirably treated by Vecelli. Palma was evidently less fitted to depict female nude than any other Venetian of his age. He was too homely in taste, too much wedded to the familiar and kindly to be able to soar in the regions of the ideal; at best he could but render the more artificial allurements of elegant and tasteful dress. His Venus, at Dresden, is a handsome model posed for the occasion and portrayed as she lay—a woman past the bloom of youth, yet well preserved—a nymph without ethereal charms, whom we should hardly expect to find in the beautiful landscape by which she is surrounded.¹

Adam and Eve on one canvas at Brunswick is also a specimen of Palma's skill in depicting flesh, but an instance of his lack of selection. This is, too, one of Francesco Zio's pictures, and was finished before 1512.² It represents the first man, of a bold, strong mould receiving the apple from a slender, well-made peasant Eve, whilst Satan, in the form of a serpent, peers out of the branches of the tree from which the fruit has been plucked. The type and shape are by no means above the common; and the realism displayed in them could only serve to instruct such second-rates as Bernardino Licinio. But what seems most striking is that, firm and robust as form appears when judged of by its contour, it wants so much of the necessary searching in the modelling and definition of the parts that, in spite of stiff impast and rich touch, an unsatisfactory impression of vagueness is produced. Nowhere again do we mark more clearly how necessary the foil of coloured drapery is to effect in Palma's pictures, for the screen of deep foliage surrounding the tree is by no means as good a contrast as the variegated bits of surface which give such brightness to the more favoured works of the master;

¹ Dresden Museum, No. 190. Canvas, life-size, 4 ft. high by 6 ft. 6 in., bought in 1728 for £300. The flesh is embrowned to some slight extent by age. [• The number of mythological paintings by Palma which have come down to us is somewhat larger than was supposed by the authors, and also comprises the following works: (1) Munich, Pinakothek, No. 1094. A Piping Faun. (See Phillips, in *The Burlington Magazine*, x. 243 sq.) (2) Frankfort-on-the-Main, Stadel Museum. Two Nymphs. (3) London, collection of Sir Claude Phillips. Two Nymphs and a Shepherd (reproduced in *The Burlington Magazine*, xi. 186).]

² Cf. *antea*, p. 353, n. 1.

and the skin, relieved against the trunk and leaves, is of a chalky whiteness.¹

We at once discern the advantage derived from coloured drapery in the half-lengths of Lucretia at the Imperial Gallery of Vienna. The heroine's luxuriant shape, the chestnut hair rolling in disordered wavy tresses, the white lawn of her underdress falling from the shoulders and baring a bosom of pearly tint, are all seductive. The face is handsome and inspired; and—rare in Palma—the purpose for which the dagger is held in the right hand is confirmed by the dauntless expression of the features; but an undoubted gain for the harmony of the whole is the gorgeous green cloth winding round the sleeve and waist. In the gloom behind, Tarquin appears with bushy hair, the light just touching the tip of his nose. He grasps the arm of the retreating Lucretia and strives to arrest her course. What Titian conveys in the *Mistress of the Louvre* in a quiet boudoir scene Palma here presents with lively motion and force. Effect of light and shade in both pieces is the same; Palma is only a little more theatrical; he has not quite his rival's command of drawing in the hand and arm, but the freshness of his palette and touch and the brilliance of his colours carry all before them.²

Of more exquisite finish originally, but unhappily a mere wreck, is the *Judith* at the Uffizi, which for a long time stood catalogued under the name of Pordenone. We cannot blame a man of Palma's fibre for diverging so widely from the true spirit of story as to make the Jewish maid a voluptuous beauty. We cannot think it possible that a woman of such pulpy flesh should have really used the scimitar which she holds in her right hand, or have hacked off the grim head of which she grasps the beard.

¹ Brunswick Gallery, No. 253. Canvas, 6 ft. 10 in. high by 4 ft. 3 in. Catalogued as *Giorgione*, and engraved by W. Unger in *Zeitschr. für Bildende Kunst*, ser. i. vol. iii. plate facing p. 212. Described in the collection of Francesco Zio by the Anonimo (*ib. sup.*, p. 70). The colours are slightly obscured by time, and especially so in the shadows. They have also been injured by cleaning and retouching, and the surface-paint is thick and oily. [* Now officially ascribed to Palma.]

² Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 136. Wood, 2 ft. 6 in. high by 2 ft. 1 in.; half-lengths. The elbow and part of the white drapery are repainted. Of this piece there is a smeared old copy (No. 105) at Hampton Court, and a second by Varotari (No. 643) at the Uffizi. [* Another painting of this subject by Palma is in the Borghese Gallery in Rome (No. 106).]

But the contrast which strikes us as so unnatural in the subject is perhaps one of the attractions of the picture; and we forget all incongruities of thought and matter in the youthful plumpness of the face and bosom, the rich flow of yellow hair, the whiteness of linen, the glitter of amber and lake, the tasteful borderings of citrine and blue in gorgeous tissues. The weight and sluggish nature of the form justify to a certain extent the name of Pordenone, but only proves how Pordenone built up his style on that of his Bergamasque contemporary.¹

It is not improbable that in the Judith, as in the Lucretia, Palma had no other object in view than to depict some Venetian toast. The feeling which predominates in these canvases is that which characterizes others more clearly intended as portraits; and in the number of extant likenesses of this kind, both in and out of Italy, we have a clue to the favourite occupation of the master. As a painter of females Palma not infrequently rivals Titian in the noble elevation and high-bred carriage of his delineations; in others he descends to a tasteful undress which is not without aristocratic spirit, but, at the same time, not without looseness.

Amongst the finer displays of this class which divide our attention we may dwell with more peculiar pleasure on those that adorn the Barberini and Sciarra palaces at Rome. At the Barberini we have the Schiava di Titiano, whose very name suggests that Palma successfully came near to Titian in the qualities of grand air and taste. Not even the smears of a restorer, who nearly turned Palma's surface into that of Padovanino, can divest this half-length of its charm. The person is of high nurture and presence, in the bloom of youth, her hair in tresses, her throat covered with a light white stuff striped in red, her skirt and sleeves red with slashes showing a white lining, her under-sleeves yellow, the left hand resting on a plinth and holding a glove similar to that which covers the right. Here, again, the proportions are full and fat, like those which Pordenone preferred; but the rich tints and sweet

¹ Florence, Uffizi, No. 619. Canvas; life-size, half-length. The surface seems to have been rubbed with pumice-stone and seriously abraded in the process; it was subsequently stippled over in a very painful manner. The forms were altered in this process, and the eyes are all but new; but the head of Holophernes is fortunately less smeared than that of Judith.

harmonies of the colours are Palma's, the treatment recalling the grand period which yielded the St. Barbara of Santa Maria Formosa.¹

The lady at the Sciarra is more consciously noble. She is also known as one of Titian's beauties, yet tells us of Palma by the smooth fleshiness of throat and hand, the variegated tinting, short breaks, and shallow depressions of her dress. Even in such details as the binding and sit of the waving hair, slightly held together by a band on a level with the ears, we recognize the author of the Graces at Dresden. The finely chiselled features are turned to the left, the eyes to the right, with a bold and penetrating glance. One hand plays with the locks which fall luxuriantly over the shoulder, the other holds a box of ornaments on a marble pedestal. The snow-white bosom is chastely veiled by a fine web of white finely drawn together in the closest and most delicate plaits. Over this comes a parti-coloured mantilla of stiff tissue in gay shades of red and ruby, cut into numerous angular sections, lined with bright ultramarine diversified with the snowy texture of a muslin handkerchief. From wrist to elbow the arm is lightly decked with a lace sleeve braced at intervals with ribbands of red and green and striped with colours of the same. It is impossible to conceive anything more indicative of quality than this form and its toilet, and though we notice a certain want of balance in the mass of the draperies, and a lack of nature in the kaleidoscopic mode of setting them, the harmony of all the bits thus put together is so grateful and bright, the touch is so rich, the blending so artful, the surface so delicate in grain, that we wonder and admire.²

More favoured in this respect than Rome, more fortunate by far than Venice or any other Italian city, Vienna owns the very best examples of Palma's pencil as a portraitist.

¹ Rome, Barberini collection, No. 123. Canvas, life-size. Called "La schiava di Tiziano." The surface is daubed over with modern paint in many places, but the hair and some other bits are preserved, and show Palma's rich tones.

² Rome, Palazzo Sciarra-Colonna, Room 2, No. 29. La Bella di Tiziano. Life-size, retouched in the right eye, in the shadow of the nose, and white drapery. The flesh is made somewhat cold by rubbing; the background is dark. On a stone plinth are the initials: "T. A. M. B. END." [* This picture is now in the collection of Baroness Alphonse de Rothschild, of Paris.]

Akin to the grandest creations of Pordenone at the period of this altarpiece at Susigana, is the fine half-length of a bare-necked lady in a sumptuous low dress of white-and-yellow silk, whose waving hair is bound up with pearls. The grand ease of her pose is in admirable contrast with the toning and exquisite finish of the flesh. The right hand grasps a fan of feathers; the left, in somewhat masculine action, rests on the hip, and is all but lost in the sleeve.¹ Another lady in this collection is seen to the waist, showing a beautiful hand out of folds of black silk. Her bosom is exposed in a very gallant manner by the accidental loosening of a lace, but her head is in gala, and there is a smile of happiness in her face. To these charms of nature and art those of a luscious and vigorous colour worthy of Titian are combined.²

A beautiful apparition, too, is that of a lady in yellow hair with a laced bodice, blue silk sleeves lined with green, and red-and-yellow striped under-sleeves. The right hand holds a feather fan, the left gracefully raised—a picture of wondrous freshness.³

Equally seductive, and more in undress, but of similar complexion, and with the head thrown back and turned to the left, is the likeness of a girl in flaxen hair with one hand on the cover of a box—a siren of pearly skin, with all the allurements of youth displayed after the most enticing fashion.⁴ In such portraits as this we find the essence of the treatment which took the name of Giorgionesque, but was due to Palma much more than to Giorgione. The grace and flexible softness of the pose might entitle Palma to be called the Van Dyck of his age.

¹ Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 143. Half-length on canvas, 3 ft. high by 2 ft. 5 in. The flesh has lost its brio by stippling; the hair has been badly restored, and the right hand injured. The treatment is so large and bold that we involuntarily ask, Could not this be by Pordenone at the period of his altarpiece at Susigana?

² Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 141. Wood, half-length, 1 ft. 6 in. high by 1 ft. 3 in. The surface has lost its bloom, and a piece has been added to each of the sides of the panel.

³ Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 133. Wood, 1 ft. 11 in. high by 1 ft. 7 in.; half-length in a semicircular niche; a picture of Giorgionesque charm, slightly rubbed in its surfaces.

⁴ Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 138. Wood, 1 ft. 6 in. high by 1 ft. 3 in.; bust.

The mould of form is one which he liked so much that he repeated it too often. It served for his St. Barbara at Santa Maria Formosa, and the Graces at Dresden; it is coupled with blanchèd and small-made hands so obviously kept in lavender as to presuppose absolute abstention from labour, so delicate and undersized as almost to look unreal.

More gentle and of purer breed, the beautiful *Violante*, whose name is told by the pansy at her bosom, also suns herself before us in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. The chemisette at her bosom is nicely plaited as it issues from the blue bodice. Rich tresses fall down the cheeks and neck, and the sleeves of yellow brocade are cast in the form so often described as peculiar to Palma. The blending and enamel of the skin, the pure and finely outlined features, are lovely. The same figure holding a palm is that which figures as a saint in Palma's *Madonna* under *Giorgione's* name at Madrid.¹

Varied in attitude, again, is the bust of a girl in the same gallery, with her back to the spectator, but showing her face at three-quarters by a coquettish turn. She is busy with her toilet, holds a box, and is dressed in green.²

In later years—we may believe—Palma grouped three of these familiar types into one canvas, and produced the *Graces* at Dresden, which for so many centuries enjoyed celebrity in the collections of Taddeo-Contarini (1525), the Giustiniani, and Cornari. Without the high and aristocratic air of the lady at the Sciarra Palace, or the youth and delicacy which dwell in the *Violante* at Vienna, and yet with a tasteful splendour of dress that has its piquancy, these three young women are grouped with pleasing variety and artifice in front of a very pretty landscape. There is hardly a single peculiarity of the master remaining unrepresented—his melting shapes, his fair, almost waxen complexion, his fine chiselled features, small hands, brocades, and slashes, his draperies without depth, flow, or

¹ Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 137. Bust, wood, 1 ft. 6 in. high by 1 ft. 3 in., from the collection of Paolo del Sera (Boschini, *Carta del Navegar*, p. 378). See also *antea* in *Giorgione*, p. 34.

² Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 142. Wood, 1 ft. 6 in. high by 1 ft. 3 in. The background is new, and the flesh is made cold by abrasion.

PALMA VECCHIO



Hanstaengl photo.

PORTRAIT OF A LADY.

[Vienna, Imperial Gallery.]

winding contour. There is perhaps less than usual transparency and modelling in the skin; and the touch, being loose and washy, creates an impression of emptiness.¹ It is doubtful whether Palma composed this picture from three models or from one. The central figure is the same which we find disguised in peasant dress at Alnwick, the left hand, instead of being gloved, holding the handle of a lute, the right being made to support the bending head. Yet here, as at the Manfrini Palace, where it was long exhibited, the name of Giorgione was appended, regardless of style, treatment, and tradition. In 1525 this lovely Palma belonged to Jeronimo Marcello at Venice, and was accurately assigned to the master who painted it.²

The facility with which Palma in later years united delicacy of tone to tender contrasts of bright tertiary tints was almost exclusively attained at the expense of contour and accurate searching of inner parts. The latest fruits of his practice are remarkable for the swimming haze which covers form and all but confounds the flesh, with its accompaniments of locks and dress, in a cento of clouded opals, pallid amber, sparkling amethyst, emerald, and ruby. A telling proof of this is to be found in the blue-eyed, placid lass of the Berlin Museum, who coquettishly leans her head on her right arm and looks at the spectator. This was one of the canvases which Andrea Vendramin had collected and caused to be reproduced at Venice; it leads us to observe what artifice Palma employed to contrast the dark-green foliage of a background glazed in rich brown tones with a mother-of-pearl skin hardly to be distinguished in its whiteness from the white of the chemise, to melt the tones of the flaxen hair into those of the forehead, to form a harmony from madders, yellows, and browns, and create sparkle by lake rubbings in the shadows of the eye-corners. The outlines are everywhere hidden in a Correggiesque mist of scumble; but form, on that

¹ Dresden Museum, No. 189. Wood, 3 ft. 1 in. high by 4 ft. 4 in.; bought from the Procuratessa Cornaro della Cà Grande for 600 ducats; first in the collection of Taddeo Contarini (Anonimo, p. 65), then an heirloom of the Giustiniani family (see Boschini, *Carta del Navegar*, p. 310). Algarotti to Mariette, February 13, 1751, in Bottari, *Raccolta*, vii. 374.

² Alnwick, canvas, life-size. In the distance two lovers embrace each other. Consult the Anonimo, p. 66.

account, loses all its sharpness, and many portions are out of drawing.¹

Comparing this languid and voluptuous picture with the freely handled one representing a man in a fur pelisse at Munich, we measure exactly the distance which separates Palma in his prime from Palma on the wane. The Munich catalogue naturally clings to the tradition of Giorgione's authorship, which has the sanction of time as well as an inscription on the back of the panel; not the less is this a noble portrait by Palma, and doubtless that which Vasari described as Palma by himself. The face is turned three-quarters to the right, and thrown into effective shadow by the light from an opening in a stone ruin. The right arm issues from a fox-skin pelisse, and the hand is firmly closed on a pair of gloves. It is a noble likeness, intrinsically masterly and admirable, and, in this sense, worthy of Giorgione, but too clearly Palmesque in tone and treatment to leave us in doubt as to the hand that produced it. We have here an additional proof, if such a proof were wanted, how much Palma contributed to the expansion of sixteenth-century art, and how necessary it is to establish his claim to an influence hitherto supposed to have been wielded exclusively by Giorgione. Some critics affirm that the person represented is Giorgione. Whoever he may be, the man is of strong and energetic mould; the glance of his eye is so rapid, open, and expressive as to convey the best impression of nature's instant action; there is a breadth of modelling and a variety of toning beyond measure, telling and truthful; and the play of the features is admirable.²

¹ Berlin Museum, No. 197A. Busts all but life-size (see the drawing of it in Andrea Vendramin's catalogue at the British Museum, *De picturis in Museis, ub. sup.*). The bosom is rubbed down and retouched. [* Four female figures of this type by Palma are not noticed by the authors. They belong to the Hampton Court Gallery (No. 403), the Kaiser Friedrich Museum of Berlin (No. 197B), the collection of the late Dr. Mond in London, and the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli in Milan.]

² Munich, Pinakothek, No. 1107. Wood, 2 ft. 2 in. high by 1 ft. 8 in.; probably the same described by Vasari (v. 246 *sqq.*) and by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 182) as being in the collection of Bartolommeo della Nave at Venice. On the back of the panel we read: "Giorgon de Castel Franco, F. Maestro De Titiano." The hand is rubbed down to the preparation, and there are slight retouches at the side of the nose, on the right cheek, and on the hair. The head is relieved on a ground, lighter than the flesh-shadows. The whole picture has been cleaned and deprived of its original sunny tone. [* It is now officially ascribed to Palma.]

Of Palma's last days we know more than of all the rest of his life. We learn from his will, which is dated July 28, 1528, that he was ailing, and thinking of the salvation of his soul. His father, Ser Antonio, was dead. He himself had no family, but nephews and a niece, children of a deceased brother, Bartolommeo, the eldest of whom, Antonio, became celebrated as the father of Palma Giovine. He desired to be buried in the vaults of the brotherhood of Santo Spirito, at San Gregorio in Venice, of which he was a member. His death ensued very closely upon the signature of his will¹; and on August 8, 1528, his executors made an inventory of his property, which included no less than forty-five unfinished paintings, including more than one ordered for Francesco, the lineal descendant of that Marino Querini for whom the lost altarpiece of Sant' Antonio had been finished in 1521.²

There are numerous pictures in various churches and galleries catalogued as being by Palma. They may be registered as follows :

Nancy Museum, No. 12. Wood, m. 0.60 high by 0.44. This "nameless" panel contains a life-size bust of a bare-headed man in a fur pelisse, the scene a dark room with an opening to the right through which a landscape, church, town, and canal with boats are seen. The flesh is almost entirely repainted, but the parts about the neck which retain their original surface show that Palma was the author of the likeness.³

Venice Academy, No. 315. From Santa Maria Maggiore. Wood, arched, m. 1.85 high by 1.38. This small panel, noticed by Ridolfi (*Marav.*, i. 180), is an Assumption, the Virgin ascending in a choir of seraphs, and the apostles standing below. The figures are small, and executed in the style of Palma, and yet they are characterized by length and slenderness rather than fullness. It may be that Palma completed the picture early, or that some disciple carried it out in his spirit.

*¹ As proved by Dr. Ludwig (*loc. cit.*, p. 70), the exact date of Palma's death is July 30, 1528.

*² See the will and inventory in *Raccolta Ven.*, Serie I. T. 1, Dispensa 2. [^{*} These documents have also been published by Dr. Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, pp. 70 *seq.* For various other contemporary records concerning Palma see *ibid.*, *passim.*]

*³ This picture is now catalogued as a work by Bartolommeo Veneto; and the attribution to this artist appears indeed justified if we observe the composition, the landscape, and the shape of the hand. See also A. Venturi, in *L'Arte*, ii. 439.

Rovigo Gallery, No. 123. Bust of a man in a black vest and green pelisse with a fur collar. Canvas, life-size. It is only on close examination that we detect Palma's hand, so heavily is the surface injured and daubed over.

Stuttgart Museum. No. 485. Wood, 3 ft. 2 in. high by 4 ft. 5½ in., half-lengths; Virgin and Child between St. John the Baptist and St. Peter. In the distance, behind the throne, a pretty landscape is seen. This hastily painted Holy Family is thrown out of harmony by flaying and retouching (the Virgin's head and the child are more particularly spoiled). No. 484. Wood, 4 ft. high by 3 ft. 3 in., from San Zaccaria of Venice (see Cicogna, *Iscr. Ven.*, ii. 143); the Virgin supports the child, who blesses a devotee introduced by St. Peter—knee-piece. This is a genuine Palma, but not originally of the master's best, and now damaged by cutting down and abrasion of the flesh-tints (especially in the Virgin and child).¹ No. 495. 3 ft. 1½ in. high by 4 ft. 1 in. Holy Family, with something of Palma's original touch left in the landscape—the rest repainted.²

Dresden Museum. No. 211. 3 ft. 10½ in. high by 4 ft. 9½ in. The Virgin and Child between St. Joseph, St. Catherine, and St. Elizabeth, with the boy Baptist; distance a tree and landscape. The colours are gay and bright after Palma's fashion, but the handling is not as good as we have a right to expect, and the drawing, as well as the character of the figures, is less decisive than usual. We are reminded of Bonifazio. Still, this may be a genuine but feeble work of the master. The best parts are the St. Joseph and St. Catherine; there is no lack of restoring.³ No. 193. Under the name of Buonconsiglio (see *antea*, ii. 145, n. 4). A Madonna with Saints—the Baptist, Francis, Joseph, and Catherine—though much disfigured by repaints, still displays in parts (the landscape and Baptist) the treatment of Palma and his school.

Berlin Museum, No. 174. Wood, 2 ft. 4½ in. high by 2 ft. Bust of a man in a dark pelisse, with a fur collar; in his right hand he holds a glove. This is a genuine Palma, injured in the shadows of the head, in the flesh of the neck and hand.

Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 196. Wood, 1 ft. 6 in. high by 1 ft. 2 in. Bust of an old man, injured, but originally a genuine Palma.

Vienna, Liechtenstein Gallery. The Holy Family. Virgin, Child, St. Anne, St. Joseph, the kneeling Baptist, and a bishop

*¹ Now officially ascribed to Girolamo da Santa Croce.

*² Now catalogued under Bonifazio.

*³ Attributed in the current catalogue to the workshop of Bonifazio.

in a landscape—is a genuine but poor example of Palma, here and there damaged by retouching (*e.g.* the head of St. Anne and the yellow tunic of Joseph).

Hague, Ex-Gallery of King William II. Canvas, m. 1.10 high by 1.56. The Virgin and Child between St. Francis, St. Jerome, St. Ursula, and another female saint. Our memory accepts this picture as a real Palma.

London, Mrs. Butler Johnstone, Ex-Munro collection. Wood, half-life. The Virgin and Child with St. Joseph and St. Catherine (half-lengths) is an original but not very fine example of Palma, damaged by various accidents.¹

Ex-Northwick collection. No. 107. Wood, 2 ft. 1 in. high by 3 ft. 5 in. Representing in half-length the Virgin and Child between St. John the Baptist and Mary Magdalen, still carries marks of having been executed by Palma. No. 161. 2 ft. 9 in. high by 3 ft. 4 in., half-lengths. On the left the Virgin holds the child erect to be adored by St. Peter, and St. John the Baptist carrying the lamb and cross; in the background a tree is thrown against the sky. Though injured and abraded in flesh, this pleasantly arranged composition displays the hand of Palma in his early time.

*Glasgow, J. Graham Gilbert, Esq., York Hill.*² Small panel with a landscape distance in which the Virgin, attended by a female saint, holds the infant Christ on her knee, he struggling to take the lamb held by the kneeling Baptist; to the left St. Peter carries the keys. This is not of the best, but is still a real Palma somewhat abraded in the flesh.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, No. 109. Canvas, with a life-size Venus recumbent in a landscape about to receive the arrow from Cupid. This raw, cold, and yellow-tinted specimen of Palma seems to have lost its original golden tone by cleaning and restoring.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. No. 156. Canvas. The Virgin and Child, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Catherine, and St. Barbara; looks like one of Polidoro Lanzani's imitations of Titian.³ No. 111 and No. 108. The Angel appearing to Elijah, and Christ calling Zaccheus, are by Palma Giovine.⁴

Garscube, near Glasgow, Sir A. Campbell. The Virgin and Child with Saints. This canvas, with half-lengths, is by an imitator of the Palmesques.

* ¹ Present whereabouts unknown.

* ² Now Glasgow Art Gallery, No. 706.

* ³ Now catalogued under "Venetian school."

* ⁴ Now officially restored to him.

Edinburgh (near) Hopetown House. Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac. This is not a Venetian picture. The portrait of a doge, under Tintoretto's name, but attributed by Waagen (*Treasures*, iii. 309) to Palma, is by a feeble disciple of Titian.

Dublin, National Gallery, No. 42. Wood, 1 ft. 9 in. high by 1 ft. 5 in. Portrait of a young girl: is covered almost entirely with smears, so that we cannot say whether it is original or not.

Edinburgh, National Gallery, No. 98. 1 ft. 6 in. high by 1 ft. 3 in. Adoration of the Shepherds. This is not an original Palma.

Venice, Lady Layard. St. George in Prayer and a Female Saint in a landscape. Wood, under the size of nature. This injured panel displays something of the character of Palma.

Hampton Court. Of all the pieces under Palma's name in this gallery, not one is original. That which most recalls the master's manner is a small Madonna with the child, adored by St. Catherine and St. John the Baptist, catalogued as No. 706 by Titian. The surface is heavily daubed with repaints and varnish.¹ No. 509. A canvas representing Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well represents the Palmesque as we see it in Rocco Marconi or Schiavone.² No. 140. A Nativity with Saints—St. Roch, St. Jerome, and St. Elizabeth with the young Baptist, Tobias and the Angel, St. Joseph and a Shepherd bearing a lamb—is an example similar to the foregoing of resolute handling, but heavy and oily surface-colour. No. 467. The shepherd's offering is a very fine specimen of Jacopo Bassano.³

Ex-Northwick collection, No. 90. Wood, 4 ft. high by 5 ft. 9 in. The Holy Family in a landscape—the Virgin and Child between two females (? St. Anne and St. Elizabeth); to the right and left of the foreground the young Baptist presented by the kneeling Zachariah and St. Joseph. This is a panel of feeble, waxy execution by some of the followers of the Palmesque school.

London, Mr. Barker.⁴ Wood, half-lengths, under life-size. The Virgin and Child between St. Elizabeth and the young Baptist, St. Zachariah, St. Joseph, and St. Catherine of Alexandria; behind the throne a green curtain, at each side of which

*¹ Ascribed to Palma in the current catalogue of the Hampton Court Gallery.

*² It comes closest of all to Bonifazio, and is now catalogued under his name, as is also the next picture.

*³ Now officially ascribed to him.

*⁴ Now Lockinge House, Berks., Lady Wantage.

there is a view of the sky. This panel was once in the Manfrini Palace at Venice. It is a patient and careful work by an imitator of Palma. The St. Joseph and the infant Christ are in Bernardino Licinio's manner, the Baptist Titianesque. The red, peachy tones are not Palmesque, nor is the contour equal to his. We may hesitate between Licinio and Cariani.

*London, Baring collection.*¹ Canvas, life-size. The Magdalen kneels and offers the ointment-vase to the infant Christ on the Virgin's knee; to the right are St. Joseph and St. Catherine in a landscape—a genuine Bonifazio.

London, Holford Gallery. Holy Conversion, on canvas, half-life. The Virgin and Child are in a landscape between SS. Lucy, Peter, Catherine, and another saint. Schiavone, Polidoro, or some other follower of Bonifazio might have produced this picture.

Same gallery. Adoration of the Shepherds. Wood, life-size. The Virgin sits in front of a ruin with Joseph to the left and two adoring shepherds; to the right, three angels sing in the air. This ruddy-toned and freely handled work is of the school of Palma and Lotto, and distinctly presents some of the features of Cariani's style.

St. Petersburg, Leuchtenberg collection. No. 92. Wood, transferred to canvas, 1 ft. 6 in. high by 2 ft. 6½ in. The Virgin and Child, with Saints, the child receiving flowers from the boy Baptist who takes them from a basket in St. Elizabeth's hand; to the right, St. Joseph and St. Catherine. The execution is too poor and the surface too empty for Palma (some retouches). No. 90. Wood, 1 ft. 5 in. high by 2 ft. 3 in. Two shepherds kneel to the right before the infant Christ, who is presented by the Virgin, behind whom sits St. Joseph; distance of hills. The treatment here is very like that of Cariani. No. 91. The Virgin, seated at the foot of a tree, holds the infant Christ, to whom St. Jerome gives an apple. St. Anthony of Padua, St. Catherine, and the Magdalen attend. This, too, is much repainted and leaves us in doubt whether it was once a Palma or is only a school-piece.²

Copenhagen Museum, No. 52 of the catalogue of 1860. The Virgin and Child and St. Francis, with some traces of the old surface left, from which it would appear that it is not a Palma.³

London, Bridgewater Gallery, No. 29. Canvas, small figures in a landscape. The Virgin sits in the middle of the picture

* ¹ Now collection of the Earl of Northbrook.

* ² As already stated, the Leuchtenberg collection is now dispersed.

* ³ Now in Kronborg Castle, near Copenhagen.

looking round to the left at the Baptist, who plays with the lamb; a donor to the right takes the infant Christ from the Virgin's arm; distance, landscape. This spirited little picture is too feeble for Palma and is painted in a style reminiscent of Bernardino Licinio or Polidoro Lanzani.¹ No. 3. A Repose in Egypt. The Virgin holds the infant to be kissed by the young Baptist, whilst St. Joseph rests in the distance. The handling is after the fashion of the Bonifacios, or Andrea Schiavone. No. 60. Portrait of a Doge, is of the sixteenth century.

Berlin Museum. No. 199. Wood, 1 ft. 5½ in. high by 2 ft. 1¼ in., the Virgin, Child, St. Francis and St. Catherine, is a poor imitation of a Palma.² No. 186. Canvas, knee-piece, portrait of a Doge. This likeness is smeared with modern colour, but deserves to be classed in the school of the Bassanos rather than in that of Palma.³ No. 183. The Virgin Adoring the Child, and St. Joseph—a feeble Venetian panel. No. 192. The Virgin, Child, and St. Catherine; not genuine, and altogether repainted.⁴ No. 31. Virgin reading with the sleeping Child, signed Jacobus Palma; not genuine.

Munich, Pinakothek. No. 1086. The Virgin, Child, Joseph, Elizabeth and the Marys, once under Palma's name, and now catalogued in the school of Bellini, recalls the style of Bissolo and the Santa Croce, but is much damaged by disagreeable smears. No. 1088. St. Jerome is not of the Venetian, nor is it of any Italian, school.⁵

Vienna, Imperial Gallery. No. 193. Wood, 4 ft. 2 in. high by 6 ft. 3 in. The Virgin and Child between St. Mark, and St. Ursula, with three of her Virgins, by Bonifazio.⁶ No. 134. Wood, 3 ft. 6 in. high by 1 ft. 10 in. St. John the Baptist; is a feeble and injured panel in a style commingling that of Palma with that of Pordenone.⁷ A copy by Teniers is to be seen at Blenheim.⁸ No. 212. Wood, transferred to canvas, 2 ft. 3 in.

*¹ It is now by general consent held to be an early work by Titian.

*² Now on loan to the School of Drawing at Brandenburg.

*³ Not now shown.

*⁴ Now on loan to the Town Gallery at Stettin.

*⁵ In the current catalogue of the Munich Pinakothek the former picture is entered under "Venetian School, about 1520-30"; the latter is now in the depot of the gallery and catalogued as "Flemish, about 1560, school of Willem Key or Pourbus; copy after an original at Bruges."

*⁶ Now catalogued as a work by Bonifazio.

*⁷ Morelli (*Die Werke italienischer Meister in den Galerien von München, Dresden und Berlin*, p. 61) considers this painting as a work by Palma and thinks that, together with Nos. 135 (St. Roch) and 144 (St. Sebastian) in the same collection, it may have formed a triptych mentioned in the inventory of pictures found in Palma's atelier at his death.

*⁸ Sold at the sale of the Blenheim collection in 1886.

high by 2 ft. Half-length of Gaston de Foix, with his hand on a helmet; seems more like a portrait by Bernardino Licinio than one by Palma.¹

Vienna, Liechtenstein Gallery. A small panel in this collection, with figures about one-fourth of nature—the Virgin, Child, St. Catherine reading, and another female saint with a book—is a copy from a picture bearing marks of Palma's style.

Vienna, Czernin collection, No. 29. The Virgin and Child, St. Catherine and St. John the Baptist, with the lamb, is a seventeenth-century imitation.

Late Esterhazy collection (Vienna and Pesth), No. 33. The Virgin and Child, the Baptist, and a praying friar in landscape, is in the character of Palma and Lotto, but difficult to classify under any certain name.²

Stuttgart Museum. No. 461. Wood, 1 ft. 4½ in. high by 1 ft. 1½ in. The angel Raphael and Tobias. This is a feeble Bergamasque production reminiscent of the Santa Croce.³ No. 463. Bust of a female, canvas, is an injured portrait, more in Lotto's manner than in that of Palma.⁴

Cassel Museum. No. 499. Venus at the Toilet. Canvas, inscribed: "Jacopus Pal. F." No. 500. Perseus rescues Andromeda. These canvases are assigned to Palma, but are painted by his nephew.⁵

Hanover, Provinzialmuseum, No. 288. Wood, 2 ft. 2 in. high by 3 ft. 2½ in. The Virgin and Child with a Donor and Donatrix between St. Jerome, St. Anthony, St. Barbara, and St. Francis—half-lengths in front of a green hanging. The dusky ruddiness of tone and soapy substance of colours modelled with dark shadows; the peculiar manner in which form is rendered, and a characteristic mould in the faces,—all this recalls the school of Pellegrino da San Daniele, and, more particularly, the hand of a painter like Domenico Mancini of Treviso.⁶

Dresden Museum, No. 194. A female rests her hand on a mirror; behind her stands an attendant. This raw and dusky

*¹ Now officially ascribed to Pellegrino da San Daniele in accordance with a suggestion from Morelli. (*Die Galerien zu München und Dresden*, p. 49.)

*² Now Budapest Museum, No. 77.

*³ This picture is now held by many critics to be one of the earliest extant works by Palma.

*⁴ Now catalogued under "School of Palma Vecchio."

*⁵ They are now officially ascribed to Palma Giovine.

*⁶ In the current catalogue this picture is entered as being merely in the style of Palma.

canvas is of rude execution, and very doubtful as a work of Palma.¹

Florence, Pitti, No. 38. The supper at Emmaus, inscribed on a seat on the right hand with the letters: "I. P. A." (?) This is a good Titianesque composition executed by a painter of weaker fibre than Palma. The feeble character of the figures and the careless touch, something dirty in the mixture of the tones, point to a late Venetian beneath Zelotti in power.

Florence, Pitti, No. 254. Holy Family. Capriolo.

Florence, Pitti, No. 414. Female portrait. This is a dusky melancholy likeness by an artist more modern than Palma.

Rome, Galleria Corsini, No. 39. The miracle of the loaves and fishes under Palma's name is by an artist of the eighteenth century.²

Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamfili. St. Jerome in Adoration is by Lotto.³

Siena, Spannocchi collection (in the Town Gallery, No. 500). Wood, half-life. The Virgin and Child, St. Joseph, and a devotee with his arms crossed over his breast; distance, landscape. The character of this composition and the peculiarities of its execution point to a young artist of Treviso following the models of Palma and Titian—it may be by Paris Bordone or one of his disciples.

Ferrara Gallery, Sala I. Canvas, m. 1.07 high by 1.62. Christ and the tribute money, 11 or 12 half-lengths. This piece belongs to a time subsequent to that of Palma. The flesh-tints are of the ruddy emptiness and gaiety which characterize Lattanzio Gambara or Cariani. The head of Christ is renewed by a Ferrarese.

Florence, Uffizi, No. 1037. Small panel. Christ and the Disciples at Emmaus. We may assign this charming little composition, which scents of the Palmesque and yet is technically treated in a manner varying from that of Palma—with grain scumbles—as a favourable specimen of Andrea Schiavone. Both the face and the form of Christ at the table are very fine. The touch and the tone are neither as firm nor as brilliant as Palma's.

Florence, Uffizi, No. 650. Round, on slate; representing "a geometer"; on the side of a table the date, "MDLV." Why this piece should be catalogued as we still find it is a mystery, especially as we know that Palma died in 1528.

*¹ Now on loan to the König Albert Museum at Freiberg and officially attributed to the school of Palma.

*² Not now shown at the Palazzo Corsini.

*³ Restored to Lotto in the current catalogue of the Gallery.

Florence, Pitti, No. 84. Wood. The Virgin sits with the child on her lap, who consigns a globe to a kneeling personage. A crown at the feet of the latter appears to indicate regal birth. To the right are St. Elizabeth and the young Baptist. Boschini describes a picture, answering the description of this one, in the *Madonna dell' Orto* at Venice (*Le R. M.*, S. di Canareggio, p. 33). It is a spirited and pleasant work, very like a Palma, especially in the figure of the kneeling man, but executed with less vigour and assurance than usual, and therefore possibly by some subordinate of Treviso or Friuli.

Modena Museum, No. 434. Wood, m. 0.75 high by 0.92, purchased at Venice by Francis V. of Modena, represents the Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph, with two female martyrs in attendance. It is a much-injured, but old, copy.

Milan, Brera, No. 145. The Woman taken in Adultery, once in the gallery of the Archbishop's Palace at Milan (Tassi, *ub. sup.*, i. 103), is a Bonifazio falsely assigned to Palma.¹

Milan, Archbishop's Palace, No. 36. Virgin and Child—the latter in benediction—and the young Baptist with the lamb, is by Bernardino Licinio. (See *antea*.)

Bergamo, Carrara, No. 196. Canvas, with figures one quarter the size of life. The Virgin holds the child, who takes a scroll from the young Baptist presented by St. Elizabeth; to the right St. Joseph and a female saint; distance, landscape. This piece, miscalled Palma, is more like a work of Andrea Schiavone; and yet too poor even for him.

Florence, Uffizi, No. 623. Madonna, with the Magdalen, St. Joseph, and St. John. This panel is not by Palma (see *antea*, Capriolo).

Florence, Uffizi, No. 1087. Wood. Portrait of a lady. This half-length, under the natural size, is somewhat dryly treated, as if by some Friulan follower of the Palmesque manner. The surface is heavily daubed over.

Vicenza, Casa Trissino. Half-lengths of the Virgin and Child between SS. Chiara, Mary Magdalen, Paul, and two other saints, attended by a female patroness with her child. This picture, composed of small figures, is by some imitator of the Palmesque style. The Virgin's head is new.

Schio Church. Wood, half-lengths. Virgin and Child between St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine, inscribed (on a parapet) "Jacopo Palma p. 1520." This panel is stippled over, but still has a Palmesque look. The figures are too paltry for the master; and the painter is probably an imitator. The inscription is false.

* ¹ Now officially ascribed to Bonifazio.

Brescia, Casa Erizzo-Maffei. Holy Family, assigned to Palma, but really by Cariani. (See *postea*.)

Brescia, San Barnaba. St. Onofrio the hermit, ascribed to Palma, is by a feebler and later painter.

Lucca, San Pietro. St. Anthony the Abbot between SS. Francis, Bartholomew, Andrew, and Dominic; this picture, described in Tassi's *Vite de' pittori* . . . *bergamaschi* (i. 106, n. 1), was not seen by the authors.

Cividale, Duomo. Arched canvas representing Christ appearing to the Magdalen, and a canon in prayer. This large piece is in the style of Pordenone and his school, and might be by Bernardino Licinio.

Venice, Santo Stefano. Canvas, life-size. The Virgin presents the infant Christ on her lap to St. Mary Magdalen, who kneels to the left with the ointment-vase. To the right a saint converses with St. Catherine; distance, a landscape. This much-injured picture has been assigned by the oldest annalists (Boschini, *Le R. M.*, S. di S. Marco, p. 91; Zanetti, *Pitt. Ven.*, p. 204; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 179) to Palma Vecchio, and may have been by him when they described it. If genuine, it has lost all originality under repaints. Yet there is still much in the treatment that betrays the hand of Bonifazio.

Venice, Santa Maria Mater Domini. Canvas, life-size. The Last Supper—a genuine Bonifazio. Sansovino alone, of all the chroniclers, recognized the author (*Ven. Descr.*, p. 205). The Last Supper in San Silvestro has disappeared. (Boschini, *Le R. M.*, S. di S. Polo, p. 9; Zanetti, *Pitt. Ven.*, p. 206; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 180.)

Padua, Communal Gallery. Virgin and Child, a male and female donor (see *antea* in Previtali, i. 285, n. 1).

*Treviso Hospital.*¹ Wood, half-lengths. The Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph, in a landscape. Though much damaged by repainting, this is a fine Paris Bordone, of which there is an old copy (also under Palma's name) in the Scarpa collection at La Motta.² Venus and Vulcan, called Palma Vecchio in the Communal Gallery of Treviso, is a canvas of the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

Venice Academy, No. 301. Wood, m. 0.56 high by 0.44. Bust portrait of a lady, in front of a green hanging which partially conceals the sky. Though altered in flesh by stippling, this is but a Palmesque production in the raw and ruddy tones

*¹ Now Communal Gallery, No. 73.

*² Sold at the Scarpa sale in Milan, November 14 and 15, 1895. Reproduced in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, ser. ii. vol. i. p. 413.

and incised drawing of which we may recognize the hand of Palma's imitator Cariani, even though some parts, *i.e.* the red sleeves, point to the hand of a Friulan of the class of Bernardino Licinio.¹

Venice, Madonna dell' Orto. Canvas, m. 2.75 high by 1.75. St. Stephen enthroned between St. Lorenzo Giustiniani, St. Helen, a bishop, and a saint holding a book; life-size, burnt at the left-hand corner, and repaired by the introduction of a new piece of stuff. The movement of the figures is Palmesque, but the impast is spare and the handling is poorer than Palma's. The altarpiece was done by the artist's assistants or has been ruined by accidents and repaints. (Consult Boschini, *Le R. Min.*; Sestier di Canareggio, p. 30; Sansovino, *Ven. Descr., ub. sup.*, 167; Zanetti, *Pitt. Ven.*, p. 207; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 180.)

Venice, San Cassiano. Wood, arched, with figures of life-size. St. John the Baptist on a pedestal between St. Jerome, St. Mark, St. Peter, and St. Paul, in a hilly landscape. The colours are rich, warm, and highly fused, but deep and sombre; the drawing accurate and careful. The Baptist, of lean and bony shape, is the most Palmesque part of the composition, and yet looks too paltry for Palma. The broad and weighty St. Paul, the landscape, recall Sebastian del Piombo. The remaining saints are of Friulan air. The mixed styles thus brought together in one panel might suggest to us the hand of Rocco Marconi in his early period. (See Boschini, *Le R. M.*, S. della Croce 18.)²

The following list comprises missing pieces and those which the authors were not fortunate enough to see:

Venice, San Moisè. Virgin and Child in Glory; below, St.

*¹ Assigned to Cariani in the current catalogue.

*² The following paintings by Palma Vecchio may still be mentioned: (1) Budapest Museum. Portrait of a Youth; Portrait of a Girl. (2) Dresden Gallery, No. 192. The meeting of Rachel and Jacob. (3) Hamburg, collection of the late Consul Weber, No. 115. The Annunciation. (4) London, National Gallery, No. 636. Portrait of a Man. (5) London, collection of Mr. R. Benson. Portrait of a Man. (6) London, collection of Lord Lansdowne. A Concert (see *antea*, p. 45, n. 2). (7) London, Lt.-Col. S. A. D. Neeld, Bt. St. George. (8) Madrid, the Duke of Alba. Male portrait. (9) Milan, Museo Borromeo. The Nativity of Christ. (10) Milan, collection of Comm. B. Crespi. The Resurrection of Christ. (11) Milan, collection of Dr. G. Frizzoni. The Resurrection of Lazarus. (12) Rome, Capitol Gallery, No. 203. Christ and the Adulteress. (13) Rome, collection of Marchese Visconti-Venosta. The Virgin and Child. (14) St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 1657. Portrait of a Man. (15) Strassburg Gallery, No. 271. Salvator Mundi. (16) Venice, Academy, No. 516. The Tempest (see *antea*, p. 33, n. 1). (17) Venice, Galleria Querini-Stampalia. Portrait of Francesco Querini; Portrait of a Lady (both unfinished).

John the Baptist and St. Jerome (Vasari, v. 244 *sq.*; Boschini, *Le R. M.*, S. di S. Marco, p. 81; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 178).

Venice, Santo Spirito. St. Anthony of Padua between St. Apollonia and the Magdalen (Boschini, *Le R. M.*, S. di Castello, p. 77).

Venice, Madonna dell' Orto, Monastery. Virgin and Child adored by the Emperor Constantine, St. Helen, and the young Baptist (*ibid.*, S. di Canareggio, p. 33).

Venice, San Cristoforo della Pace. Unfinished panel with the Madonna enthroned between St. John the Baptist and St. Jerome (Sansovino, *Ven. Descr.*, p. 234).

Venice, Gesuati. The Eternal (*ibid.*, p. 271).

Venice, Palazzo Niccolò Cornaro a San Maurizio. The Cession of the Government and Crown of Cyprus by Queen Cornara to Pietro Mocenigo (*ibid.*, p. 375).

Venice, Renier collection. Marcus Aurelius and three philosophers; a portrait; Rape of Ganymede (*ibid.*, p. 378).

Venice, Casa Andrea Odoni. A young man and an old woman with her back to the spectator (Anon., ed Morelli, p. 61); a Ceres (*ibid.*, p. 64).

Venice, Casa Francesco Zio. Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery¹; a nymph (*ibid.*, p. 70).

Venice, Casa Bartolommeo della Nave. Portrait of a girl (Ridolfi, *Marav.* i. 182).

Venice, Casa Bergontio. The Redeemer (*ibid.*, ii. 149).

Venice, Signor Jacopo Ponto. Virgin and Child and St. Catherine (*ibid.*).

Venice, Signor Bortolo da Fino. Full-length of the Virgin between St. John and the Magdalen (*ibid.*, ii. 423).

Milan, Vallardi collection. Christ going to Calvary (Vasari, ed. Le Monnier, annot., ix. 145). This piece is given in Vallardi's catalogue to Palma Giovine.

Brescia, Conte Lana. Portrait (Tassi, *Pitt. Bergam.*, i. 102).

Brescia, Conte Avogadri. Crucified Saviour (*ibid.*).

Brescia, Casa Maffei. Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph (*ibid.*, p. 103).

Genoa, Palazzo Durazzo. Virgin, Child, St. John the Baptist, and St. Mary Magdalen (*ibid.*, notes to p. 106).

Genoa, Palazzo Brignole. Adoration of the Magi (*ibid.*), ? by Bonifazio.

Verona, Dottor Curtoni. Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph (*ibid.*, p. 102).

¹ Perhaps identical with the picture in the Capitol Gallery in Rome, mentioned in the preceding note; but see also *postea*, p. 390.

Casa Bonduri. Repose in Egypt (*ibid.*).

Casa Guadagni. St. Jerome (*ibid.*).

Conegliano, Padri Reformati. Virgin and Child in Glory, with St. James, St. Anthony the Abbot, Joseph, and Nicodemus (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 181).

Bergamo, Signor Conte Asperti. Forge of Vulcan, with Vulcan and three Cyclops (Tassi, i. 94).

Antwerp, Signor Van Veerle. Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph; Christ and the Magdalen in the house of the Pharisee; Virgin, Child, St. Christopher, St. Catherine, and a portrait of Queen Cornara, half-lengths (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 181).

Antwerp, Signor Cristoforo Orsetti. Virgin, Child, St. Joseph, and St. Catherine (*ibid.*, i. 375).

France, Monseigneur d'Houssaye, once Ambassador from France to Venice. Two Holy Families (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 181, and Félibien, *ub. sup.*, ii. 89).

Rome, Galleria Giustiniani. St. Jerome in the Desert; Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes (Tassi, *Pitt. Bergam.*, i. 100).

Bergamo, Signor Curato Conti. The Saviour in Glory; and below, St. Sebastian and St. Roch (*ibid.*, note to p. 101).

Bergamo, Signor Carlo Albani. Christ dead on the Virgin's lap (*ibid.*).

The annotators of Tassi give a long list of fictitious Palmas in the Carrara Gallery at Bergamo (*ibid.*, pp. 93, 4).

The following list comprises items registered in the inventory of the pictures found in Palma's atelier at his death:

1. Portrait of a Cypriot half finished on canvas. 2. Christ only drawn (small). 3. Portrait of a woman with her hand on her breast, almost finished.¹ 4. Portrait of a priest, almost finished. 5. Head of Christ, almost finished. 6. St. John Evangelist, finished.² 7. Portrait "del Semitecholo." 8. Christ and the Twelve Apostles, and two women, half finished (see Venice Academy, No. 310). 9. Head of St. John the Baptist on canvas. 10. Portrait "of one of Murano." 11. Portrait of Piero Antonio de Zorzi, a draper. 12. A naked female, almost finished (see Dresden Museum, No. 190, and *postea*). 13. Portrait of a lady in crimson velvet with an apple in her hand. 14. Head of Christ, sketched and part coloured. 15. Head of a shepherd, almost finished. 16. St. Jerome in the desert, finished.

*¹ Dr. Ludwig (*ub. sup.*, p. 76, n. 1) identifies this picture with the female figure now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (No. 197B; see *antea*, p. 376, n. 1).

*² Cf. *antea*, p. 42, n. 2.

17. Portrait of a lady with part of her hair in her hand, almost finished. 18. Altarpiece in three parts, with St. John the Baptist, St. Roch, and St. Sebastian.¹ 19. Virgin and Child, with the portrait of Nicolò Campanato and two female saints, almost finished. 20. Portrait of a lady in yellow satin sleeves.² 21. Small portrait of Piero Trivisan. 22. A naked female on canvas, almost finished (see again Dresden Museum, No. 190). 23. Portrait of a girl with her hair on her shoulders, dressed in green, half done.³ 24. Judgment of Solomon, sketched in. 25. The Woman taken in Adultery and brought before Christ.⁴ 26. Picture with landscape sketches. 27. Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph. 28. Flight into Egypt. 29. Head of Christ in benediction. 30. Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph. 31. Canvas of the Virgin and Child, with St. John the Baptist; a sketch. 32. Virgin and Child with the young Baptist; canvas, half done. 33. Same subject on canvas, with the additional figure of St. Joseph. 34. Baptism of Christ, on canvas. 35. Virgin, Child, St. Peter, and a female saint; sketch. 36. Virgin and Child, with St. Joseph and two female saints; canvas, half finished. 37. Virgin and Child, St. Francis, St. Catherine, St. George, a child, and an angel; canvas, sketched in. 38. Virgin and Child and an Angel, with Messer Anzolo Trivisan and St. Francis; begun. 39. Design for the foregoing. 40. Sketch of a lady. 41. Portrait of Messer Francesco Querini. 42. Virgin and two Saints, and St. Francis and St. Peter; commissioned by Francesco Querini. 43. Virgin and Child, St. John the Baptist, St. Catherine, and St. Nicholas; partly finished for Messer Francesco Querini.⁵ 44. Portrait of a youth with a round cap. 45. Portrait of a beggar.

*¹ Cf. *antea*, p. 382, n. 7.

*² This is probably the Portrait of a Lady, now in the Galleria Querini Stampalia at Venice (see *antea*, p. 387, n. 2). Ludwig, *ub. sup.*, p. 77, n. 9.

*³ Probably identical with the picture now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna (No. 141; see *antea*, p. 373). Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, p. 77, n. 11.

*⁴ Perhaps the picture now in the Capitol Gallery (see *antea*, p. 387, n. 2, and p. 388, n. 1).

*⁵ No. 41 is now in the Galleria Querini Stampalia in Venice (see *antea*, p. 387, n. 2); and according to Dr. Ludwig (*ub. sup.*, p. 79, nn. 2 and 3), Nos. 42 and 43 also form part of the same collection, and have been finished by Bonifazio.

CHAPTER VIII

LORENZO LOTTO

LORENZO LOTTO, the friend of Palma, Previtali, and the Santa Croce can scarcely be omitted in a volume which treats of the pupils of Giovanni Bellini and the earlier Bergamasques.

It has been said, with some show of truth, that Lotto was more worthy of a biography than any of the second-rates of the North Italian provinces. There is no doubt that, amongst the second-rates, he holds an eminent place, and claims to rank æsthetically as high as Bazzi.

With an inventive faculty and poetic fancy seldom surpassed, Lotto was also endowed with a quickness only paralleled—in the century to which he belonged—by a very small number of masters. The fertility of his production was such that his works are found abundantly in the greater part of Northern or Central Italy. We should be filled with surprise at the comparative obscurity into which his name and works finally fell, but that we remember that, during the period of his greatest activity, the best and most celebrated artists of the peninsula attracted the public gaze and cast those of a lower class into the shade.

It is easy to be enthusiastic about Lotto's talent. He had a very fine feeling for colour, he became a master of foreshortening and modelling, he studied action in its most varied forms, and rendered it with unaccustomed daring; expression in every mood—expression roguish, tender, earnest, solemn—he could depict them all. But there was one thing wanting in his pictorial organism: he lacked the pure originality of genius and independent power.

In his youth a disciple of the Bellinesques—as regards art, of

kindred with Previtali—he inclined somewhat later to the Palmesque and Giorgionesque; he then imbibed Lombard habits of thought, and finally clung to the style of Titian. He was born too near the time when painting attained its highest culture not to acquire much of that culture; but he contented himself with following where others led, and this enables us to understand the neglect in which posterity left him. The common impress in Lotto, Previtali, the Santa Croce, and other Bergamasques, the friendship which united Lotto to Palma, the influence of Previtali on Lotto's manner, Lotto's residence for years at Bergamo—all this gives weight to the opinion of those who hold that Lotto was by birth a Bergamasque; and the fact that Bergamo was a Venetian city explains sufficiently how Lotto could, without inconsistency, be described as "de Venetiis." That his father, Tommaso de Lottis, was of a family widely ramified in the Bergamasque country is not without importance in this inquiry.¹

It is not improbable that Lotto followed Palma's example and came early to Venice, where he naturally frequented those

¹ In a contract drawn up at Bergamo in 1513 Lotto is called "Magister fi q. Thomaxy de Lotis ven." (See P. Locatelli, *Illustri bergamaschi*, 8vo, Bergamo, 1867, i. 466; see also Tassi, *Pitt. Bergam.*, i. 117, who completes the monosyllable "ven" with "venisset"). In a deed of May 12, 1524, we find: "Laurentius Lottus de Venetiis pictor, nunc habitator Bergomi" (Locat., *ub. sup.*, i. 58). In the books of accounts of Santa Maria Maggiore at Bergamo there are several payments to "Laur. Lotto pictori in civitate Venetiarum." Vasari calls Lotto "pittor veneziano" (v. 249). Lotto himself inscribed his pictures with nothing more than the words "Laurent. Lotus," "L. Lotus," or "Lorenzo Loto." The Anonimo is silent as to this point, but Lomazzo speaks of Lotto as a Bergamasque (*Idea*, *ub. sup.*, index; *Trattato*, *ub. sup.*, p. 474 and index). Boschini does the same (*Carta del Navegar*, p. 303; *Ric. Min.*, Sest. di D. D., p. 43). Ridolfi also (*Marav.*, i. 185) and Locatelli found the name of Lotto in Bergamasque records of several centuries (*ub. sup.*, i. 62).

[* We cannot agree with the authors in giving a wider sense to the expression "de Venetiis." As pointed out by Dr. Ludwig, the fact that these words are coupled with Lotto's name in documents drawn up in Treviso and Bergamo may be taken as proving that he was born in Venice. Considering, on the other hand, that the Lottos from the thirteenth century onwards can be traced in the Bergamasque valleys, whereas members of that family begin to be recorded as living in Venice as late as in the second half of the fifteenth century, we may assume that Lorenzo Lotto was the child of Bergamasque parents who had settled in Venice. See Ludwig, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxvi, Supplement, p. 130,

of his countrymen who gave promise of skill, or proved their excellence in art. He would easily be thrown in this way into the company of Palma and the Santa Croce, who doubtless formed part of a colony to which Previtali belonged. No man certainly deserved more truly to rank amongst the craftsmen of Venice, for his pictorial education was essentially, we may say exclusively, Venetian.

After Palma had developed the originality of his talent, Lotto followed him; and we may presume to believe that Vasari was well informed when he wrote that Lotto was Palma's journeyman as well as his friend.¹ He surely acquired, and then exaggerated, those peculiar affectations of grace which often charm yet frequently repel us in Palma's works. It was only after travel that his style assumed a Lombard impress.

The principal attraction of Lotto at every period was brilliance and sparkling play of light; but those who closely study all his masterpieces will be struck by their inequality; they will find Lotto prone to fall into extremes, exaggerating contrasts of pattern and tint, exaggerating sprightliness and action, and forgetting the pure standard of taste in pompous dress and luxurious adornments. The Lombard polish and finish of his pictures are supposed to have been derived from Leonardo; and it has been assumed that he accompanied da Vinci in 1514 to Rome, but those who concur in this theory appear to forget that it was in 1505 that the pupil of Leonardo, whose name is Lorenzo, was taken as apprentice into Leonardo's atelier at Florence,² and they consistently ignore the fact that the Lombard form in Lotto is only to be found in works produced about 1512, after the Palmesque influence apparent in canvases of an earlier date had been partially obliterated.

In the absence of information of any kind as to the date of Lotto's birth, we are bound to receive with caution all the conjectures which authors have ventured upon in regard to this

¹ Vasari, v. 249.

² Amoretti (*Mem. Stor. di L. V., ub. sup.*, p. 91) gives Leonardo's own note of Lorenzo's apprenticeship. There are other notices of Lorenzo's connection with Leonardo at Milan in 1512, when Lotto painted the Entombment of San Floriano at Jesi, and of his accompanying da Vinci to Rome in 1514 (Amoretti, pp. 102, 104); but cf. Rosini and Rio's *Art Chrétien*, vol. iii., ed. of 1861, pp. 274-5.

point.¹ If we believe Padre Federici, he was a painter at Treviso in 1505;² but though we are assured that numerous works of Lotto were once in Trevisan collections, and though we are aware that there are still some altarpieces in the neighbourhood of Treviso, we have no present means of confirming the statement of the Trevisan historian.³ There is no extant picture by Lotto of an earlier date than 1508, and that is a Holy Conversation on the Palmesque model in the Borghese Gallery at Rome.⁴ We might almost fancy, as we look at the half-

* ¹ Since Lotto, in a will made by him on March 25, 1546, gives his age as "about 66," it follows that he was born about 1480. Cf. Cecchetti, in *Archivio Veneto*, xxiv. p. 351.

* ² This picture represented a tree with a trophy, a shield with the arms of the Rossi di Sest. Secondo, a boy playing with instruments lying on the ground, and a satyr looking at antique urns and vases. Behind this piece, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century belonged to Antonio Bertoli, an advocate at Parma, there was, according to Federici (*Mem. Trevig.*, p. 6), the following inscription: "Bernardus Rubeus Berceti comes pontif. Tarvis. ætat. Ann. xxxvi. Mens. X. D. V. Laurentius Lottus P. Cal. Jul. MDV." [* This painting was subsequently in the hands of the painter Gritti, of Bergamo, who sent it to London. Berenson, *Lorenzo Lotto*, p. 5.]

* ³ It is now known, on the evidence of contemporary records, that from 1503 to 1506 Lotto lived chiefly at Treviso. On Oct. 18, 1506, he was about to leave that town, and, not having the necessary money to pay his rent, left some of his clothes and various other objects as a pledge with his landlord. He then went to Recanati, where he, some months before, on June 20, had undertaken to paint the *ancona* for the church of San Domenico, which will be discussed shortly. By Nov. 24, 1506, he was back at Recanati. See Bampo, in *Archivio Veneto*, xxxii. 171 *sqq.*; Biscaro, in *L'Arte*, ii. 152 *sqq.*; Gianuzzi, in *Nuova rivista misena*, vii. 36 *sq.*

* ⁴ The authors are forgetful of the fact that Lotto's altarpiece at Asolo, as noted by themselves (*postea*, p. 399, n. 1), is dated 1506. According to Morelli, the date 1500 on the St. Jerome in the Louvre is authentic; and the Naples Madonna bears at the back of the panel the date 1503.

Probably the earliest extant work by Lotto is a little painting representing Danae in the collection of Sir Martin Conway at Allington Castle. This charming composition is closely allied to the Louvre St. Jerome, but exhibits less developed powers than that picture.

Among the paintings executed by Lotto during his stay at Treviso at the opening of the sixteenth century we must count—as shown by Dr. Biscaro (in *L'Arte*, iv. 152 *sqq.*)—the portrait of Bishop Bernardo de' Rossi, now in the Naples Gallery (Reom XV., No. 20; about 1680, under the name of Lotto in the Palazzo del Giardino at Parma; see Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi*, p. 229), and the much-discussed frescoes around the monument of Agostino Onigo in San Niccolò at Treviso, which are intimately related to the Recanati altarpiece of 1508. Close to the two last-mentioned works may be grouped the Portrait of a Youth

lengths of the Virgin and Child between St. Onofrius and a Bishop in episcopals presenting the transfixed heart of the Redeemer to the infant Christ, that Palma Vecchio furnished the sketch for the composition. The figures are bony and marked, yet slender and dry. The broad and chinless face of the curly-headed child suggests reminiscences of Giovanni Bellini's Christ in the Madonna of the Frari, whilst it recalls similar masks in the easel-pieces of Previtali. The tendency to extremes in Lotto is illustrated by hard and fleshless articulations, cramped hands and fingers, overstrained action, and broken rectilinear drapery. The asceticism of St. Onofrius closely resembles that which Albert Dürer so grimly conveyed; but defects of form are compensated by clever distribution, untiring patience in finish, pure harmony of colours, and crystalline clearness of tints.¹

The reflex which we thus obtain of Lotto's art in the first years of his practice is found to be similar to that which marks a larger production of 1508, the Madonna of St. Dominic, of which the fragments are still preserved in San Domenico of Recanati. There, as in the Borghese Gallery, we trace the early Venetian, commingled with the Transalpine and a patient art natural to a beginner. On a high podium under a panelled arch, the Virgin, attended by SS. Urban and Gregory, holds the child in benediction, whilst two seraphs play the viol and rebec on the throne-step. To the left, St. Dominic bends in devotional humility before accepting the dress presented to him by an angel. On each side of the foreground are SS. Thomas Aquinas and Flavian, SS. Peter Martyr and Vitale. An upper course of panels contains the Suffering Christ with Joseph of Arimathea and two angels between SS. Mary Magdalen and Vincent, SS. Catherine of Siena and Wenceslaus. In the cramp and working size of the hands and feet there is something that recalls Dürer. The drawing is precise and minute, the perspective correct; the vestment colours are clear and pure, the flesh-tints uniform

in the Imperial Gallery of Vienna (No. 22), (see Biscaro, *ub. sup.*, iv. 156 *sqq.*), a Madonna and Saints in the collection of Count Sigismund Pusłowski at Cracow, signed L. Lotus, the portrait of a Man at Hampton Court (Berenson, *ub. sup.*, p. 15), and another male portrait belonging to the Society of Antiquaries in London.

¹ Rome, Borghese Gallery, No. 193. 2 ft. 1½ in. high by 1 ft. 8½ in., inscribed on the background: "Laurent. Lotus. M.D.VIII." This picture is in an admirable state of preservation.

in gloss and ruddiness. With a surface and technical handling which suggest contact with Previtali, we have quaint constraints of action and form and overladen Palmesque finery characteristic of Lotto's individuality. We are variously reminded, in particular instances, of the men who left their mark on the ductile talent of the master. The seraphs and the Magdalen are typical of Carpaccio and Previtali; the beautiful angel holding the dress is of Bellinesque mould; SS. Gregory and Catherine are modelled from Cima.¹

In other examples of the same period we find very similar characteristics. On the high altar of the parish church of Santa Cristina, five miles from Treviso, there is a large panel with figures of life-size in which the Virgin is represented with the infant on the throne between four saints, and the Suffering Christ in a lunette is supported on the edge of the sepulchre by two angels. The scene is laid in one of those chapels which Bellini and Cima were so fond of depicting—a domed niche glittering with mosaics, supported on pillars through which we get glimpses of sky. The Virgin looks down from her lofty seat upon Christina, the patron saint of the place. In the females types of this piece we detect the spirit of Previtali, his circular shape of head and small features of angular projection, his plump frames and cramped extremities. The child, erect with a bird in his hand, is one of those bull-necked and large-bellied beings which are so frequently reproduced by the second-rate Bellinesques. The withered St. Peter by the side of Christina reminds us feebly of Cima's ascetics; St. Liberale, to the right, is youthful and fresh; St. Jerome, close by, stern and Germanic in mask. In arrange-

¹ Recanati, San Domenico. The central panel in the sacristy is 7 ft. 4½ in. high by 3 ft. 5 in.; it is signed on the foreground as above. Some spots and marks of scaling are noticeable on the surface, and the tones are dim from time and dust. The side-panels (wood, 5 ft. 6 in. high by 2 ft. 3 in.), the Pietà (2 ft. 6 in. high by 3 ft. 7 in.), and its side-panels (2 ft. 1 in. square), hang apart in the choir. Here, too, there is some flaking of the colours. The head of Christ in the Pietà is injured, and that of Joseph disfigured by dirt; the head of St. Catherine is abraded. The drawing here is minute and careful, the flesh of an uniform reddish tint and hard enamel. [* These panels are now in the Municipio of Recanati.] The predella, which Vasari praises (v. 251), has disappeared. It contained the miracle of the transfer of the Virgin of Loreto, between the Sermon of St. Dominic, and the granting of the Dominican rules by Honorius.

ment and feeling like that of Recanati, the Suffering Christ is conceived and carried out with some of the power which we notice in Montagna's version of the subject at SS. Nazaro e Celso of Verona or in Buonconsiglio's rarer compositions; but the sharp, dry build of the personages and the hard, raw gloss of the colours are those of Previtali, Catena, or Bissolo. Fluid and varnishy colour, of a rosy hue shaded off with cold tints, give a smooth but glassy surface to the flesh; strong primaries are thrown into contrasts in drapery, and contour is defined with tortuous but careful line.¹

The same form, with perhaps a little more evidence of a practised hand, meets us in the half-lengths of Lotto's Marriage of St. Catherine in the Munich Pinakothek, where the gentle and slender saint recalls Previtali's angel in the Annunciation of Ceneda, and the bearded Joseph, with his book, is half Bellinesque and half Palmesque. Characteristic here, too, is the clean polish and excessive gaiety of the colours, the delicacy of the glazes, and the contortions of the infant Christ.²

Still lower in the same scale, and but little above the level of Marco Belli, is the Madonna with a Donor and St. Peter Martyr in half-lengths at the Naples Museum, an easel-piece in which some dauber of a recent time dared to obliterate the kneeling patron and substitute a youthful Baptist.³

¹ Santa Cristina, near Treviso, Parish Church. Wood, 8 ft. 1 in. high by 4 ft. 8 in.; inscribed at the throne-foot, "Laurentius Lotus p." The lunette is much injured and some pieces of the torso of Christ are scaled off; whilst the principal panel is chiefly damaged by the stopping of holes and the abrasion of final glazes.

² Munich, Pinakothek, No. 1083. Wood, 2 ft. 2 in. high by 2 ft. 9½ in.; inscribed on the wheel of St. Catherine, "Laurent. Lotus f." The Virgin stoops over the pair as the infant hands the ring to St. Catherine. St. Joseph, to the right, holds a book; distance, landscape. The picture has been unevenly cleaned and the sky has been retouched as well as flayed. There are also traces of repaints in the blue mantle and shadow of the red tunic of the Virgin. Three horizontal splits disfigure the panel.

³ Naples, Museum, Room XV. No. 32. Wood, small half-lengths. The Virgin sits in front of a green hanging. To the left is a gay landscape. The puffy child is aged and without a neck, like those of Marco Belli. St. Peter Martyr, with the knife in his skull, recalls Cima. The flesh-tints are dim and livid, there are traces left of the figure of the donor over which the young Baptist was painted. To the right, in a corner: "L. Lotus p." [* At the back of the panel is the inscription "1503, adi. 20 septembrio." See Biscaro, in *L'Arte*, iv. 161.]

We have need to look back into the history of Venetian painting in order fully to understand this phase of Lotto's career. At the close of the fifteenth century Venice was frequented by a crowd of provincials who flocked thither for instruction. Many of them studied in the atelier of Bellini, and left their individual mark on pictures which were purchased as Bellini's. Amongst these provincials was Previtali, whose art in the various periods of its development was much the same as that of Lotto in 1508. Subsequently to that date Previtali commingled the Bergamasque and Bellinesque with elements derived from Cima, Carpaccio, and Montagna, Palma, Giorgione, and Titian. Lotto's style, as we hitherto found it, presents the earlier phenomena which distinguish that of Previtali. He too assimilated what suited him in Cima, Bellini, Carpaccio, and Montagna, cultivating at the same time the society of Previtali and the Santa Croce, and frequenting the workshop of Palma. He may not have been unimpressed by Dürer, whose visit to Venice almost coincides in date with the period of Lotto's first appearance as an independent artist.¹

After Palma and Giorgione had won the place in public favour to which their genius and skill entitled them, Lotto was not slow to understand the advantage which he might derive from a bolder approach to their manner. His success in pursuit of this course is evidenced in more than one of his pictures and altarpieces that issued from his workshop after 1508. It is clear in the Virgin with St. Anthony and St. Basil at Asolo, in the small but tasteful St. Jerome Penitent at the Louvre, the Madonna with Saints in half-lengths in the Bridgewater collection, and the Three Ages at the Pitti.

Very simple and impressive as a composition of three figures in a hilly landscape, the Madonna of Asolo is interesting as an

* ¹ While admitting the justness of the above remarks on the influences noticeable in the early works of Lotto, we also agree with Mr. Berenson (*ub. sup. passim*) that they frequently show strong reminiscences of the style of Luigi Vivarini. As such we may instance the cold, smooth colouring which we find in many of these paintings and several of the facial types. We do not, however, feel quite satisfied that the affinity which Lotto shows to Luigi Vivarini is so intimate as to allow our concluding, with Mr. Berenson, that Lotto was the pupil of that artist.

LORENZO LOTTO



Alinari photo.]

THE VIRGIN IN GLORY WITH SAINTS.

[*Asolo, Duomo.*

example of simple and earnest religious painting. Resting on a cloud, the folds of which are filled with cherubs, the Virgin in prayer reminds us of Carpaccio; below, to the left, St. Anthony, with his arm on his staff in the loose shell of his woollen frock, looks into the sky with stern intentness; and St. Basil, to the right, gazes with softer and more ecstatic fervour in the same direction. There is more relation to Palma and Pordenone in the sturdy frame and concentrated look of the hermit than we have yet found in Lotto's impersonations. St. Basil, though Bellinesque in air, is also grand and imposing. The treatment is more facile and masterly; the landscape is broader in touch and lines than of old.¹

The Penitence of St. Jerome at the Louvre is one of those pieces in which the figure plays a subordinate part; it is more of a landscape picture than Basaiti's versions of the same subject; and the ravine-glade in which the saint reclines and beats his breast is cleverly presented, with great parsimony of colour and minuteness of detail in pebbles and leafage, yet at the same time with Giorgionesque breadth and vapour. If we could compare Lotto here to any of the earlier masters of Venice, we should say that he fully equals Catena in defining parts and rendering movement after the fashion of Giorgione.²

The Madonna of Bridgewater House presents an ungraceful child to the adoration of four holy personages of both sexes whose delicate tenderness and slender build are very attractive, and a pretty distance reminds us of the St. Jerome of the Louvre.³

¹ Asolo, Duomo. This panel, in the nave of Asolo Church, is arched, and the figures are large as life. Three vertical splits run from top to bottom of it, and the signature on a cartello which originally read so: "Laurent, Lotus junii 1506," now runs so: "LAVRENT. LOTVS IVNIOR MD. VI." (Compare Crico, *Lettere, ub. sup.*, p. 204.) The whole piece, but more particularly the hand of St. Anthony, is disfigured by repaints and the whole foreground is new.

² Paris, Louvre, No. 1350. Small canvas, once in possession of M. Georges in Paris. The saint is bald, but bearded, and is seen recumbent on the ground at the bottom of a ravine. Before him is a book, in his hands the cross and stone; behind him a heap of volumes. On a rock in the right-hand foreground we read the words: "Lotus 1500," but the date is an obvious repaint. [* Having had the opportunity of examining this date carefully in a good light, Morelli (*Die Galerien zu München und Dresden*, p. 61, n. 1) contends that it is authentic.]

³ Bridgewater collection, No. 90. Inscribed: "L. Lotus f." on a scroll held by a bearded saint, to the left. Two woodmen in the distance fell a tree. The colours have lost their freshness, especially in the shaded parts.

The Three Ages at the Pitti look like portraits; they are busts of men of varying years, handled with Giorgionesque skill, and only less powerful than other works of this time because they have been seriously damaged by restoring.¹

We are impressed thus far with the idea that Lotto, who had worked out the vein of Bellinesque imitation, subsequently expanded his manner under the tuition of a younger generation which, contending with Bellini for supremacy, remodelled Venetian art. Lotto, however, was so ductile that he could not remain true to any given form for any considerable length of time, and, about the period of Sebastian del Piombo's first journey to Rome, he, too, we should think, was induced to wander. In the course of his travels he probably saw and admired the masterpieces of the Bolognese school, and especially those of Francesco Francia. It was in the first nine years of the sixteenth century that Francia's powers were fully developed under the influence of Raphael's example; it was towards the close of that decade that he produced the frescoes which still charm us by their sweetness and grace in the oratory of Santa Cecilia. Lotto may have been led by chance, or by instinct, to visit the chapel in which all the masters of Bologna left proof of their talent. We certainly find a reflex of this visit in one of his pictures.²

It is still a secret in Lotto's history how he became acquainted with a district so distant from Venice and Bergamo as that which comprises Recanati, Jesi, Ancona, and Loreto; but at various intervals in his long artistic career he came into close connection with the convents of this district. At Recanati he exhibited, as we saw, the earliest of his large panels. He subsequently painted frescoes there, and he spent his old age

¹ Florence, Pitti, No. 157. Wood, 0.62 high by 0.77 busts on dark ground, the central figure a youth in a black cap, with a sheet of music in his hand. The surface in the flesh-parts is much repainted, but the least disfigured of the heads, that of the man to the right with a grey beard, is in the Giorgionesque manner, modelled with solid impast, and highly finished.

² As we have seen, Lotto went to Recanati in 1506, and must have remained there till 1508, when the San Domenico altarpiece was finished. In 1509 we find him in Rome, where, on March 9 and September 18, he received payment for frescoes which he was to execute on the upper floor of the Vatican (see Cavalcaselle and Crowe, *Raphael*, ii. 12, †; Bertolotti, in *Mon. stor.*, ser. iv. Misc. vol. iii. p. 15). Nothing of these frescoes is now to be seen.

at Loreto. To San Floriano of Jesi he sent, in 1512, a great composition of the Entombment, in which we note, for the first time, that he is untrue to Venetian tradition. As in the Burial of St. Cecilia at Bologna, so here, the corpse is held in its winding-sheet above the rectangle of the sepulchre by two men, who strain at its corners; one of them, at Christ's head, grips the seam of the sheet with his teeth, another, at the feet, staggers under the load. On her knees to the left the shrieking Magdalen makes a cushion of her locks to rest the Saviour's hand. The Virgin, in rear, throws up her arms in agony; one of the Marys tears her hair; St. John laments, and Joseph of Arimathea holds the nails, whilst angels circle in the sky above the hill of Golgotha. The landscape is Venetian; the draperies are Bellinesque; and there is something of the Palmesque in the full and fleshy figure of Christ; but the strain and affectation apparent in certain movements, and an unnoble realism not uncommon amongst Northern masters, suggest acquaintance with Bolognese conventionalisms. Instead of the glow which we expect from a Venetian, we have a smooth porcelain brilliance and an absence of relief by light and shade which scent of the Lombard.¹ It is in such pictures as these, perhaps, that Lotto's admirers have thought to discover some elements of the Leonardesque; but there is too little art in the composition to justify us in thinking that Lotto had lessons from da Vinci; and the Umbrian feeling which we note at Jesi is more probably derived from the Umbro-Ferrarese.²

Either the force of habit, or renewed contact with Venice, held Lotto for some time longer from complete desertion of his old style. Two fine portrait half-lengths of Agostino and

¹ Jesi, San Floriano. Wood, arched, with nine figures large as life, inscribed: "Laurentius Lotus M.D. XII." The composition is ill-balanced, and there are too many figures on the left side. [* This painting is now in the Library at Jesi.]

² Since we now know that Lotto was at Rome shortly before this painting was executed, the Umbrian note in it may naturally be explained by his study of the works of Perugino and Raphael. As noted by Mr. Berenson (*ib. sup.*, p. 106), the angels in the sky are very Raphaelesque, recalling especially those in the Disputa. In view of the strong influence from Raphael noticeable in a fresco of St. Vincent Ferrer in San Domenico at Recanati (cf. *postea*, p. 415) we are perhaps justified in dating it, with Mr. Berenson (*ibid.*), about this time. Mr. Berenson (*ibid.*, p. 107) associates with the latter work a little full-length of St. James in the Oratorio di San Giacomo at Recanati.

Niccolò della Torre, which were executed in 1515 and now hang in the National Gallery, display a senatorial dignity which reminds us of the painter's Venetian education.¹ In a Transfiguration at Castelnovo, near Recanati, we notice more than usual carelessness of treatment, neglect of drawing, and absence of selection in shape and expression; but the soapy pallor of flesh-tints in contrast with rich and juicy vestment colours, the sweep of the touch and underset stature of the personages, still tells of Palma's influence.² More Palmesque still, and, for this reason, entitled to rank amongst the most striking examples of Lotto's clinging to old associations, is the Death of Peter the Martyr at Alzano, a large altarpiece which falls in this period, though its date remains unascertained. Widely different in spirit from Titian's version of the same subject which perished so miserably at Venice, this vast panel is much more manly and impressive, and combines in a fuller measure the richness and severity of Vecelli than any that Lotto had as yet produced; but it is altogether on Palma's model as regards short and muscular set of figures, and in respect of harmony of tint. Peter the Martyr, in the garb of a Dominican monk, occupies the centre of the picture in the same position of prominence and effectiveness as the St. Barbara of Santa Maria Formosa—his frame large and imposing, his face expressive, and his movement dramatic as, with the knife in his forehead and the dagger in his breast, he points to the ground, where the first word of the creed is written on the sand. Behind him is the grove where woodsmen fell the trees and herdsmen tend their flocks; to the left a range of hills crested with towers and houses. Of the two

¹ London, National Gallery, No. 699. Canvas, 2 ft. 9½ in. high by 2 ft. 3 in., signed "L. Lotus p. 1515." These portraits have lost their freshness under restoring. The drawing is careful and the finish most patient. [* From the same year dates a St. Jerome, formerly belonging to Mr. O. Mündler and now untraceable. Morelli, *Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfili*, p. 391.]

² Castelnovo, near Recanati, Collegiata, Sacristy. Arched panel, 9 ft. 10 in. high by 6 ft. 8½ in. Christ on a mound, and the prophets Moses and Elias striding up the sides of it; below, the three disciples; inscribed, "Laurentius....." The surface is spotted in some places, and altered by retouching in others. [* This painting is now in the Municipio of Recanati.] The predella noticed by Vasari (v. 251), Ridolfi (i. 187), and Tassi (*ub. sup.*, p. 130), containing the Saviour with the Apostles on Mount Tabor, the Sermon on the Mount, and the Ascension, is no longer attached to the picture, and seems to be missing.

murderers near him one affectedly draws his sword, the other swings his blade. In the middle ground to the right the companion friar takes to his heels. Above the trees God the Father sweeps downwards with a company of winged children and cherubim of small proportions, whose heads are prettily relieved against brown-grey cloudlets standing out against the clear blue sky. Two seraphs of puffy flesh hold a crown suspended in air; another, in dancing motion, supports the Eternal's arm. *Palmesque* is the cleverness with which the *dramatis personæ* are relieved against each other by a passing shadow and a circumscribed stream of light. Equally so the mask of the Eternal, the treatment, tone, and lines of the landscape, the plenteous impast and fluid touch, and the warm richness of the tonings. Exceptionally successful as a composition in its essential parts, the altarpiece has one conspicuous fault in the disproportion of the glory as compared with the actors in the foreground scene.¹

As early as 1513 Alessandro Martinengo, equally known as a distinguished member of the Venetian patriciate and a descendant of Bartolommeo Colleoni, opened a regular competition amongst the artists of the State for an altarpiece in Santo Stefano of Bergamo. His choice fell upon Lotto, who was at that time staying in the city, and it was agreed that the price to be paid should be 500 golden ducats. After three years of interrupted labour the altarpiece was finished and carried, amidst universal rejoicing, to the high altar of the church then served by the Dominicans. More than a century later, the friars of the preaching order having been transferred to another convent, the picture was placed on the high altar of San Bartolommeo, where it still remains. The subject here is an Adoration of the throned Madonna. She sits in a rotunda richly decorated with mosaics, and open to the sky, her right hand poised above the head of St. Dominic, who looks up in devout attitude of prayer.

¹ Alzano, San Pietro Martire. Arched panel, with figures of life-size, slightly injured by retouches in some places, but generally well preserved. The proportions of the angels are comparatively too small. In the old monumental framing of the altarpiece, which is still in San Pietro, there are two figures of St. Vincent and St. Anthony of Padua, also in Lotto's best *Palmesque* style. The first carries the fire and book, the second a volume.

To the right and left of the founder of his order stand several saints—St. Alexander, of handsome, youthful mien, in complete armour, with his foot on a helmet; St. Barbara, of delicate and graceful shape, with the tower in her hand and a coronet of flowers on her head; St. Roch with his staff, and St. Mark. The shape of the Madonna is slender, her aspect gentle and engaging; an orange cloth enlivens the cold grey of her chair and brightens with its richness the neutral brown of the background niche. The boy Saviour, of undeveloped form, stands on her lap, and turns, with affected tenderness, to bless St. Catherine and her attendants; St. Stephen, in deacon's dress with his arms across, St. Augustine, St. John the Baptist leaning against a pillar with one leg overlapping the other, St. Sebastian bound to the pillar and bending his face resignedly. Two angels in front are busily smoothing a green carpet at the steps leading up to a scooped plinth—a pleasing and quite a novel variety of incident. In the upper spaces are angels suspending the crown above the Virgin's head, others looking down from a circular balustrade, through the round openings of which we see the heavens—all these beings full of life and roguish play, light as air, and not without coquettishness of motion. Rich and tasteful architecture is rendered with correct perspective; medallions with saints fill the pendentives, and ornaments of flags and scutcheons are judiciously displayed. Nothing can be brighter or more varied than the tinting. There is a sprightly freshness in the whole conception that recalls the spirit of the old masque. Light sparkles and shadows flutter over the polished surfaces with a clear and luscious shimmer that is full of charm. Here and there a veil of half-tone gives a pleasant adumbration, rounding off and relieving the remaining parts with great softness yet powerful effect. The figures are no longer short and underset as of old, but of fine proportions; and so, for the first time, we find Lotto applying those principles of art which particularly distinguish Correggio and the Lombards. Was this result attained under the direct influence of Allegri, or was it an application of similar rules in an original manner? This is a question to which it is difficult to give a satisfactory reply; but we are bound to remember that, when Lotto accepted Martinengo's commission, Correggio had not commenced the *Madonna of*

LORENZO LOTTO



Alinari photo.]

[Bergamo, San Bartolommeo.]

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS.

St. Francis at Dresden which illustrates the dawn of his talent. Nor does Lotto's style in this work of 1516 strike us as an imitation so much as an embodiment of elements subsequently developed in Allegri, and afterwards common to both masters. Not that Lotto ever succeeded in rising to the height of Correggio's power, for he always remained below that master, as he remained below the greater Venetians; but it might have been given to him to conceive the charm more powerfully brought out by Allegri. Be this as it may, the Correggionesque in Lotto's works had an original attractiveness; and this is the less surprising when we note that something similar is found in productions of Palma and Pordenone. It is not, however, in delicacies of shading only, or in softness of rounding that Lotto reminds us of Correggio; it is also in types, in conventionalisms of movement and smile, in the generalization of treatment, and a tendency to handle various substances, such as flesh and cloth or stone, with similar touch and grain. The slender elegance and motion of St. Barbara, the affected posture of the Baptist, the dimples of St. Sebastian, the busy, eager angels in flight, are some of the conventionalisms to which we allude. Elsewhere we are reminded of the influences which were felt by Correggio during the growth of his style. We look at the scooped throne in Lotto's altarpieces, and recollect that quaintnesses of this kind are familiar to the Ferrarese and to Allegri; we study the architecture in the same piece, and find that it is Mantuan in its taste and lines, as we expect Correggio's to be. Yet, in the midst of all this, we cannot forget that Lotto is a Bergamasque brought up in the schools of Venice. The fleshy shapes of St. Catherine and St. John the Baptist are modelled after Palma; the clever daring with which greens and gold, steel-greys, bright yellows, and reds and blues, are put together with blacks and whites and orange and citrine in vestments or walls, carpets or curtains, is as clearly Venetian as the art with which light is thrown or intercepted; and though we are astonished at times by a sense of emptiness which never meets us in Correggio, we are repaid for this blemish by the enjoyment of a general brilliance.

When the altarpiece of Santo Stefano was finished and exhibited in 1516 it was furnished with a pretty predella

and a triangular tympanum, the first of which represented the Resurrection of Christ, the Stoning of Stephen, and a miracle of St. Dominic, the second an angel with the orb and sceptre. The separation of these pieces and their preservation in different localities cause the picture to be shorn of its original character; yet we can still understand the enthusiasm which it caused in the mind of the scribe who wrote on a tablet beneath the predella that Martinengo, who ordered it, was as worthy of the title of "great" as Alexander of Macedon, and Lotto was a painter more divine than human. It is not to be doubted that Lotto's altarpieces were honoured by the Bergamasques with a special veneration; and it is pleasant to hear that, when the predellas at San Bartolommeo were recovered from a thief in the seventeenth century, the happy event was celebrated by a merry peal of the convent bells.¹

The registers of Santa Maria Maggiore which tell that Lotto, whilst employed by Alexander Martinengo, was also commissioned to execute a standard for the brotherhood of Mercy at Bergamo, incidentally show that the master occasionally spent his hours of relaxation in the composition of small canvases and easel-pieces.² The half-length Madonna between St. Sebastian and St. Roch in the Piccinelli collection at

¹ Bergamo, San Bartolommeo, choir. Arched canvas, 17 ft. high; inscribed on a cartello on the throne-step: "Laurentius Lotus MDXVI." It has been supposed that the figures of St. Alexander and St. Barbara represent Martinengo and his wife, but this is mere fancy (see Locatelli, *ub. sup.*, i. 60). The saints in the medallions are St. Mark and St. John the Evangelist. The whole surface has been irregularly cleaned, and the dress of St. Augustine is abraded. The predella, separated from the altarpiece, was stolen and recovered in 1650 (Bottari, *Raccolta*, v. 180, 181). It is still in San Bartolommeo; the tympanum is in the Piccinelli collection at Seriate, near Bergamo. [* At present the predella is in the Carrara Gallery at Bergamo, while the tympanum belongs to the Budapest Museum (No. 167).] The laudatory inscription attached to the picture is dated 1517, and will be found in full in Tassi (i. 118, 119). The contract is in Tassi (i. 117) and Locatelli (i. 466). [* An interesting work by Lotto, signed and dated 1517, is the *Susannah and the Elders* in the collection of Mr. Robert Benson of London, a picture very bizarre in conception and of great boldness in its colour-scheme. Probably from 1518 dates a *Virgin and Child with the infant St. John* in the Dresden Gallery (No. 194A), signed: "Laurentius Lotus 15. 8." The head of the Virgin is very similar to that in the Madonna with SS. Sebastian and Roch in the collection of Dr. Piccinelli at Bergamo (see *postea*). The motive of Christ kissing St. John is Leonardesque.]

² See the record in Tassi, *ub. sup.*, i. 119.

Seriato proves that, in small as in great, the spirit of this period in Lotto's art was consistently Lombard and Correggienesque.¹ That in this form Lotto captivated and preserved the favour of the Bergamasques is obvious from the number and importance of the orders which he had to carry out. The "tarsias" of Santa Maria Maggiore inlaid from his cartoons by Capodiferro; the brass altarpiece which mysteriously disappeared in later times from the same church, done in part from his models, were but so many proofs of the public favour²; yet these were the smallest of his undertakings in those years; and the fact that he finished, in the twelvemonth of 1521, the vast altarpieces which respectively decorate the churches of San Bernardino and Santo Spirito speaks strongly for his powers of production.

What strikes us most in the Madonna of San Bernardino is the growing tendency of Lotto to adopt Correggiesque form. The two men have so much in common that they seem to have been companions, and yet the silence of history as to their

¹ Seriato, Piccinelli collection. Canvas, half-lengths, originally in Santa Grata at Bergamo, and exhibited there in the olden time on May 1 of each year. This picture is signed "L. Lotus," and is painted in Lotto's broad manner reminiscent of Correggio and Palma. The infant, in a playful attitude on the Virgin's lap, blesses St. Roch to the left, and St. Sebastian, with a Correggiesque face, presents his shoulders, and turns his face to the spectator. The colours are clear, gay, and juicy, and well modelled with copious impast. [* This picture is now in the collection of Dr. G. Piccinelli of Bergamo.] A small picture in the same collection represents St. Stephen; St. Roch, St. Bartholomew, and St. Lawrence in very small proportions—a masterly little production of Lotto. [* The present whereabouts of this picture is not known to the editor.]

² Numerous extracts from the books of the Misericordia or Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo which were copied by Dottore Michele Caffi prove that Lorenzo made several designs for the tarsias of the choir of that church, the first payments being registered on May 18, 1523, others on April 4, May 6, June 6 and 16, and August 20, Oct. 4, and Nov. 1524, and Feb. 9, 1525. These payments were made at Bergamo. Further sums were paid to Lotto at Venice through an agent on Jan. 27 (o.s.), August 8 and 24, and Sept. 4 and 9, 1527, and June 13, 1530. The subjects furnished by Lotto, some of which still exist in the choir of Santa Maria Maggiore, were the Death of Abel, "Joab kills Amasa," the Accusation of Susanna, the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, Joseph sold by his Brethren, the Deluge, the Sons of the Maccabees, and numerous others which are not further described. Records of payments to Lotto for his share in the *ancona* of the high altar at Santa Maria Maggiore are dated in 1521-2, and are published in Tassi (i. 68-9, 71, and 120). The *ancona* itself was seen and noticed by the Anonimo (ed. Morelli, p. 48).

personal acquaintance is complete. High above the floor of a chapel, as was Correggio's wont, the Virgin sits enthroned, receiving the worship of saints from the plinth foot or from the ground—conspicuous amongst the former St. Bernardino and John the Evangelist, amongst the latter St. Joseph and Anthony the hermit. Near the step which ascends to the podium a seraph rests and writes, whilst the infant Christ, erect on his mother's knee, blesses the congregation. A busy flight of angels in daring motion supports, as if it were a tent, over the Virgin's head, the weighty folds of the green curtain which hangs behind her chair. St. Anthony with his bell—a reminiscence from Asolo—is not less characteristic than the neighbouring St. John, whose attitude, as he stands with the right hand grasping a cross and the left pointing upwards, is completely Correggienesque. The progress of Lotto is apparent not only in the skilful balance and harmonious lines of a perfect pyramidal composition, but in the large amount of force which he gives to colour and chiaroscuro. The happy conceit of setting boy-angels on the spur of a moment to extemporize a dais is carried out with a richness of fancy and command of means which excite our surprise. It is not merely that the execution is clever; the same breath seems to animate Lotto and Correggio when they render the playful activity, the roguish smile, the muscular exertion, and foreshortened postures of winged children. Nor is it less interesting to observe that both painters equally strive to convey, with softness and tender contrasts of effects, the flitter and gradations of reflected or direct light, the humour and archness of earliest youth in faces, or the grace and slenderness and charming affectations of full-grown womanhood. Rosy flesh-tint with variegated shadows and soft, intermediate transitions pleasantly relieved by bright and polished tints of stuffs produce an impression clean, bright, and extremely happy.¹

Of more recent execution, though finished in the same year,

¹ Bergamo, San Bernardino, high altar. Canvas, 12 ft. high; inscribed on the hexagon step of the throne: "L. Lotus MDXXI." The surface has been unevenly cleaned throughout, and some dresses, the orange skirt of the angel at the step, the yellow mantle of St. Joseph, and the green mantle of St. Anthony are particularly damaged, and the half-shades of the flesh in the seraph have been made opaque.

the Madonna of Santo Spirito is a counterpart of that of San Bernardino as representing the Virgin and Child enthroned between four saints; but a certain variety in the movements of the principal figures, the novelty of a glory of angels whirling in countless numbers above the Virgin's head, and a pretty thought realized in the boy Baptist archly pressing a lamb to his breast on the foreground give the picture distinct attractions. That here, as before, we should be reminded of Allegri is in no sense strange. We find reminiscences of Correggio in the group of Mary and Christ, and in the boy with the lamb; but the small sprites sporting in the clouds produce a certain discord, affording proof of Lotto's want of steadiness in the application of scientific laws to form and distribution.¹

In galleries distant from Italy we find specimens of Lotto's art at the period of these great Bergamasque pictures: Christ's parting from his Mother in the Berlin Museum, the surface of which is unfortunately disfigured by repaints, the half-length of St. Catherine of Alexandria dated 1522 in the Leuchtenberg collection at St. Petersburg, where a figure of great freshness and original grace is spoiled by abrasion and retouching.² We make up for the disappointment which these pictures cause by

¹ Bergamo, Santo Spirito. Canvas, 10 ft. high; inscribed on a scroll near the boy Baptist: "L. Lotus 1521." The four saints are: St. Catherine and St. Ambrose to the left, and St. Sebastian and St. Anthony the Abbot to the right.

² (1) Berlin Museum, No. 325. Canvas, 4 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high by 3 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., from the Solly and Tosi collections; inscribed: "Laurenttjo Lotto pictor 1521." The scene is a cloister with a cherry-tree in the foreground, where the kneeling Christ parts from the Virgin, who has fainted in the arms of John and the holy women in presence of a kneeling donor. This hasty work has been so ill-treated that there remains little of the original surface except in parts of the kneeling donor's figure. The monogram of Lotto, two L's interlaced, is on the cartello with the inscription. (2) St. Petersburg, Leuchtenberg collection, No. 62. Wood, 1 ft. 9 in. high by 1 ft. 7 in.; inscribed on the wheel of St. Catherine: "Laurentius Lotus 1522." Half-length of the saint, with her left hand on her green mantle, which rests on the wheel, a palm in her right, a string of pearls and a coronet on her head; behind her a red damask hanging. This was originally a very clear and graceful picture of the master, and is probably the same of which Tassi says it was once in Casa Sozzi at Bergamo, whence it was taken in 1753 to Lisbon (Tassi, *ub. sup.*, i. 125). [* The editor has no clue to the present whereabouts of the painting seen by the authors in the Leuchtenberg collection. It is reproduced in *L'Arte*, vi. 343. (3) From the same year dates a Marriage of St. Catherine in the Castello di Costa di Mezzate near Bergamo, signed: "Laurentius Lotus, 1522." Berenson, *ub. sup.*, p. 149.]

a glance at the Marriage of St. Catherine, a delightful canvas of 1523 in the Carrara Gallery, where the affected attitudes and *smorphia* of the figures scarcely obtrude, so pleasing are the shapes, so kindly the expressions, so brightly marbled the variegated primaries and snowy damasks of the dresses. There is a delightfully playful joy in the bending form of the saint who kneels in humbleness at the Virgin's feet, and in the child who presses forward with eagerness to give her the ring. The calm contentment which rests on the features of the angel standing reverently with his arms across his breast has its counterpart in the serene features of Niccolò de' Bonghi, who stands attentive on the left. With much to recall Correggio in the sheen of its light and in the brilliance of its tones, this *sposalizio* challenges comparison with Allegri's Marriage at the Louvre. Without Correggio's softness and delicacy, but with an artificial glitter peculiarly its own, Lotto's canvas still affects us by those magic contrasts which Paolo Veronese so nobly used on a gigantic scale, and Tiepolo so cleverly abused in his meretricious creations. As a likeness, the face of Niccolò de' Bonghi is altogether masterly; and we might almost fancy that Lotto's success in reproducing nature with truth like this was the cause why he was so frequently employed on subjects combining allegory with portrait.¹ A couple in the Madrid Museum is seen exchanging the ring of betrothal, and Amor, with a crown of laurel on his head, flutters behind them and unites them by a pressure of his hands on their shoulders. This beautiful couple, which ought to be known as Marsilio and his Bride, was finished in 1523 for Zanin Casotto of Bergamo, a constant patron of Lotto, and one for whom he painted no less than three altarpieces,² amongst them no doubt

¹ Bergamo, Carrara Gallery, No. 66. Canvas, with figures under life-size; inscribed on a cartello at the Virgin's feet: "Laurentius Lotus 1523." Ridolfi (*Marat.*, i. 186) relates how the landscape seen through an opening on the right in the picture was cut out and stolen. The present substitute for this lost fragment is a piece of dark-coloured canvas. The rest of the surface is not free from abrasion—e.g. the grey ground behind the portrait, which the Anonimo (ed. Morelli, p. 53) describes as that of Niccolò de' Bonghi, the sleeves of the Virgin, and the figure of the angel.

² Madrid Museum, No. 240. Half-lengths, 2 ft. 6 in. high by 3 ft. 2 in.; inscribed on a scroll in Cupid's hand: "L. Lotus pictor 1523." A transparent,

the Marriage of St. Catherine, dated 1523—a sparkling canvas which now hangs above a doorway in the state-rooms of the Quirinal at Rome.¹ Larger as a composition, and more copiously furnished with figures, but not less powerful in tone nor less pleasing in character than that of Niccolò de' Bonghi, this *sposalizio* is one of the best things of the master, who completed about the same time the large altarpiece of which the fragments are preserved in the church of Ponteranica, near Bergamo. In the pieces which make up this picture Lotto unites the softness of Correggio to some of the masculine strength which distinguishes contemporary productions of Pellegrino and Pordenone. Christ pouring out his blood into the chalice is a repetition of the subject once before composed by Carpaccio in a panel at Vienna. In other framings are the Virgin and Angel Annunciate, the Baptist with the lamb, St. Peter and St. Paul. The predella comprises the Suffering Christ, angels with the emblems of the Passion, the Limbus, and the Resurrection.²

clear, and well-preserved specimen of Lotto's art, with its old Correggiesque vapour glaze still on it. The Anonimo (ed. Morelli, p. 53) describes the house of Zannin Casotto containing "two pictures by Lorenzo Lotto." Locatelli (*ub. sup.*, i. 463) reprints Lotto's account for pictures furnished to "Zanin Casoto," including (1) the Dead Christ in the arms of his Mother; (2) the Virgin and Child between "St. Julian before his dead parents and the young Baptist," and St. Catherine and the portrait of "Misser Zoanino"; (3) the Virgin and Child between Misser Juan Maria and his daughter Lucretia, and the wife of Juan Maria and her daughter Isabeta; (4) the picture of the likenesses "of Misser Marsilio and his bride with the Cupid"; (5) the Virgin and Child, St. Jerome, St. George, St. Sebastian, St. Catherine, St. Anthony, St. Nicholas of Bari, all at prices varying from 4 lire (for a single figure of a saint) to 30 lire.

¹ Rome, Quirinal. This canvas, with figures less than life, contains all the saints described in the picture No. 5 of Zanin Casotto's account (see above), St. Catherine kneeling to the right, St. Jerome to the left. On the foreground we read: "L. Lotu . . 1524." [* This painting is now untraceable.]

² Ponteranica, Church of San Giovanni Battista, six panels on the sides of the high altar. In the upper central arched panel is Christ erect with a white hip-cloth, blood flowing from the wounds into a chalice, right and left two gentle and slender Correggiesque figures of the angel flying in, and the Virgin surprised at a desk. Below, St. John, full-length, between the large and underset figures of St. Peter and St. Paul—all Palmesque; then the predella, the central pieces of which are an Ecce Homo (half-length), Christ raising Adam out of Limbus, with Eve in prayer, the good thief carrying the cross in attendance, and the Resurrection, with two angels at the sides carrying the emblems of the Passion. The Limbus reminds us much of that of Pellegrino; the angels are heavy and stout as in Pordenone, but dimmed by age and abrasion. The

Trescorre, at the junction of the roads leading on one side into the Valcavallina, on the other into the Valcamonica, was a well-known strategical point in the local wars of the Middle Ages, and much frequented in later times by persons seeking health from its baths. A castle on the Niardo Hill was the stronghold of the Suardi, a family not yet extinct, and vested as early as the fifteenth century with the patronage of the country chapel of Santa Barbara in Novate. Here, at the request of the Suardi, Lotto in 1524 undertook to compose a series of wall-paintings illustrative of the legends of St. Barbara and a nameless saint. Here for the first time, as far as we know, Lotto tried his powers in the practice of fresco. The chapel of Santa Barbara is built in the simplest form of church architecture, being a rectangle with a rafter ceiling and a shallow niche for the altar. Two windows and a door give light and ingress to the place. Each of the four walls contains pictures, some injured, some in good condition, others in part obliterated. To the obscurity inseparable from legendary subjects ill fitted for pictorial delineation is superadded a veil of darkness arising from fracture and scaling of surfaces. In a lunette outside and above the portal is a worn fresco of Christ in Suffering supported by the Virgin and angels. On the long internal face opposite the portal Christ is depicted as the vine receiving the homage of Battista, Ursulina, and Paulina de' Suardi, who kneel at his feet. He stands with arms outstretched in the attitude of crucifixion, the fingers of his hands branching into shoots of vine, which run off to the right and left, forming a framework for a frieze of half-length saints, sybils, and prophets, running along the wall below the ceiling, or trained to shelter Cupids sporting on the rafters. On a cartello above the Saviour's head we read the names of Lotto and his patrons and the ciphers of 1524. In two courses at each side of the principal figure are four episodes : To the left, Barbara forsaking the paternal mansion and pursued by her father, Dioscurus, an idolater, in oriental dress ; Barbara

execution throughout is hasty and free. Under the feet of St. John we read : "L. Lo . . . 152 . . ." [* Mr. Berenson (*ib. sup.*, p. 172) ascribes the *predella* to Cariani, and thinks that the other parts of the altarpiece should be dated 1527 by reason of their affinity to the Assumption at Celana, which was finished in that year.]

whipped with rods and beaten with mallets before Martian the judge; to the right, Barbara stripped of her clothes and scorched with torches in presence of a judge, and Barbara drawn by a guard to the place of execution. The heresies which the saint abjured are symbolized in the angles of the chapel by persons falling down the steps leading to platforms kept by saints wielding sword and book. Helvidius, Sabellius, Judeus, Paganus, are some of the heretics who suffer this indignity. In the spandrels of the semi-dome are single representations of St. Barbara and a canonized nun; on the side facing the altar is the Decolation of St. Barbara. The spaces broken by the portal and windows contain incidents from the legend of the unknown saint; to the left, a female as a suppliant at the throne of a bishop sitting in state with attendant clergy; women and children kneeling behind the suppliant, who, in another part of the picture, is seen distributing alms; to the right of this picture, the same female saving a shepherd and his flock from a wild boar, helping a gang of reapers to house their crop, attending to a vintage, preaching, performing miracles, and assisting the poor and lame.

The colossal Christ, though regular in proportions and of Lombard type, is curiously unmeaning in face and expression. The compositions from the legends show the artist hampered by descriptions, and sacrificing pictorial arrangement to the necessity of crowding subjects into a given space without regard to perspective of line or atmosphere. There is no lack of fire and life in the figures, and the colours are often remarkable for richness and brilliance; the handling is not without boldness and freedom; sumptuous and variegated dress gives splendour to the scenes, but the drawing is often neglected or false, and the harmonies are seldom clean.¹ We may suppose that Lotto did not feel the same incentive to exertion in a chapel frequented

¹ Trescorre, Santa Barbara. The frescoes are all injured, the best preserved being that of the Suppliant before the Bishop. Round the injured Head of the Saviour are the words: "Ego sum vitis, vos palmites." On a scroll above the Saviour we read the following in capitals: "Christum et de Christi vita priorum propaginem Divæ Barbaræ Virginis pro Christi nomine tormenta et crudelem patre percussore necem, Baptista Suardus, Ursulina uxor, Pauline Soror, Laurentio Loto pingente hic exprimi pro voto curarunt, anno Salutis MDXXXIII." The subjects in the semi-dome are not by Lotto.

by small congregations as he would have felt had he laboured in one of the larger and more crowded edifices of a capital city. He painted much better frescoes at Bergamo and Recanati, and it is matter for regret that what is left of work of this kind should have suffered severely from the effects of time, whilst it is equally, if not more seriously, to be deplored that other wall-paintings which might have given us an insight into further varieties of the painter's style should have perished altogether.¹

On a wall above the entrance to a chapel in San Michele Arcangelo at Bergamo we still see a very fine composition by Lotto of the Visitation, above which the contours of two handsome angels supporting a dais are visible. In the furnace vault of the chapel itself God the Father is wafted through the sky in clouds supported by angels, whilst the pendentives are filled with the symbols of the Evangelists, and two lunettes contain the Annunciation and the Marriage of Joseph. All these frescoes, including the discoloured angels above the Visitation and Marriage, are gay and transparent in tone and skilfully arranged. There is a quiet grandeur and breadth in the setting of the Visitation which we do not often meet in Lotto's compositions, and the complex elements of aerial and linear perspective are satisfactorily combined. A fine effect of light and balanced *chiaroscuro* gives solemnity to the figure of the Eternal, whose form is bathed in a coloured vapour soft and transparent as Correggio's, whilst the gay tinting of the clouds and dresses has a brilliance that reminds us of del Sarto. Appropriate drapery and action naturally enhance the value of the work. In all this,

¹ Tassi registers frescoes on the pilasters of a court annexed to St. Barbara of Trescorre, in the chapel of San Rocco, in the parish church of Trescorre, in the chapel of St. Roch at Villongo, and in a chapel of San Giorgio of Credaro. He also describes the Prior of the Umigliati kneeling before the Virgin, St. Jerome Penitent, St. Bartholomew and St. Anthony—all painted in fresco in the lower hall of the Santo Ufficio at San Bartolommeo—and the Baptism of Christ, in San Francesco of Bergamo (i. 119-122). The Anonimo (ed. Morelli, p. 49) writes of a Marriage of St. Catherine, a fresco by Lotto, in San Domenico of Bergamo, of which the originality was doubted by Bartoli (*Pitt. di Bergamo*, *ub. sup.*, p. 12). All these frescoes are gone, or were not found by the authors. [The frescoes in the chapel of San Giorgio at Credaro still exist. See Berenson, *ub. sup.*, pp. 160 *sq.*]

as in the Marriage, we see enough to show that Lotto had great qualities as a fresco painter.¹

At Recanati, the Transit of St. Dominic, on the side of a chapel in San Domenico, is also executed with admirable clearness and transparency of tone, and with movements in the saint and attendant angels which charm by their freedom and truth. The spirit which animates the painter is chastened and kindly, and his treatment is accurate as it is bold.²

It was after a long residence at Bergamo that Lotto, in the summer of 1525, renewed his connection with Central Italy and wandered to his old haunts in the march of Ancona. In February of that year he had received payments for one of the cartoons for the tarsias in the choir of Santa Maria Maggiore; in July he furnished an altarpiece to the Dominicans of Recanati, for whom he also painted, perhaps at this time, the fresco which we but just now admired.³ In 1526 the Madonna, with St. Jerome and St. Joseph, was finished for the Minorites of Jesi,⁴

¹ Bergamo, San Michele Arcangelo or del Pozzo Bianco. These frescoes, though faded, are superior to those of Trescorre. The Visitation is a fresco of seven figures, with good perspective and gay tinting, the flesh warm and rosy, with transparent broken shadows, the movements appropriate and graceful. The same may be said of the other frescoes, which are still a mixture of the Palmesque and Correggienesque, but the Spozalizio is much discoloured. An Epiphany and Adoration of the Shepherd in the chapel are frescoes of the seventeenth century, but there are traces of Lotto in the lunette all but covered by an altarpiece.

² Recanati, San Domenico. On an altar to the left St. Dominic in Glory with six angels. Life-size. [* The saint represented in this fresco is not St. Dominic, but St. Vincent Ferrer. Many passages in it are reminiscent of Raphael's frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura.]

³ See the order in Ricci, *ub. sup.*, ii. 106. [* Ricci wrongly gives the date of this record as July 17, 1525, instead of June 17, 1506. The altarpiece in question is that noticed *antea*, pp. 395 *sq.* As for the date of the St. Vincent, see *antea*, p. 401, n. 2.]

⁴ Jesi, Padri Riformati. Wood, 5 ft. 6 in. high. The Virgin, enthroned, presents a book to St. Jerome, whilst the infant Christ on the Virgin's lap stretches its hands to St. Joseph. In a lunette are St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and St. Clara with a reliquary. On the pedestal of the throne "Laurentius Lotus MDXXVI." The colours of this panel are scaled in part, and the rest has faded. The work was originally clear, gay, and pleasant. In the same church is a Visitation with five figures, and a lunette with the Annunciation—a worn, faded canvas, signed "L. Lotus pisit," with the doubtful date of 1532. [* Mr. Berenson (*ub. sup.*, p. 192) reads it 1530.] The style is that of the Madonna above described. [* Both these altarpieces are now in the Library at Jesi.]

and, we may also presume, the fine Portrait of a Dominican preserved in the Casa Sernagiotto at Venice.¹

In the meanwhile the wars of Clement VII. with the generals of Charles V. broke out; Lotto took refuge in Venice and settled there. We may believe that one of the first patrons to whom he was now indebted for support was Andrea Odoni, whom we noted as one of the friends of Palma Vecchio. Amongst the many interesting portraits which adorn the Gallery of Hampton Court, one was long remarkable for the name which it bore and the story which was told respecting it. The person represented sits in a fur pelisse at a table with fragments of antique sculpture near him. He looks at a statuette in his right hand. Behind him are torsos and statues, in front of the table a head and a fragment of a torso, on the table itself a book and some coins. The current opinion in England that this was Baccio Bandinelli, by Correggio, may have been held by persons insufficiently acquainted with artistic tradition and styles. To those cognizant of Lotto's works there could be no doubt that this was one of his masterpieces, and apparently the same that had been described by Vasari and by the Anonimo as the likeness of Andrea Odoni. Judicious cleaning has brought out the inscription, "*Laurentius Lotus 1527*," confirming the sentence of those who judged of the authorship from treatment. It was a pardonable error to call this fine portrait by the name of Correggio, the master to whom Lotto, in his middle period, was most related, and yet attentive examination ought to have shown that it could not have been by Correggio. There is hardly a masterpiece of this time more deserving of praise than this half-length, for warmth and fluid touch, for transparence of colour, and freedom of handling. It has the qualities of softness and brilliance combined with excessive subtlety in modelling and tenderness of transitions.²

¹ Venice, Casa Sernagiotto. Life-size. Canvas, half-length of a Dominican friar turned to the right at a desk calculating a sum in arithmetic. On the table are a candle and money; behind, to the left, a green curtain inscribed "*Laurentius Lotus 1526*." But for its bad state from restoring (the right hand is much injured), this would be a good specimen of free handling. [* This painting is now in the Communal Gallery at Treviso.]

² Hampton Court, No. 69. See Anon., ed. Morelli, p. 63, and Vasari, v. 249. Pietro Aretino, in a letter dated Venice 1538 (book ii., p. 50), describes vividly

LORENZO LOTTO



Alinari photo.

PORTRAIT OF A DOMINICAN.

[Treviso, Communal Gallery.]

That Lotto, on his return to Venice, should at once obtain the patronage of Odoni is a proof that his name was known beyond the limits of Bergamo and the marches; for Odoni, who was well acquainted with the greatest masters of the age, and had collected pictures of all the best painters of the North from Catena to Palma, Giorgione, and Titian, might have been excused for not recognizing a man whose best years had been spent in a provincial city; but Lotto's talent was then not inferior to that of any second-rate in the northern schools, and hence the rapidity with which he extended his practice at Venice. It was not long before he received important commissions for altarpieces from the wealthiest religious communities, and for easel pictures from the richest collectors. He was thus enabled to produce, in 1529, the Glory of St. Nicholas at Santa Maria del Carmine, that of St. Antoninus in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and the numerous small compositions which we now find scattered in Italian and non-Italian galleries.

It is not always possible to trace effects immediately from their causes; and we are in the dark as to the first influences which reacted on Lotto as he settled anew at Venice, but the pictures which he now produced were more solid and free from empty glitter than earlier ones. In the Glory of St. Nicholas at the Carmine we notice this solidity combined with unprecedented force and freedom. There is more genuine grace and less affectation than usual in the figures of St. Nicholas, St. Lucy, and the Baptist which float and kneel in the clouds; and the pretty eagerness of the darting angels who carry the balls, the mitre, and the crozier is depicted with substantial knowledge of the laws of motion.¹ Of greater breadth and larger execu-

the treasures of art which were collected in the house of Andrea Odoni. [* From the same year as the Odoni portrait dates an Assumption of the Virgin in the church of Celana, near Bergamo, signed "Laurentius Lotus 1527 pinxit" (Beren-son, *ub. sup.*, p. 171).]

¹ Venice, Santa Maria del Carmine. Canvas, with figures large as life. Beneath the clouds is a pretty landscape with little figures on foot and St. George on horseback killing the dragon. On a cartello on the foreground are traces of Lotto's name. The picture is injured by cleaning. It is praised by Vasari (v. 250), by Boschini (*Le R. Min.*, Sest. di. D. D., p. 43), Lomazzo (*Idea*, pp. 158 sq.), and others. [* Ridolfi (i. 187) read on this painting the date 1529.]

tion, the Glory of St. Antoninus is also fuller and more intricate in arrangement. The beatified bishop of the Florentines sits enthroned receiving the whispered ministry of angels. Beneath his throne the agents of his charity stoop from a gallery to give the maidens in waiting their marriage portions. Though here the light and the coloured vapour pervading the scene are managed in the spirit of Correggio, we are reminded of Lotto's early form by gala dress and jewelled ornaments; the strength of the tones and the sweep of the touch are essentially Venetian.¹

Effective in another sense, and on a smaller scale, is the Nativity of the Galleria Martinengo at Brescia, where the lowly scene is brought up to a high pitch of elegance by yielding beauty and high-born grace in the movements of angels attending upon two kneeling patrons. Here, as in many cabinet pictures of the middle period, Lotto's impersonations show no trace of the short and underset proportions which mark the days in which Palma was exclusively his model. His figures are slender and sprightly; and the light which plays about them is cast in brilliant spangles over a surface melting, transparent, and marbled.²

It was when in this form that Lotto produced the Holy

¹ Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Arched canvas, with figures of life-size; inscribed on the balustrade: "Lorenzo Loto." In the sky behind the throne is a glory of cherubs, and angels hold back a red hanging. The gallery below the throne is adorned with a balustrade in which a man stands with a purse, towards which the females below stretch their hands and another stoops to hand a scroll to one of the women, seen in half-length below. The surface of the picture is dimmed by time. This also is mentioned by Vasari (v. 250), Boschini (*Le R. Min.*, Sest. di Castello, p. 61), and others. [* Much light is thrown on the later years of Lotto's life by an account-book in his own handwriting which belongs to the Archives of the Casa Santa at Loreto, and has been published in *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*, i. 115 *sqq.* The earliest entry in it is dated Nov. 16, 1538, and the latest Sept. 1, 1556. We gather from this account book that the altarpiece in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, above mentioned, was finished in 1547; that is to say, about twelve years later than the authors thought.]

² Brescia, Galleria Martinengo (Tosio Bequest). Canvas, half life-size. The Virgin kneels to the left, with St. Joseph behind her. In rear the ox and the ass and the sky are seen. In the middle of the picture Christ lies on a white cloth in a wooden basket caressing a lamb held by two kneeling patrons, each of whom is attended by an angel. Here, too, there are numerous traces of cleaning and retouching.

Conversation in half-lengths at the Imperial Gallery of Vienna, where the Virgin presents the infant Christ to the adoration of St. Catherine and St. James, and an angel holds a crown above her head. There is no canvas of the master in which better grouping or more delicate feeling of worship are found, where clearness of flesh is more purely allied to sweetness and transparent gaiety of tinting, where harmony and sparkle are more intimately united to charms of mask and movement.¹

In 1531 Lotto finished the St. Christopher and St. Sebastian in the Berlin Museum which embody Lotto's reminiscences, in the field of contemporary Venetian art, and, as regards St. Christopher, recall the creations of Titian.² A few years later, in 1533, he completed the Adoration of the Sleeping Christ in the Lochis Gallery, which, if we except the blemish of disproportion in certain figures, is one of the most enticing and dainty pictures of the master. It would be difficult to find an easel piece more grateful to the age, so pure is the scale of colours in pearl and steel greys, in reds and greens, in textures of stuffs of all shades and substance, in leafage and fruit of jessamine and fig, in bright alabaster of feminine flesh. The child-like wonder and delight which mark St. Catherine as she strains to look at the babe falling into slumber on a ledge is as well depicted as the proud admiration of St. Joseph, who withdraws the cloth, and the affected motherly consciousness of the Virgin.³

¹ Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 214. Canvas, 3 ft. 3 in. high by 4 ft. 7½ in. This picture is described by Boschini, in the *Carta del Navegar Pitoresco*, p. 303, as belonging to the Emperor of Austria. Both the saints kneel in a landscape, the Virgin being seated on the ground in front of a tree. The surface is admirably preserved.

² Berlin Museum, No. 433. Canvas, in two arched compartments, 5 ft. 1 in. high by 3 ft. 7 in., from the Solly collection. To the right St. Sebastian with his right hand high above his head, and bound to a tree, round his loins a white cloth with blue stripes, well drawn and foreshortened. On a projection in the foreground: "L Loto." St. Christopher to the left, leaning on his pole and looking up at Christ. On the pole the signature "L Loto 1531." The latter figure is on a model which Lotto more than once adopted from Titian.

³ Bergamo, Lochis, No. 185. Canvas, under life-size; inscribed: "Laurentius Lotus 1533." There is every reason to believe that this picture was once in the collection of Robert Canonici, at Ferrara (1632). If this be so—and the description given in the catalogue of the Canonici collection would prove it—this is

Lotto's masterpiece in the monumental style at this time is the Crucifixion painted for a prelate of the family of Bonafede in 1531 and still preserved in the church of Monte Sangiusto. Here we have the incidents of the great Christian tragedy put together in a most life-like way: the fainting virgin, the wailing Magdalen and John, and a kneeling prelate in the foreground; in rear of these the soldiers and people and the three crosses—Christ crucified being the least successful part of the composition. The agony of the thieves is powerfully rendered, and a surprising facility is shown in handling rich and fluid colours.¹

Other pictures there are in Bergamasque churches which show that Lotto still kept up his connection with the city in which he had lived so honoured and so long—three ovals in the sacristy of the Duomo of Bergamo, where the Pope is seen raising the interdict of Brescia, Christ in Glory—small but spirited pieces in the sacristy of Sant' Alessandro alla Croce.²

Amongst productions of a later date, some, like the Holy Family of 1534 at the Uffizi, deserve attention for the grace and feeling which are transfused into the figures as well as for the surprising delicacy of the treatment.³ Others, like the Madonna in Glory with Saints, dated 1542 in Santa Maria of Sedrina, near Bergamo, or the Virgin and Child with

another of the Canonici pictures which was saved from the fire of 1638. See Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi, ub. sup.*, p. 119. A fine replica of this piece by Lotto, but without his signature, is on canvas in the Rospigliosi Palace at Rome. [* Another is in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (No. 1679).]

¹ Monte San Giusto, near Ancona. Canvas, with twenty-three figures, mostly of life-size, inscribed: "Laurentius/Lotus 1531"; in its old frame on the high altar of the church. The colours are a little dusky from the effects of time.

² (1) Bergamo, Duomo, sacristy. Three small ovals, on panel, with little figures brilliantly touched off. [* Cf. *antea*, i. 284, n. 3.] (2) Sant' Alessandro, alla Croce, sacristy. Small canvas. Christ in Glory above a landscape, a little empty. Four little canvases with St. Jerome and three other saints in the sacristy seem below the level of Lotto, and are perhaps of his school, presumably by Caversegno.

³ Florence, Uffizi, No. 575. Canvas. On a bed with a green coverlet, and in front of a green curtain, sits St. Anna, with the Virgin between her knees supporting the standing child, who is worshipped by the kneeling Joseph and the standing St. Jerome. A wall forms the background. The coldness of the tints of the Virgin and child is caused by abrasion and cleaning. On the right is the inscription "Lorenzo Loto, 1534."

Saints in the Manfrini Palace at Venice, are all but lost in repaints.¹

A noble canvas in the Manzoni collection at Pat gives a most dramatic representation of the Virgin's swoon on seeing the body of Christ carried to the sepulchre. The daring manner in which the sacred history of the Passion is enriched with a novel and hitherto unknown incident is not more remarkable than the hardihood of the treatment, the boldness of the figures, and the variegated tints of the colours.²

Less out of the daily beat of the sixteenth century and exceptionally common in form and motive-thought is the Dead Christ on the Lap of the Virgin with Saints in the Brera of Milan.³ Very fanciful in conception, but more neglectful than usual in handling, is the canvas in the Rospigliosi Palace at Rome where Chastity, as a female bearing the broken bow of

¹ Sedrina, church of. Canvas, with figures large as life; inscribed on one side of the foreground, ". . . urentio Loto"; on the other, "hoc opus fecit fieri fraternitas Sante Marie de Sedrina MDXXXII." The Virgin and Child in a cloud, surrounded by cherub's heads, is adored from the foreground of a landscape by St. Joseph, St. Jerome, St. John the Baptist, and another saint. It is hardly possible to trace Lotto's hand anywhere but in the dress of the Virgin. (2) Venice, Manfrini Palace, No. 26. The Virgin and Child with a kneeling donor presented by St. Sebastian; in the background St. Roch, to the left St. Joseph and a female saint; a canvas under life-size. The left-hand half of this picture is altogether ruined. [* It is now in the Museum at Vercelli.

In this connection we may mention an important work by Lotto, dated 1539, in the church of San Domenico at Cingoli. This painting is essentially a glorification of the Rosary. It represents the Virgin enthroned, with the child in her lap; she gives a Rosary to St. Dominic, who kneels to the left, while St. Esuperanzio, in a similar position to the right, presents a model of the town of Cingoli to the infant Christ, who imparts to it his blessing. At the sides of the throne stand SS. Mary Magdalen, Thomas Aquinas, Sperandio, and Peter the Martyr. Above the Madonna the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary are painted in as many circles. In the foreground three children, among them the boy St. John Baptist, are standing round a basket filled with rose-petals, which one of the children is throwing about. The picture is signed "I. Lotus, MDXXXIX."

² Pat, Manzoni collection, No. 64. Canvas, oblong, with eight figures as large as life in a landscape. To the left, in the distance, the body of Christ carried by two men; to the right the Virgin, in a swoon, held on her knees by a man, her arm supported by a woman, and behind the group a female pointing forcibly to some distant object.

³ Milan, Brera, No. 188. Five figures of life-size on canvas, in a landscape; inscribed: "Laurentio Loto." [* Originally in the church of San Paolo at Treviso and, according to Lotto's account-book, painted in 1545.]

Cupid, repels lust in the shape of Venus and Amor. There are few pictures in which Lotto's contrasts of alabaster flesh and patterned finery are more staringly presented.¹

A small St. Jerome in the Doria Palace at Rome, of which there is almost a replica in the Madrid Museum, offers a more vigorous and highly toned variety of the master's style, representing that broad and powerful phase of his art which is illustrated in a life-size canvas at Alnwick, representing a naked boy holding a laurel crown over a death's-head.²

In 1544 we see Lotto living at Treviso, whether temporarily or not we cannot say³; but then perhaps he produced the numerous works of which historians tell, and valued an altar-piece which Francesco Beccaruzzi had executed in the church of Valdobbiadene.⁴

Vasari relates that Tommaso da Empoli, who had a good collection of pictures in the sixteenth century at Venice, counted amongst his treasures a Nativity in which the majesty of the Saviour was adored by the Virgin and a kneeling figure of Marco Loredano, and the whole scene was lighted from the radiance emanating from the form of Christ. Ridolfi describes a similar picture with angels, and without the kneeling donor, in the Gallery of John Reinst of Amsterdam. The Anonimo, too, registers a replica in possession of Domenico Cornello at Bergamo.⁵ That none of these pictures were preserved to give

¹ Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi. Canvas, with figures little under the size of life, not without injury from cleaning, inscribed: "Laurentius Lotus."

² (1) Rome, Palazzo Doria, No. 290. Canvas. Small figure of St. Jerome, prostrate in a landscape, with the cross on the ground before him. He is turned to the right, and has the stone in his left. This picture is, curiously enough, under the name of Annibal Caracci. [* It is now catalogued as a work by Lotto.] (2) Madrid Museum, No. 448. Under the name of Titian. Canvas, 3 ft. 6 in. high by 3 ft. 2 in. Variety of the same composition, with an angel in the air. (3) Alnwick. Canvas, life-size. The death's-head is on a red cushion. Through an opening in the wall behind the sky appears. This picture is under the name of Schiavone. The same subject, in the collection of Prince Napoleon, was sold at Christie's on May 11, 1872.

³ Thanks to Lotto's account-book, we now know that he lived at Treviso from Oct. 1542 to Dec. 1545.—A painting of Christ in the air surrounded by Angels, now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, was finished by him in that town in May 1543.—Frizzoni, in the Vienna *Jahrbuch*, xxx, 51 *sqq.*

⁴ The record of this valuation is dated Dec. 11, 1544. It is too long to print.

⁵ Vasari, v. 249 *sq.*; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 188; Anon., ed. Morelli, p. 52.

us an idea of Lotto's art in representing a subject frequently treated by the Brescians and perfectly conceived by Correggio is deeply to be regretted.¹

In the last years of his career Lotto enjoyed the friendship, and more than ever felt the influence, of Titian. At San Giacomo dell' Orio, in Venice, is still preserved a large altarpiece in which the Virgin, crowned by angels, sits enthroned with the infant Christ on her lap and receives the silent homage of St. James, St. Andrew, St. Cosmas, and St. Damian. The forms, masks, treatment, and colour, remind us of Titian.² Amongst the pictures of the Giovanelli collection at Venice one represents St. Roch at the foot of a tree in a wide landscape, looking up at the angel who flies down to relieve him. Here again, the rich and juicy tone is Titianesque, and the style is so deceitfully like that of Vecelli that the canvas bears his name.³ Though Dolce, in his *Dialogues*, threw out some remarks depreciatory of the Madonna of the Carmine, which he described as painted in unnaturally sombre tones, it was neither Titian's nor Aretino's opinion that Lotto was an ordinary craftsman.⁴ We know, on the contrary, that Titian esteemed Lotto as an artist and as a man of mature judgment in his profession. In 1548, when he sent Lotto greetings from Augsburg, Aretino wrote to Lotto to assure him of Vecelli's personal friendship and respect.⁵ Yet it was about this time that Lotto's powers began seriously to wane; and it was then that he resolved to abandon Venice and take up his abode in the sanctuary of Loreto.

* ¹ The Venice Academy has recently acquired a Nativity by Lotto, perhaps identical with the picture mentioned by Vasari as belonging to Tommaso da Empoli. See Sinigaglia, in *Bollettino d'arte*, ii. 298 sqq.

² Venice, San Giacomo dell' Orio. Canvas, with life-size figures, inscribed: "In tempo de Maistro Defendi de Federigo e compagni 1546 Lo. Lot." The movements here are bold and free, the child unnaturally puffy. The colours are warm and powerful and put in with heavy impast. The picture is ill-lighted, but one can still see that it has been injured by restoring.

³ Venice, Palazzo Giovanelli. Canvas, life-size. In the distance to the right a soldier is seen advancing, to the left a hill with a palace, and on the foreground a dog. The movement of St. Roch, as he sits cross-legged at the foot of the tree, is strained. The colouring is very rich and tasteful.

⁴ Dolce, *Dialogo*, p. 43.

⁵ Aretino to Lotto. Venice, April 1548, in *Lettere* iv. 214, and Bottari, *Raccolta*, v. 183.

Lotto retired in 1550 to Ancona,¹ where he executed the Madonna with Angels, which still hangs in Santa Maria della Piazza,² and he accepted commissions to paint for the cathedral of Loreto seven canvases which tell, with painful eloquence, the story of his decline.³ Aretino's letter conveys allusions to the spirit of reliance on the efficacy of religion which filled the mind of Lotto in his later years. It was no doubt this spirit which induced the painter to withdraw to a sanctuary where he could spend such time as was not devoted to art in the service of the church.

We had occasion to remark upon the prolific character of Lotto as an executant of subject pieces and frescoes. We casually

* ¹ For 1550, read July 1549. This is proved by the account-book of Lotto, from which we also gather that he stayed at Ancona till August, 1552, when he removed to Loreto. See *Le Gall. Naz.*, i. 181.

² Ancona, Santa Maria della Piazza. Canvas, with figures of life-size, inscribed: "Lorenzo Lotto." Two angels in flight suspend a crown above the head of the Virgin, who holds the child; to the right and left are St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, St. Lawrence, and another saint. Curious is the flight of steps leading sideways up to the throne. This is a feeble, pallid, and partly injured production of the master. [* Mr. Berenson thinks that this painting, which is now in the Pinacoteca Podesti at Ancona, was executed before the altarpiece of 1546 in San Giacomo dell'Orio at Venice, since the latter work is "a hasty and slightly varied replica" of the Ancona picture.] An Assumption in San Francesco of Ancona, with Lotto's name and the date of 1550 was noted by Ricci (ii. 106). [* Also this painting is now in the Pinacoteca Podesti at Ancona.]

³ Loreto, Governor's Palace, formerly in the Duomo. (1) St. Christopher between St. Roch and St. Sebastian, inscribed: "Laurentii Loti pictoris opus." This large altarpiece is much injured and of very feeble execution. The St. Christopher is a repetition of the earlier one of Berlin. (2) Adoration of the new-born Christ. To the left St. Joseph. The Virgin kneeling; the infant Christ, in rear of whom two angels are in adoration; near Christ the young Baptist receives from St. Elizabeth the reed-cross; near St. Elizabeth is St. Joachim, seated. This canvas with half-sized figures is better than the one previously described, and is powerful enough in tone, and graceful enough in the pose and shape of the *dramatis personæ*. Some fragments of colours are scaled away. [* This is a replica of a picture in the Louvre (No. 1351).] (3) The Epiphany. (4) The Presentation in the Temple. These feeble productions of Lotto's old age are dusky from the effects of time and otherwise injured. (5) The Woman taken in Adultery, a canvas of thirteen or fourteen half-lengths, is here assigned to Titian, but is one of the series of Lotto's performances at Loreto in these years. The figures of Christ, the woman, and an old man are repainted. (6) St. Michael fighting the Dragon. (7) Baptism of Christ. (8) A Miracle. All these are feeble Lotto's.

noticed some of his likenesses. There are few masters of the time, if we except Titian, of whom we possess so many and such masterly portraits. That some of these should be attributed to Giorgione, others to Leonardo, and others again to Titian and Pordenone is one of the natural consequences of a versatile manner. In one of the best single figures of this kind under Pordenone's name at the Borghese Gallery, we have the semblance of a stout, florid man in grand attire, whose turn of thought is possibly illustrated by a hand resting on a death's-head partially concealed by flowers. St. George tilts at a dragon in a landscape seen through a window. We do not meet with a finer or more dignified pose in any of Titian's canvases, nor do we know of any other example in which Lotto so nearly approached Vecelli. The treatment is broad and powerful; the colour, in its warm and golden transparence, is fluid and modelled with perfect blending.¹

Another remarkable specimen of Lotto's skill—and here of his peculiar skill in the difficult art of female portraiture—is the likeness of a lady of rank which passed from the Harrache collection at Turin to the Brera of Milan. This lady sits near a table, on which she rests her elbow. Behind her is a red hanging, and a red cloth falling over the back of her chair. The turban on her head is flowered. Her bare and beautiful throat, in its square-cut chemisette, is adorned with a pearl necklace. In her right hand she carries a fan. Her dress, of dark silk, is trimmed with white cloth and bound at the waist with a gold chain. The fine-chiselled features, extremely pure in drawing, charm by their mild expression. A delicate but healthy complexion is displayed in warm sweet tones of extraordinary transparence, and masterly transitions lead the eye from opal lights into rich and coloured shadows. The whole figure basks in a vague atmosphere, into the depths of which we penetrate by degrees. There is harmony in every part, in true contrasts of tint, in true balance of chiaroscuro, and in modelled relief.²

¹ Rome, Borghese Gallery, No. 185. Canvas in admirable preservation. The figure, of life-size, is seen to the knees. [* This picture is now officially ascribed to Lotto.]

² Milan, Brera, No. 184. From the Harrache collection, knee-piece of life-size, not free from modern stippling, inscribed: "Laurentio Loto."

A half-length in the same collection represents a man of lean and bony make with a swallow-tailed beard, a grey eye, close-set features, and a grave aspect. The flesh is golden and finely modulated, giving us the character of the individual as well as the accidents of flesh after the fashion which Morone mastered in the sixteenth century.¹

A third half-length, companion to these, offers another variety of type and execution. A man stands at a table in a pelisse with a fox-skin collar; he is bare-headed and bearded. His right hand rests on the table and grips a handkerchief. The ruddy skin of the face is broken with touches, now warm, now cold, by which the play of light and reflections is rendered with deceptive truth.²

Another example illustrates the painter's skill in catching momentary action or the soft glow of a warm and gay, but subdued light. This is the Aldrovandi assigned to Titian at the Imperial Gallery of Vienna.³

A later form of portrait execution is that observable in the Sansovino of the Berlin Museum, a knee-piece in which a liquid under preparation of umber is merely touched up to a finish by broad and coarse, but masterly strokes. The modern air of this canvas caused it to be christened with the name of Battista Franco.⁴

We might extend this list, were it only necessary.⁵

¹ Milan, Brera, No. 185. From the Harrache collection, knee-pieces of life-size on a brown ground.

* Mr. Berenson suggests (*ib. sup.*, p. 219) that these two portraits are identical with the half-lengths of Messer Febo de Brescia and Madonna da Pola, which Lotto, according to his account-book (*Le Gall. Naz.*, i. 142), painted in 1543-4.

² Milan, Brera, No. 183. From the Harrache collection. Canvas, half-length, on brown ground, of life-size, inscribed: "Laurent. Loto p."

³ Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 215. Canvas, 3 ft. 1 in. high by 2 ft. 4 in. We cannot say on what grounds this canvas is said to represent Ulysses Aldrovandi. The face is open, the hair, divided in the middle, falls to the neck. In the right hand is a bird's claw in metal, behind the frame, and its black dress is a red hanging. [* This painting is now officially ascribed to Lotto.]

⁴ Berlin Museum, No. 153. Canvas, 3 ft. 5½ in. high by 2 ft. 8¼ in., with the remains of Lotto's signature: "L. Lotto Me fe . . ." This picture was once in the Giustiniani Gallery at Paris, and is much rubbed down.

⁵ To conclude the list, we note: (1) Rome, Doria Palace, private apartments. Knee-piece representing a bearded man, with one hand on his breast, the other hand pointing. His dress and cap are black; he looks sickly, and seems to count

Lotto lived, it is said, to a good old age. He died about 1554 in the Sanctuary of Loreto.¹

the beatings of his heart. Against the marble wall of the background an ivy creeps upwards. In the wall itself is a relief of a boy holding scales. "Anno etatis sue XXXVII" is written in the stone. This is a genuine Lotto. (2) Rome, Palazzo Colonna. Canvas, half-length of life-size, called "Pompeo Colonna," with a letter in one hand, the other hand caressing a dog. This is a true Lotto, made opaque and dull by restoring. (3) Rome, Signor Spiridione. Half-length of a man in a black cap and dress, holding in both hands a book, on which is written: "L. Lotus A° D° MDXXXI." This canvas was taken to London, and perhaps figures in an English collection. It has lost brilliancy in part from the effects of cleaning. (4) Pat, Manzoni collection. Portrait of a man playing a guitar, assigned to Giorgione. In the style of Lotto. (5) Berlin Museum, No. 320; 1 ft. 5 in. high by 1 ft. 3 in. Canvas once in the Giustiniani collection, and signed: "L Lotus pict." Bust of a man with a small cap on the top of his head. This is a fine likeness, with effective and dark shadows, supposed, we know not why, to be Lotto by himself. (6) Vienna Imperial Gallery, No. 220. Canvas, 1 ft. 7 in. high by 2 ft. 5 in., assigned to Titian. The Jeweller, with his casket, in three views—a triplicate portrait. This canvas, though it was called a Titian when it was in the collection of Charles I., is not by Titian, and is executed very much in the manner of Lotto. [* As shown by Mr. Kerr-Lawson (in *The Burlington Magazine*, vi. 453 *sq.*), the sitter is holding a *Giuoco del Lotto*, and it is probable that this is meant to convey that the person here represented is Lotto himself.] (7) Same collection, not now shown, No. 554, catalogue of 1884. A portrait, round; is too much injured to warrant an opinion. (8) Pesth, Esterhazy collection. Wood, life-size bust of a man in a cap, glove in hand, at a table on which letters are strewn. This piece, called a Leonardo, has been stippled up to a red uniformity, but is still to be recognized as a work of Lotto, and very much resembles the likeness engraved as Lotto in Ridolfi. [* It is now in the Budapest Museum.] (9) Darmstadt Museum, No. 522. Life-size half-length of a general in a red coat and sleeves of scale-mail, with his hand on his sword. A camp is seen in the distance, which a green hanging partly conceals. This canvas is damaged by restoring, but apparently a true Lotto. (10) Stuttgart Museum, No. 508. Portrait of Francesco Contarini (see *antea* in Giorgione, p. 43). Is probably by Lotto, but much injured in the flesh by retouching. (11) London, Lord Yarborough, No. 54. A man in a green cap, with a pen in his right hand, stands at a table on which is a paper, inscribed with the words: "Hic intus est omnis beatitudo mea." This canvas, under the name of Morone, is like a Lotto injured by restoring. (12) Chatsworth. Portrait, half-length, of a young man with long hair, in a black cap, a glove in his hand. Though called a Giorgione, this canvas is more probably by Lotto or Cariani. [* Judging from a reproduction of this portrait (in *The Burlington Magazine*,

¹ That Lotto was still living at Loreto in 1554 is proved by a record in Tassi (*ub. sup.*, p. 130), in which payments are made to him for cartoons in monochrome intended for use in the choir of Santa Maria of Loreto. [* The latest known document in which Lotto is spoken of as being still alive dates from September 18, 1556. On July 1, 1557, he was dead. See Gianuzzi, *loc. cit.*, p. 91.]

We add to the list of Lotto's pictures the following :

Jesi, San Floriano Convent. St. Lucy, before the judge, refuses to worship the idol. The predella represents St. Lucy in prayer before a tomb in a church, St. Lucy before the prefect, and St. Lucy withstanding the power of the beeves that strive to drag her away. This altarpiece (on panel) is much worn and damaged, but bits of the predella still show that we owe the work in its totality to a period subsequent to 1512, when the entombment in the same church was completed.¹ We note the error of the annotators of Vasari (ed. Le Monnier, ix. 153), who give to this altarpiece the date and signature which belong to the Entombment.

In the same convent, further, we have two late productions of Lotto, panels with the Virgin and Angel Annunciate.²

Bergamo, Casa di Lavoro. In this place—of old a convent of vol. viii. pl. facing p. 343), the editor should say the attribution to Cariani is correct.] (13) St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 115. Half-length of a man on a chair. Through the window to the left we see a man and woman in converse. This is a fine portrait, which may be an original by Lotto. (14) Copenhagen Museum, No. 349. Wood, 13½ Danish inches high by 11½ in. Bust of a man in a black cap and pelisse, with a fur collar. This panel is falsely given to Lotto, being by an artist of De Bruyn's type. [* In the current catalogue it is ascribed, with a query, to Mabuse.

We may enumerate some portraits by Lotto which have not yet been noticed :

(1) Bergamo, Galleria Carrara. Bust of a lady. (2) Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Nos. 320 and 182. Busts of young men, the former signed "L. Lotus pict." (3) Berlin, collection of the late Herr von Kauffmann. Bust of a goldsmith. (4) Dijon Museum. Bust of a lady. (5) London, National Gallery, No. 1067. Family group, signed "L. Lotto." No. 1105. Half-length of the Prothonotary Giuliano. (6) Milan, Brera, No. 187. Three-quarter length of a man. (7) Milan, Museo Civico. Bust of a youth. (8) Naples Museum. Bust of a man. (9) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Half-length of a young man. (10) New York, collection of Mr. G. Blumenthal. Portrait of man in fur coat. (11) Nivaagaard (near Copenhagen), collection of M. Hage. Bust of a man holding a rosary. (12) Oldenburg, Augusteum, No. 83. Three-quarter length of a man in armour. (13) Palermo, collection of Sig. Tommaso Virzi. Half-length of a man holding a dog. (14) Rome, Capitol Gallery, No. 176. Half-length of a man with a musket. (15) St. Petersburg, collection of Prince Youssouf. Woman with a silver cup. (16) Venice Academy. Half-length of a man.]

*¹ This is again a case where the subsequent discovery of records has proved the correctness of the conclusions at which the authors arrived by considerations of style. We now know that the altarpiece (which at present has its place in the Library at Jesi) was ordered on December 11, 1523. It had not yet been delivered by June 4, 1527; and as late as February 5, 1531, the painter received the final payment for it. See Von Tschudi, in *Repertorium*, ii. 276.

*² Also these panels are now in the Library at Jesi.

canons of the Lateran—there is a series of frescoes representing scenes from the life of St. Augustine. These are greatly altered from their original state by restoring, but they may still claim to be by Lotto or his assistants.

Venice, Chiesa del Redentore. Two small canvases in the convent to which this church belongs are probably by Lotto. One represents the Nativity, the other a Crucifixion with five figures. Both canvases have landscape backgrounds.¹

Padua Gallery, No. 49. Wood, half-lengths, under life-size. The Virgin sits with the child in a landscape between St. Catherine and St. John the Baptist, who presents a kneeling donor to the Saviour. From the Capo di Lista collection. This picture is greatly injured, and not certainly by Lotto, to whom it is assigned. It is very like a picture in the Casa Roncalli, at Bergamo, in which the names of Francesco da Santa Croce and Lotto are suggested.

Milan, Archbishop's Palace. Virgin and Child between a male and female saint—a genuine Lotto (canvas).

Milan, Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, No. 614. The Virgin, with the child on her lap, caresses the young Baptist—a pretty little Lotto of rich tone.

Milan, Count Giuliani. In the residence of this nobleman is kept a Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine (m. 0·74 high by 0·69). This picture, which we have not seen, bears Lotto's name in capitals, and the date of 1532.

Paris, Louvre, No. 1349. Canvas, half-lengths (m. 1·24 high by 1·26). The Woman taken in Adultery; a counterpart as to subject of the canvas at Loretto, of which there is a late copy numbered 197 in the Dresden Museum,² and a second copy in the Spada collection at Rome (Venetian school, No. 17).

Paris, Louvre, No. 1351. Canvas (m. 1·50 high by 2·17). Holy Family. This piece is classed amongst the unknown, but seems an unfinished Lotto, with figures of a slender and agreeable character. The unfinished appearance may be due to cleaning and flaying.³

Stuttgart Museum. No. 525. Wood (8 ft. 6 in. high by 7 ft. 4 in.). Christ crucified, the Virgin, Evangelist, and Magdalen. This may have been once a genuine Lotto. It is

* These pictures are now in the Venice Academy (Nos. 639 and 640). Though certainly reminiscent of Lotto, they are, on the whole, much more closely akin to Previtali, who was notoriously influenced by Lotto. See *antea*, i. 285, n. 1.

* Now on loan to the Realschule at Oelsnitz.

* Now officially ascribed to Lotto.

now too much damaged to be recognized as such.¹ No. 464. Canvas (3 ft. 2 in. high by 4 ft. 5 in.). Christ rising from the tomb, signed "tonius Palma p." This canvas, assigned to Lotto, is also much injured, and of doubtful originality.² No. 439. Canvas (4 ft. 8 in. high by 10 ft. 7 in.). The Last Supper; altogether repainted.³

London, Holford collection. Lucretia, assigned to Giorgione. Here is a picture which we had occasion to notice as being in the style of Lotto.⁴ The replica in the Liechtenstein collection at Venice was registered in the same place (see *antea* in Giorgione).

Hampton Court, No. 554. A Concert. This picture is assigned to Bellini, and noted (i. 185, n. 1) as possibly of Lotto's later and declining years.

St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 76. The Virgin about to give the breast to the child, under the name of Cesare da Sesto, is a ruined picture still reminiscent of Lotto.⁵

The following pictures are missing :

Bergamo, Palazzo del capitan grande. Picture with the whole family of a "capitan grande," by Lotto. (Bartoli, *Pitt. di Bergamo, ub. sup.*, p. 29.)

Bergamo, Casa Domenico del Cornello. A Pietà and a small

*¹ In the current catalogue this picture is entered under "Unknown master of the sixteenth century."

*² On the authority of the signature, this picture is now ascribed to Antonio Palma, the nephew of Palma Vecchio. Compare Ludwig, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxii. 184 *sqq.*

*³ Now labelled, "Style of Bonifazio."

*⁴ It may confidently be ascribed to him.

*⁵ It is now catalogued as a work by Lotto.

The following paintings by Lotto remain to be noticed: (1) Bergamo, Sant' Alessandro in Colonna. The Deposition of Christ. (2) Hamburg, collection of the late Consul Weber. St. Jerome. (3) Hermannstadt, Bruckenthal collection. St. Jerome, signed "Laure. Lotus." (4) London, National Gallery, No. 2281. The Virgin and Child, with SS. Anthony of Padua and Jerome. (5) Collection of Mr. Robert Benson. The Virgin and Child with two donors. (6) Late Doetsch collection. The Virgin and Child, with SS. Mary Magdalen, Catherine, John the Baptist, and Jerome. (7) Milan, Brera, No. 186. The Assumption of the Virgin. (8) Milan, Museo Borromeo. The Crucified Christ. (9) Mogliano, Santa Maria della Piazza. The Assumption of the Virgin. This picture, signed Lorenzo Lotto, was executed in 1547-8. (10) Osimo Municipio. The Virgin and Child with Angels (lately stolen). (11) Recanati, Oratorio di San Giacomo. St. James. (12) Santa Maria sopra Mercanti. The Annunciation. (13) Wilton House, collection of Lord Pembroke. St. Anthony the Abbot.

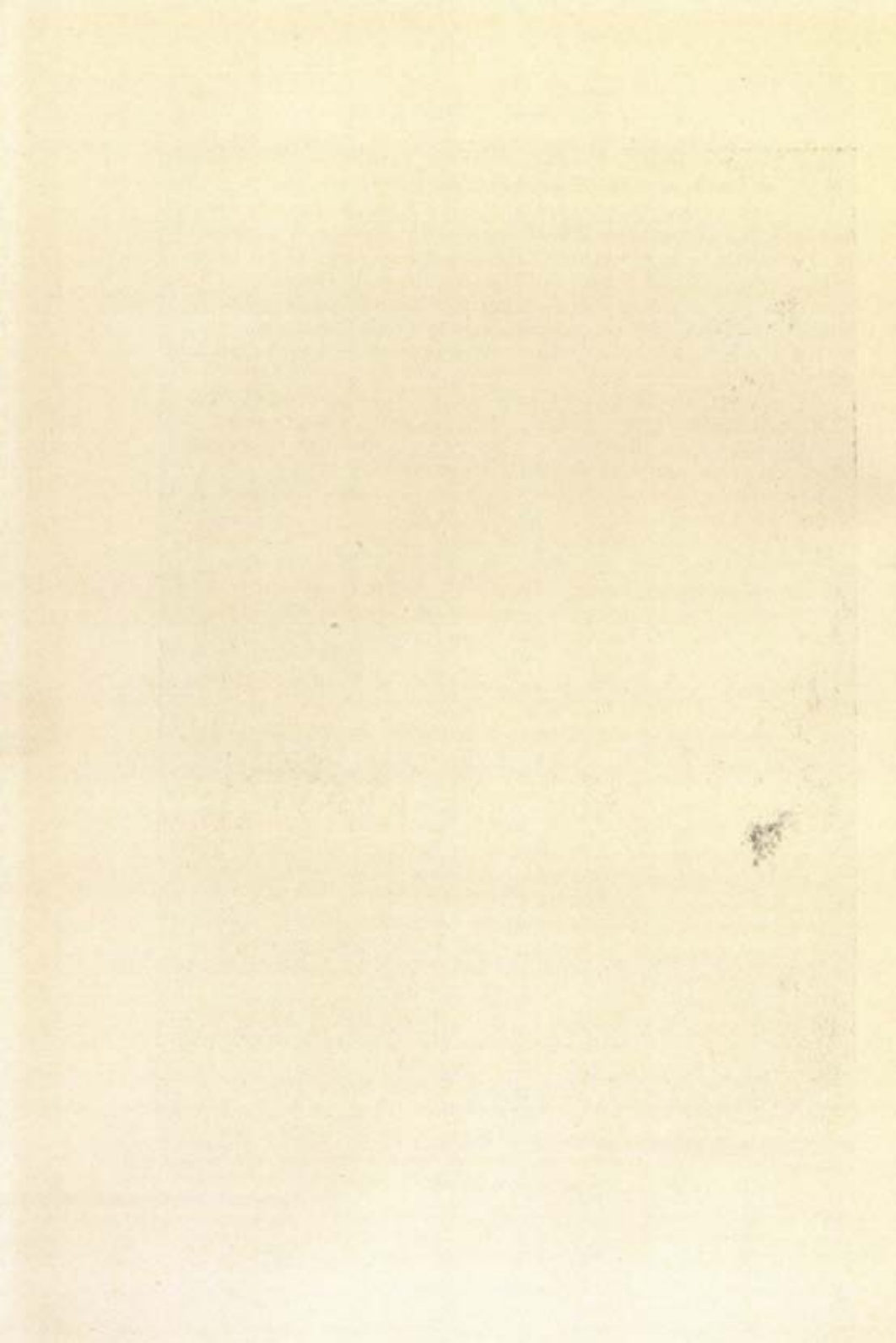
LORENZO LOTTO



[Linari photo.]

[Recanati, Santa Maria sopra Mercanti.]

THE ANNUNCIATION.



St. Jerome (Anonimo, ed. Morelli, p. 53). For the latter see the small pictures with this subject at the Louvre, in the Doria Palace at Rome, and the Museum at Madrid.¹

Bergamo, Casa Tassi. 1. Christ taking leave of his Mother; perhaps the picture No. 326 at the Berlin Museum (see *antea*). 2. A Nativity. 3. A Virgin, Child, and Saints; one of the latter with a vase full of fruit. 4. The Marriage of Cupid. 5. An old man and a young girl holding a sheet of music (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 186). These pictures, according to Tassi (*ub. sup.*, i. 125), were, after Ridolfi's time, in possession of Canon Zanchi of Bergamo.

Bergamo, San Alessandro in Colonna. Christ deposed from the Cross (Anon., p. 49; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 186; Bartoli, p. 9).

Bergamo, Casa Morandi. A portrait of Madonna Laura and friezes, figures, and arabesques in fresco (Tassi, i. 125).

Bergamo, Casa de'Conti Albani di Ugnano. Friezes in a hall (*ibid.*).

Bergamo, Casa Conte Gio. Mosconi. Frieze with gambols of children (*ibid.*).

Bergamo, Casa Casotti. Flight into Egypt (*ibid.*).

Bergamo, Casa Ragazzoni. A small picture with SS. Stephen, Roch, and Sebastian, perhaps the same described in the Piccinelli collection (*ibid.*, p. 126).

Bergamo, Casa Carlo Albani. Portrait of Francesco Albani in the dress of a knight (*ibid.*).

Bergamo, Signor Savoldini. A picture with portraits of the Castelli family (*ibid.*).

Venice, Salute, sacristy, in the niche for the holy water. A Head of St. Paul (Boschini, *Le R. Min.*, S. di D. D., p. 29).

Venice, Casa Gussoni. 1. Virgin and Child and two Saints. 2. St. Catherine bound to the wheel, perhaps the same now in the Leuchtenberg collection (see *antea*, p. 409). 3. A small Crucified Saviour with the Marys (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 188).

Venice, Casa Giovanni Grimani. A portrait (*ibid.*).

Venice, Casa Jacopo Pighetti. Christ carrying his Cross (*ibid.*).

Chignolo, in the Bergamasque province. Madonna (Tassi, i. 124).

Berbenno, near Bergamo. St. Anthony the Abbot (*ibid.*). A St. Anthony once in Berbenno still exists in the Casa Petrobelli at Bergamo, but it is by Previtali.²

Calolcio, church of. St. Martin and other Saints (*ibid.*).

*¹ See also the paintings in the Weber collection at Hamburg, and the Bruckenthal collection at Hermannstadt, mentioned in the preceding note.

*² See *antea*, i. 285, n. 1.

La Rancia. Last Supper (*ibid.*).

Celana, Santa Maria. Assumption (Lomazzo, *Idea*, p. 159).¹

Cingoli, San Domenico. "Un Rosario col nome e l'anno" (Ricci, *ub. sup.*, ii. 93).²

Treviso, Chiesa del Gesù. Christ as a babe adored by his mother (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 186).

Treviso, Casa Pola. Portrait of a "medico," and portrait of a lady of the Colalto family (*ibid.*).

Treviso, Casa Galdini. Marriage of St. Catherine (*ibid.*, p. 187).³

Treviso, San Paolo. Deposition from the Cross (Federici, *ub. sup.*, ii. 6).⁴

Treviso, Casa Onigo. Portrait of a priest (Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 187).

Portobuffolè on the Livenza. Christ crucified, with the Virgin and St. John (*ibid.*).

Antwerp, Van Buren collection. 1. Dead Christ supported in the tomb by two angels. 2. Portrait of a man. 3. Portrait of a man and his wife. 4. Portrait of a man and his wife, the latter holding a dog. 5. Portrait of an old woman with an ermine pelisse (*ibid.*, p. 188).

*¹ See *antea*, p. 416, n. 2.

*² See *antea*, p. 421, n. 1.

*³ Perhaps identical with the picture now in the Pinakothek at Munich (see *antea*, p. 397).

*⁴ See *antea*, p. 421, n. 3.

CHAPTER IX

EARLY BERGAMASQUES, THE SANTA CROCE, AND GIOVANNI CARIANI

PREVIOUS to the time when the art of the Bergamasques assumed a decided Venetian impress, painters at Bergamo generally acknowledged the supremacy of the Milanese schools.¹ Even had Bergamo been entirely deprived of early examples, we should find proofs of Milanese influence in the evidence which history affords that Lombards like Michele di Ronco in the fourteenth, Foppa, Troso da Monza, Butinone, and Zenale, in the fifteenth, were employed there. What remains of the works of Pecino or Pierino de Nova, a Bergamasque who laboured in company with Michele di Ronco in 1375 at Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo, bears the clear stamp of that form of Giottesque which found its best expression in Giovanni da Milano and Altichiero²; whilst the fragments of frescoes detached from the

¹ There was a time, too, in which the Milanese influence was not as yet felt; for instance, in the tree of S. Buonaventura, a fresco on a wall to the right, inside the portal of Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo, commissioned in 1347 by Guido de' Suardi, as is proved by a long but often renewed inscription of which a copy may be found in Locatelli's *Illustri Bergamaschi* (note to i. 13). Here S. Buonaventura kneels at the foot of a large tree between the Virgin and St. Clara on one side, and St. John with a following of Franciscan friars on the other. In front of S. Buonaventura kneels the patron Suardi. Small scenes from Christ's passion—amongst them a very drastic representation of the Circumcision—are given in the intervals between the branchings of the tree. Though injured by repaint, this fresco has the grave and severe stamp which early Christian painting, with all its faults, is seldom found to lack.

² The following respecting Pierino de Nova and the works which may be assigned to him or his contemporaries, may be useful to those who take an interest in the earlier forms of art-development.

Tassi (*Pitt. Berg.*, i. 2-6) gives numerous records touching the painter whom he calls "Paxino, or Pecino de Nova." He quotes the payments made to him in 1363-4, 1368-9, 1381, 1388 and 1389 for original paintings and repairs of paintings in Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo; he gives an extract of an order made to

ruins of Santa Maria delle Grazie and deposited in the Bishop's Palace of Bergamo, if they could—and we should think they could—be accepted as works of Troso da Monza and Giacomo de' Scannardi d'Averaria—would give us a reflex of the style which had its representatives at Milan in such men as Francesco de Vico.¹ In the Triumph and Dance of Death, which cover part of

Pierino by Gian' Galeazzo Visconti to paint the arms of France on the front of the palace and on the towers of Bergamo in 1394; another of an indenture by which Pierino receives a boy of 13 as an apprentice in 1397. He prints in full an account of a litigation which took place in 1409 for the possession of a Madonna with Saints executed by Pierino for San Lorenzo of Bergamo. He reprints the register of Pierino's burial at Bergamo in 1403. Finally Tassi notes (i. 6) that one Piero de Nova, whom he considers to be an independent painter, is found registered in the books of Santa Maria Maggiore in partnership with Michele di Ronco of Milan and traces his name from 1375 to 1409. The same records, perused and copied afresh by Signor Michele Caffi, give results differing in so far from those of Tassi, that it appears that "Paxino" or "Pecino" is a false reading for "Pierino" de Nova; to this artist are assigned, we may believe correctly, certain fragments of frescoes which exist in the present bell-room of Santa Maria Maggiore. In one fragment is the Virgin and Child, with mutilated saints; in a second fragment is the Epiphany; in a third the Virgin and Child between a saint presenting a youth on one side and St. Bartholomew and St. Christopher on the other, and the Virgin and Child again between a saint presenting a youth and St. Francis with a nameless saint. The Giottesque character of this work is to be found with a better stamp of cultivation on pieces of fresco transferred from San Francesco to the Carrara Gallery at Bergamo, in one of which, bearing the date "MCCCLXXXII die XVIII. Augusti," we find the Virgin and Child, and two kneeling captains introduced by St. Catherine and St. Francis, whilst the other comprises the Virgin and Child with St. Bartholomew and St. Agatha protecting an armed captain and his son. The neat contour and soft tone of these pieces give them an appearance which distantly recalls Altichiero or Giovanni da Milano. The same style is apparent in a Madonna and a single head known traditionally to have been Pierino's and some time ago saved from destruction by Count Secco Suardi, in whose house at Bergamo they were subsequently deposited. Poorer than these but probably of the same date, are the grotesque frescoes on the front of a house in the Contrada Sant'Andrea at Bergamo representing a bust of Christ in benediction with various angels below, and a quaint representation of the angel and Virgin Annunciate the first being seated with a staff in his hand, the second enthroned on a high chair at the opposite side of the picture. We may see similar technical treatment in the feeble miniature style of the first Umbrians.

¹ We spoke of Troso da Monza elsewhere (see *antea*, ii. 389). The deed of partnership between him and Giacomo di Giorgio de' Scannardi d'Averaria, commonly called Holofernes (Tassi, i. 30), is dated August 18, 1477. The will of the latter (*ibid.*) is dated May 20, 1519. The frescoes which are spoken of in the text were erroneously described in the *History of Italian Painting* (1st ed., vol. ii., p. 258) as having been detached from the church of San Giuseppe, whereas they

the façade of the church de' Disciplini at Clusone, near Bergamo, we see the production of an artist of the fifteenth century who combines the coarse energy of contemporary craftsmen in the North Italian highlands with something of Tuscan method in setting and distribution.¹ At a later period Antonio Boselli,

came from Santa Maria delle Grazie of Bergamo. They may be described as follows

A few years before 1871, the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Bergamo was razed and its frescoes were taken into the bishop's palace. Of these frescoes the oldest, now transferred to canvas, are triangular and represent the Nativity and Circumcision, the meeting of Joachim and Anna, and the Epiphany. Of the same cycle, there are also fourteen half-lengths of prophets—one of which bears the date of 1489—and a lunette with Christ in judgment, paradise, and the abode of Satan. Though injured, these pieces are in the style of the Obiani altarpiece in San Pietro in Gessate at Milan (*antea*, ii. 391), the figures being dry and lean lame in action or rigid in pose, with marked contours and broken drapery. The colours are sombre and brown and shadowed in flesh with cold greys. Of a later date, and from the same church, are frescoes representing scenes from the life of St. Francis and solitary figures of St. Francis, St. Bernardino, St. Theresa, St. Jerome, St. Anthony, St. Louis, and a female saint in a glory of angels. These frescoes are also transferred to canvas, and bear the impress of a later and more Venetian art which recalls that of the Santa Croce. The compositions are regular, the attitudes quiet, the forms underset and full, and the flesh-tone rosy, without marked shadow. We might assign the earlier series to Troso, the later to Scannardi; but this is a mere suggestion, subject to future correction. Other wall-paintings, to be classed with the later ones above described, are those of the beginning of the sixteenth century attributed to Lotto and Scannardi (Locatelli, *ub. sup.*, ii. 62), on the left-hand outer wall of the old church of St. Michele al Pozzo bianco in Bergamo; a Virgin and Child and remnants of figures, and a colossal St. Christopher inside the same church, all of which are characterized by regularity of proportion and form but also by coarse and heavy types and rude execution after the fashion of Antonio Boselli or the Gavazzi.

¹ Clusone, Church de' Disciplini. The Triumph and Dance of Death on the façade of the church has been fully described and illustrated by Giuseppe Vallardi, in a book called *Trionfo e Danza, etc., a Clusone*, fol. Milan, 1859.

The upper course contains a square marble tomb, on the edges of which three skeletons hold scrolls with mottoes. In front of the tomb are kings and princes kneeling and holding up offerings. To the right and left are groups of men on foot and horseback in pursuit of the various amusements and avocations in which death surprises them. The lower course is in the usual form of a dance, each figure of a mortal being led by a skeleton of death. The execution of this work is not first-rate, nor is it on a level with the conception and distribution, which must be admitted to be clever and appropriate. The contours are too decisively and too darkly marked, the vestment tints too sharp to be effective, and there is little or no relief by shadow. The forms are full of weight, but at the same time full of coarseness and disproportion. The purpose is often good, but generally carried out with incomplete success. Many parts of this wall-painting are injured,

with feeble powers and a receptive faculty, began in the humblest style of the third-rate Umbrians and finished like a feeble Lombard of Borgognone's type¹; whilst craftsmen of a still

especially the upper part to the right and the right-hand side of the Dance, where a poor attempt at restoring has been made.

Inside the church de' Disciplini of Clusone we have somewhat later and feebler frescoes: a Crucifixion on the wall above the arch leading into the altar-niche; on the vaulting of the niche itself, the name of Christ, the Four Doctors and Evangelists, and on the altar-face remnants of a Christ holding the orb. Two fragments of temperas on the altar bear half-lengths of prophets, and there are similar half-lengths on the sides of the entrance-arch. Incidents from the Passion fill the walls of the church. All this is poor work, ill composed and feebly executed in the style of art peculiar to the low-class craftsman of the close of the fifteenth century. Some compartments are faded, others retouched. The artist signs "1471 chob pinxit." At the foot of the Crucifixion and in a vision of the angel to Mary telling her to fly into Egypt he signs in the same way with the date of 1470. Researches made in the records of St. Bernardino by Dottore Michele Caffi prove that there was a painter employed there named Jacobo Borlone to whom payments were made in 1462-64-70-71-80.

On the side-porch of the church there are figures of friars, amongst them St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, a little less rude in handling than those of the interior and somewhat in the character of those which distinguish the wall-temperas of Pier Antonio of Foligno.

¹ Boselli's name is given in a record of 1507 quoted by Tassi (*ub. sup.*, i. 489), Antonius de Bosellis q. M. Petri. The earliest of his works is a fresco dated 1495 in the church of Ponteranica, near Bergamo, where he shows no superiority over any of the third or fourth rates of the following of Bonfigli, such as Boccatti and Matteo da Gualdo. His later works, particularly a Christ in Paradise the payments for which in 1514 are extant, show an unmistakable impress from Borgognone. The following calendar gives an ample record of this mediocre painter:

Ponteranica, church of. The choir of this church seems to have been painted entirely by Boselli, in fresco. One of these wall-paintings, transferred to canvas, is still preserved—a Virgin of Mercy, whose large green cloak is held up by little angels, whilst devotees kneel at her feet and St. Peter and Mary Magdalen attend at the sides. An inscription runs as follows: "Mensis Setēbris 1495 Antonius bosellus pinxit." The grotesque character of the heads and stark leanness of the figures are very striking. The drawing is coarse and incisive and full of incorrectness. The colours are pitted against each other in strongly marked contrasts and defined surfaces. The tempera is rough and not uninjured. Outside the church a lunette above the portal contains a Virgin crowned by Angels between St. Alexander and St. Vincent. The painter is Boselli.

A record for which we are indebted to Dr. Michele Caffi gives us news of Boselli in 1503. In December of that year he contracts to paint for Santa Maria della Consolazione at Bergamo a large altarpiece representing the Virgin Mary between St. Anna and St. Catherine in one course, the Baptism of Christ between St. Peter, St. Augustine and St. Anthony in another course, and a bust of the Eternal in a pinnacle—all for 200 imperial pounds. Of this altarpiece—we are told—the fragments are still in possession of the heirs of the late Signor Paolo Vitalba at

lower class, such as the Gavazzi or Boldrini, can scarcely be recognized as members of any school whatever.¹

That Previtali, Palma, and Lotto, as Bergamasques, rose to

Bergamo. There are notices in Tassi (i. 48) of Boselli's valuation of frescoes by Giacomo Scipioni d'Averara in Santa Maria delle Grazie at Bergamo, and (i. 51) an altarpiece with St. Christopher, St. Luke and St. Paul, Inscription: "Hoc opus Antonium scito pinxisse Bossellum die 23 Februarii 1509" (which has disappeared from San Cristoforo of Seriate).

Feb. 9, 1514. Registry of payment to Boselli for an altarpiece in Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo (Tassi, i. 51). This altarpiece exists and represents Christ in a mandorla with the hierarchy of the blest headed by the Virgin and John the Baptist in three rows at the sides of the glory, and below, St. Jerome, St. Mark, and other saints. Here Boselli shows more skill in arranging and varying the movements of figures which, instead, of being long and lean, are now short and thickset. The action of these figures is still hard and rigid, but the models upon which the whole work is based are taken from Borgognone, whilst the colour has a vitreous substance like that of Butinone and other Milanese. Much injury has been done to this piece (wood, under life-size) by restoring and repainting, the whole foreground being new paint.

A Virgin and Saints, inscribed, "Opus Antonii de Bosellis 1515," is described by Tassi (i. 51) in the church of the Augustinians at Almenno; but is no longer to be found there.

St. Lawrence between St. John the Baptist and St. Barnabas, a panel transferred from San Lorenzino to the Carrara Gallery (No. 65), bears the following inscription: "Antonius Bossellus pinxit MDXVII." It shows more freedom and practice than previous examples, but the forms are large and bony, and are not without the usual rigidity which characterizes the painter. The colours, of a sombre tone when new, are additionally dimmed by time and injured by retouching. Half-lengths of St. Peter, St. Bernardino, St. Joachim, and St. Anna are also to be classed amongst the works of Boselli.

There is a documentary evidence of Antonio's employment at Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo in July 1521 and 1522, and there are proofs that he was living in 1527 (Tassi, i. 52, 69-71), but there are no authentic works later than those above described. A fresco of his school with the date of 1524 in San Bernardino of Bergamo represents the Virgin and Child between St. Anthony and St. Onofrio. The Virgin and four Saints assigned to Boselli in Sant' Antonio of Padua (Brandolese, *Pitt. di Padova*, pp. 26-7) are altogether Venetian in style and quite different from any of the genuine Boselli; but it may be that there were two painters of the name, for Lanzi (ii. 152-3) speaks of a master so-called assistant to Pomponio Amalteo at Ceneda in 1534-6; or we must suppose that Boselli, in his later days, completely changed his nature and his style.

¹ Of these painters it will be sufficient to mention the principal works, which seldom attain the level, though they display the feeling, of such Umbrians as Manni or Ibi.

Bergamo, Carrara. Nos. 35, 36, 40, figures of half life-size in tempera, representing (in couples on gold ground) a bishop and St. Anthony, a bishop and St. Bernardino, St. Francis and St. Nicholas; 254-258, arched panels in each of which there is a figure of an apostle. These figures are all paltry, wooden and defective,

eminence in their profession is principally due to their having wandered young to Venice, from whence, in after-years, they brought home the fruits of their studies. We shall find that they

and much damaged by retouching; they are assigned to Giovanni Jacopo Gavazzi, whose Madonna with Angels holding a crown above her head in Sant' Alessandro in Colonna is signed: "Jo Jacobi Gavazi de pust cantu pinsit MDXII." Though modernized by repaints this piece also displays a painter altogether insensible to the progress of the century in which he lived.

Of similar Umbrian low-class form are the works assigned to Agostino Gavazzi, e.g.: (1) Nembro, near Bergamo, parish church altarpiece. Wood, called "di Tutti Santi," a repainted panel in some measure imitative of Boselli, whose similar subject we noted at Santa Maria Maggiore. (2) Nembro, San Niccolò; a repainted altarpiece with St. Augustine enthroned between St. Stephen and St. Lawrence [* reproduced in *Rassegna d'arte*, viii. 137]. (3) Nembro, St. Sebastiano, ruined altarpiece in compartments (panel, under life-size). The Virgin and Child between St. John the Baptist, a female saint, St. Catherine, and St. Bartholomew; in a lower course St. Sebastian between a bishop, St. Roch, St. Christopher, and another saint, in a predella six apostles. Here we have, on a low scale, a style akin to that of Manni and Ibi [* reproduced in *Rassegna d'arte*, viii. 138]. (4) Nembro, court of the Casa Longhi; fresco of the Virgin and Child between St. Anthony, St. Roch, and another saint. (5) Alzano, San Pietro Martire. St. Anthony enthroned between St. Christopher and St. Nicholas of Tolentino; a panel with figures little under life-size, painted with more art than the foregoing, but greatly injured. [* This picture is now in the third sacristy of the parish church of Alzano. Judging from a reproduction, the editor agrees with Signor Angelini (see *Rassegna d'arte*, viii. 136 sqq.) in ascribing it to Andrea Previtali.]

In the same local style, but perhaps by an abler hand, we have a St. Christopher and St. Joseph, and a half-length of Christ with the Milanese feeling of Borgognone in San Giorgio of Nese, near Alzano.

Leonardo Boldrini is the painter of an altarpiece the panels of which are hung apart in the church of San Gallo, near Zogno, in the Bergamasque province. The figures, which are half as large as life, betray the influence and teaching of Bartolommeo Vivarini, and are a caricature of those which that master designed. They represent the Annunciation between two standing saints and the Coronation between St. Peter and St. Sebastian, all on gold ground. On a cartello at the feet of a saint holding a book are the words: "Op. Leonardi Boldrini Bnec." In this grotesque and semi-Byzantine manner are a St. Peter and St. Paul in the Carrara Gallery at Bergamo and a Christ supported on the edge of his tomb (panel) in the oratory of San Rocco al Bosco near Serina. [* Leonardo Boldrini was not a Bergamasque. He descended from a Muranese family, and there exist several records showing that he lived in Venice. We first hear of him in 1452, when he, together with Antonio Vivarini, witnessed a will. He died between March 1497 and March 1498. Sansovino (*Ven. Descr.*, pp. 37, 128) mentions works by him in Sant' Antonino and San Basso, both of which are no longer extant. See Paoletti and Ludwig, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxii. 444 sqq.]

We miss the frescoes of St. Apollonia and St. Albert in the Carmine of Bergamo; the altarpiece of the Padri Riformati del Romacola and the Virgin and Child with a male and female donor, inscribed: "Jacobus Gavatus de Bergamo p."

were not the only painters of Bergamo who followed this course. The Santa Croce, who studied in the school of the Bellini, and Cariani, who studied in that of Palma or Giorgione, did the same, and only achieved a less success because they were less fortunate or less versatile, and remained longer than their brethren assistants in the workshops of the great masters.

Francesco and Girolamo da Santa Croce, though natives of the Bergamasque province, were so completely unknown at Bergamo that none of the annalists of that city seem to have heard of their existence, and Tassi, who took pains to gather materials for the history of his countrymen, makes no apology for confessing his ignorance and quoting the text of Zanetti. Yet Santa Croce is a village in the valley of the Brembo, not more than twelve miles from Bergamo, and is not a little proud, even now, of having given birth to two artists of name in the Venetian school.

Francesco di Simone of Santa Croce, who frequently calls himself Rizzo, has left us older specimens of his skill than Girolamo; and he may be considered the eldest of two painters of one family.¹ His first altarpiece is the Annunciation executed

noted in Tassi's book (*ub. sup.* i., 44-45). We miss likewise the altarpiece in the parish church of San Giacomo di Piazzatore representing St. James and inscribed: "Angustinus de Gavazzis Civ. Berg. pinxit anno 1527," noted by the same author (*i.* 45).

¹ In a picture of the year 1506, as we shall see, Francesco signs as above. In 1513 he varies his signature to Franciscus Rizus, which led Zanetti to register Rizzo and Santa Croce as two painters—an error already corrected by Lanzi (*ub. sup.*, ii., note to p. 105). In 1518 Francesco writes: "Franc^o Rizo de S^{ta} Croxe." Ridolfi's statement that Francesco was of the same family as Girolamo da Santa Croce (*Marav.*, i. 105) is further stretched by Federici (*Mem. Trev.*, ii. 11), who says, without authority, that Girolamo was Francesco's son. A picture which appears well suited to represent the earliest form of Francesco Rizzo's art, is an arched panel in the Carrara Gallery at Bergamo representing the Virgin and Child, with a kneeling patron and four saints: Joseph, the Magdalen, Agatha, and Jerome. It is either an early Francesco or the work of a feeble imitator of his first manner.

* Dr. Ludwig (in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxiv., Supplement, pp. 2 *sqq.*) has shown that the authors have united under one name the works of three distinct painters, viz.—Francesco di Simone da Santa Croce, Francesco de' Vecchi detto Galizzi di Bernardo da Santa Croce, and Francesco di Girolamo da Santa Croce. Whether these artists were even related is not known. Francesco di Simone married at Venice in 1492, made his will in that town on Oct. 28, 1508, and was dead on Nov. 4 of the same year. Of the paintings mentioned in the following,

in 1504 for the church of Spino, a hamlet close to Santa Croce, his latest a Madonna with six Saints dated 1541 at Chirignago, near Mestre. It is worthy of remark that, if we accept the last of these dates as correct, the life of Francesco Rizzo remains a blank for upwards of ten years; and the Madonna of Chirignago shows the primitive form of the Bellinesques preserved till the middle of the sixteenth century. A story attached to the Annunciation at Spino swells to picturesque and dramatic proportions in all pages of Locatelli's *Illustrious Bergamasques*, but lacks all historical foundation¹; yet it tends to confirm our belief that Francesco Rizzo wandered as a boy to Venice and studied with many of the Venetian Masters. His tendency to imitate Carpaccio and Previtali was apparent at a very early period; his wish to be considered a pupil of Giovanni Bellini is demonstrated in a picture of 1507. His usual residence at Venice is testified in 1504 by a view of the lagoons in the Annunciation of Spino and casually proved by inscriptions in 1518 and 1529. We can easily conceive that a man of his mould, who clung with timid fondness to the traditions of the past, should have found less occasion to dispose of his works in Venice than those who boldly strove to bring Venetian art into a new channel. We picture him to ourselves canvassing for orders in the country districts around Venice, and principally in the province of Bergamo; and the fact that his altarpieces are mostly to be found in the neighbourhood of his birth-place is conclusive as to the smallness of his purely Venetian practice. He may at last have despaired of holding his own as an independent master, and thus been lost in the workshops of those who paid his services as a journeyman.

The Annunciation of Spino is a characteristic effort by a young

the Spino Annunciation, the Leprenno Triptych, the Murano Madonna, and the Berlin Epiphany are by him. Francesco de Vecchi detto Galizzi di Bernardo was known under the sobriquet of Rizzo, probably owing to his curly hair. He was the pupil of Francesco di Simone, who bequeathed to Rizzo his painting implements. We possess various records of this artist showing him as living at Venice; the latest of these dates from 1545. Francesco Rizzo is the author of the Venice Noli Me Tangere and the Serina altarpiece. Francesco di Girolamo was the son of the painter Girolamo da Santa Croce; having been born in Venice, he called himself Francesco Santa Croce, not *da* Santa Croce. The Chirignago Madonna is the work of this artist, who died in 1584, aged 68. His son Pietro Paolo Santa Croce was also a painter.

¹ Locatelli, *Illustri Bergamaschi*, *ub. sup.*, i. 305 *sqq.*

FRANCESCO DI SIMONE DA SANTA CROCE



Alinari photo.]

THE ANNUNCIATION.

[Bergamo, Galleria Carrara.

artist. The angel runs in to the left with eager step and finds the Virgin kneeling with one hand on her bosom and the fingers of the other on the leaves of a book lying on a desk before her. The figures are neatly but dryly shaped; the heads, and especially the head of the angel, with its curly locks, are youthful and plump and marked with the peculiar breadth of cheek which Francesco Rizzo and Previtali both took from Carpaccio. The drapery is cut, apparently without purpose, into numberless plaits and breaks like that of Previtali and Mansueti; and the post-bed, with its blue coverlet and green hangings, is a reminiscence of Carpaccio and Bissolo. Though worn and rubbed, and in many places retouched, the colours have kept their original tartness, and, like the rest of the picture, enable us to detect the hand of a painter companion to Previtali at Venice and probably his fellow journeyman in the shop of Carpaccio.¹

Two years after he had finished the altarpiece of Spino, Francesco Rizzo completed that of St. James in Majesty between St. Alexander and St. John the Baptist for the church of Leprenno. Time had passed but brought no improvement to Francesco, and his work still closely resembles the feeblest that Mansueti put forth at the same period.² A decided effort to imitate Giovanni Bellini and realize some of the improvements

¹ Spino. The Annunciation, on panel, is a picture of two figures little more than half-size, with the following inscription on the side of the Virgin's desk: "Franciscus de Santa Crucis fecit 1504." Through the arch of a window at the bottom of the room to the left comes the dove, the distance being a view of the islands of Venice. The outlines are more or less renewed, the wings of the angel and the blues particularly injured. This picture was, shortly before 1871, taken to Bergamo to be restored and was then offered for sale. It is not certain whether it was taken back to Spino or not. [* It was acquired in 1868 by the Galleria Carrara (No. 70).]

² Bergamo, Casa Noli, from the church of Leprenno. These are injured panels separated from their frame and altered in tone by restoring; the figures all stand (large as life) in landscapes, St. James with the pilgrim's hat and staff, St. John with the cross, St. Alexander with the banner. On the central panel we read: "1506, Fo fata fare in tempo di isaïro di Antonio di Sandro dito Zerva e Zuan di Bartolomio ed poño di ronimo. Francesco de Simon de Santa Croce fecit." The stark stiffness of the saints is as unpleasant as the sombre red "fiou" colour. The limbs and articulations are not well drawn, the draperies are broken and straight, the nimbus raised and gilt. A lunette belonging to this altarpiece contains the Eternal and is also in the Noli collection.

* The three saints are now in the Galleria Carrara in Bergamo. See Angelini, in *Rassegna d'arte*, viii. 192.

which art had made under his auspices at the opening of the century is observable in Francesco's Madonna at Santa Maria degli Angeli of Murano, where the Virgin sits enthroned in a chapel between St. Zachariah and St. Jerome, who listen to an angel playing a viol at the foot of the steps. But it was vain for Francesco to struggle for effectual competition with the men of the first class in art at Venice; and he only succeeds in reminding us that he was a disciple of Giovanni Bellini, in part by stating the fact in an inscription in part by composing and setting his figures in the fashion of his master. He certainly displays some symptoms of improvement in the bolder movement, the larger drapery, and more appropriate character of his figures. Yet he ranks, even as an imitator, below the level of Francesco Bissolo.¹

From this time forward Francesco never really progressed. Keeping, on the whole, in the track of the Bellinesques, and gaining facility of technical handling, he diverted himself with imitations which scent alternately of Bellini and his pupils.

In a Vision of Christ to the Magdalen, a large panel which was painted in 1513 for the monastery of the Dominicans at Venice, we have a landscape stolen, as it were, from Basaiti and short, bull-headed figures with the crabbed features which mark Bellini's Circumcision at Castle Howard.² It is in this form that we meet the artist in an Epiphany at the Berlin Museum, where the treatment displays the freedom of a practised hand, combined with a soft mistiness of contour which the French appropriately call *fou*.³ It is to this time that we may assign a

¹ Murano, San Pietro Martire from Santa Maria degli Angeli. Canvas, with life-size figures, inscribed: "Franciscus de Sancta ✕ D. I. B. 1507." The mould of form is short and underset, the general effect is spoiled by numerous repaints and overrunning of contours.

² Venice Academy, No. 149. Wood, m. 2.95 high by 2.10; inscribed on a cartello: "Franciscus Rizus pinxit MDXIII." This picture is described by Boschini (*Ric. Min.*, S. di D. D., p. 18) in the convent of the Dominicans sulle Zattere at Venice. Christ stands in the middle of the foreground holding a banner in his left hand. The Magdalen kneels before him, on both sides are kneeling worshippers, and in the air two angels in flight. The nude and extremities are very coarse and heavy. The heads are square and bony, with hair in ringlets, but the drapery is flowing enough and the touch reveals long schooling; and the colour is not without force.

³ Berlin Museum, No. 22, from the Solly collection. Wood, 2 ft. high by 3 ft. 2½ in., inscribed: "Franciscus de Santa + f." Very careful picture. The same

numerous class of Bergamasque pictures unauthenticated by names or dates, but apparently displaying Rizzo's talent in appropriating the forms of Cima, Basaiti, and Bissolo.¹

subject assigned to Francesco Rizzo is No. 11 in the gallery of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (notes mislaid). [* This painting is a copy of the Berlin picture. There exist several other repetitions of this composition, which is based upon that of Mantegna's Adoration of the Magi in the Johnson collection at Philadelphia. An adaptation of it is seen in the Marriage of St. Catherine belonging to Mr. Robert Benson of London (probably a work by Francesco Rizzo) and its many replicas (cf. *antea*, i. 275, n. 2).]

¹ We bring together the following notices of pictures: (1) Bergamo, Casa Contessa Noli. Two panels are preserved here, in each of which two saints are represented: in one, St. Paul and St. James; in the other, St. Sebastian and a saint with a book, under life-size. The flesh-tints are tart and red like those of Previtali, and the figures are in better motion than those of the altarpiece of 1506 from Leprenno. The masks, too, are more pleasing and distantly recall those of Cima. [* These pictures appear to be identical with two which are now in the collection of Comm. B. Crespi in Milan (reproduced in A. Venturi, *La Galleria Crespi*, pp. 162 sq.).] (2) Bergamo, Carrara, No. 175. Wood. Half-length, Virgin with the Child in benediction erect on her knee; back-ground, sky. Two half-lengths of saints (Nos. 174 and 176) part of the same work. All these are by Francesco and remind us of Cima. (3) Olera, in the valley of the Brembo, near Zogno, San Bartolommeo. In this country church is a monumental altarpiece, the centre of which is a statue of the patron saint of the place. At each side of this statue are standing figures in niches of St. Sebastian, St. Peter, St. John the Baptist, and St. Roch. In an upper course are half-lengths of St. Catherine, St. Jerome, St. Francis, and St. Mary Magdalen. In a pinnacle is the Virgin and Child. The figures are all smaller than nature, and all on gold ground. Here Francesco (if we are justified in ascribing the picture to him rather than to the joint exertions of himself and Girolamo, or some other Veneto-Bergamasque) paints in a style which bears the stamp of Bellini and Cima, as we find it in Bissolo. Francesco's impress is most marked in the saints of the lower course; and of these St. Sebastian is the best and most Bellinesque. The drawing is not always good, nor are the attitudes generally well thought out. The drapery is often meaningless, and the flesh-tone uniform and flat. The half-lengths are better. [* Morelli (*Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfilii*, p. 365), Mr. Berenson (*The Venetian Painters*, p. 105), and Dr. R. Burckhardt (*Cima da Conegliano*, pp. 125 sqq.) consider this altarpiece as an early work by Cima da Conegliano. See also *antea*, i. 238, n. 1. (4) Grumello de Zanchi, near Zogno, church of Santa Maria Assunta. Here are four small panels in tempera severally containing St. Anthony, St. Jerome, St. John the Evangelist, and a nameless saint with a lunette representing the Eternal (all one-third of life-size). Executed in the spirit of Francesco's Rizzo's earlier works, these panels have much of the style which marks Basaiti, and are almost above the level of the Santa Croce. They come within the class of pictures which, like that assigned to Basaiti in the Berlin Museum (No. 29, see *antea*, i. 270, n. 4), seem almost too good for Rizzo, yet not quite good enough for Basaiti. (5) Bergamo, Roncalli collection. Wood, half life. Virgin and Child in a landscape, between St. Joseph and a female saint with a donor. This is a richly

In 1518 Francesco produced the altarpiece of St. Peter, St. John the Baptist and St. Helen in the Duomo of Serina, which proves how stationary he remained amidst the changes that were taking place in Venetian art¹; 1519 is the date of an altarpiece which was one of the ornaments of the ruined church of San Cristoforo by Murano, 1529 that of a Madonna long preserved in the church of Endine, between Lovere and Bergamo.² The Madonna of Chirignago is a feeble production, in which Francesco seems to have acquired the soft and feeble style of his namesake Girolamo.³

Girolamo da Santa Croce may be said to have adopted and continued the art of Francesco, with whom he was probably associated as partner or assistant.⁴ His earliest altarpiece is

coloured little picture, a mixture of the styles of Bellini and Basaiti. The name of Santa Croce occurs to us as appropriate; but something also suggests that of Lotto. (6) Bergamo, Sant' Alessandro alla Croce. Lunette panel, with half-lengths of Christ crowning the Virgin and two angels raising a curtain. The figures are pleasing and plump, the colouring rich, but the execution is feeble and the general character of the treatment is that of Santa Croce.

¹ Serina, Duomo; life-size figures, on one of which is inscribed, "Fran^o Rizo de s^cta croce depense questa hopera in Venezia 1518." Our notes of this picture are mislaid; but we recollect it in a bad state of preservation and feebly executed but carefully outlined and warm in general tone. [* According to Dr. Ludwig (*loc. cit.*, p. 4), the central compartment of this altarpiece is no longer to be found in the Duomo of Serina, which, however, still contains a little Pietà which probably served as the top-piece of the *ancona* under discussion. It was ordered in 1517, but the design originally agreed upon seems to have been modified (*ibid.*, p. 6).]

² Consult Sansovino (ed. Mart., p. 234). The subject was St. Nicholas, St. Anthony the Abbot, and St. Catherine. The Madonna of Endine is said by Locatelli (i. 352) to be in a private collection at Brescia. According to Tassi (i. 57), it represented the Virgin enthroned between St. Roch, St. John the Baptist, and St. Apollonia, with the inscription "1529 hoc opus fecit fieri hæredes (?) Domini Philippi Alexi de Endine. Franciscus Rizus pinxit Bergomensis abitor Venetiis."

³ Chirignago. We recollect but little of this piece and only note the inscription (which it would be desirable to examine afresh), as follows: "Propriis sumptibus R. D. P. Marci Antonii sancta cruce hujus ecclesie rectoris, Franciscus Sancta Cruce fecit anno dom. 1541." It was a canvas, faded by crystallized varnish and spoiled by retouching. [* Dr. Ludwig (*loc. cit.*, p. 20) reads the above inscription exactly as do the authors, except that he has "ecclesiæ," not "ecclesie."]

⁴ There is every reason to think that Girolamo da Santa Croce is identical with the Girolamo di Bernardino who in 1503 witnessed the will of Gentile Bellini's second wife, and with the pupil of Gentile, named Girolamo, to whom his master in 1507 bequeathed a number of drawings. Numerous records relating

that of 1520 in San Silvestro at Venice, where St. Thomas Aquinas¹ sits enthroned with St. John the Baptist and St. Francis in attendance in the foreground of a chapel.² Disfigured by the modern addition of two saints and numerous repaints, this work still has the Bellinesque impress which seems natural to an artist acquainted with the masterpiece of Bellini and Basaiti, and familiar with the canvases of Palma. Though it may be classed amongst the best which Girolamo produced, it is still feeble, both as an echo of the manner of Francesco and an imitation of the great Venetians. Yet we can easily see how a man of this class of power should be able to execute pictures that might pass muster in galleries as creations of artists more skilful and better than himself.³ Previous to the time when Pordenone settled at Venice one of the altars in Santa Maria dell' Orto was surmounted by a picture, dated 1525, representing St. Lorenzo Giustiniani, attended by St. Stephen and St. Lawrence and inscribed with Girolamo's name. This votive work was doubtless removed shortly after its completion to make room for Pordenone's great composition of the same subject and probably came a little later to San Giorgio in Alga.⁴ In the absence of that example we have the Charity of St. Martin, a large canvas of 1527, in the parish church of Luvigliano, near Padua; where the dry figures of several saints are put together with slight share of animation and feeling.⁵ In 1532 Girolamo completed no less than fourteen

with full certainty to Girolamo da Santa Croce are now known. He died in Venice on July 9, 1556. See Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, pp. 10 *sqq.*

* ¹ Not St. Thomas Aquinas, but St. Thomas of Canterbury. See Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, p. 18.

² Venice, San Silvestro. Arched panel, with life-size figures. The throne is on a tessellated floor in front of the landscape of hills. Two angels fly at the upper corners and cherub's heads are seen in the sky and three seraphs play at the throne-step. St. Matthew and St. Theodore to the right and left are additions. This piece, which is by a painter of practice, is inscribed: "Hieronymus de Sancta Cruce, MDXX." The surface is injured by repaints and enlarged by the addition of pieces at its sides.

³ See *antea*, i. 186 and 289, n. 5. The name of Girolamo is not out of place as regards certain figures in San Gio. Crisostomo of Venice (*antea*, i. 225, n. 1).

⁴ Cf. Cicogna, *Iscriz. Ven.*, iii. 503, and Boschini, *Le R. Min.*, Sest. della Croce, p. 62. The picture was inscribed "B. Laurentius Justinianus primus patriarcha Venetiarum Die Januarii MCCCCLV · Hieronymus a Sancta Cruce p. MDXXV."

⁵ Luvigliano (near Padua) parish church; arched canvas, with the Eternal in the sky holding the fragment of the mantle, whilst on the foreground below,

compositions of episodes from the life of St. Francis in the "scuola" di San Francesco della Vigna, but these compositions were lost after the destruction of the building which they adorned,¹ and all that remains to remind us of the master in that locality is a large but unhappily repainted full length of the Redeemer in benediction high up on a wall to the right of the high portal of San Francesco della Vigna, and a small Martyrdom of St. Lawrence copied from an original now in the Dresden Museum.²

A Madonna with two Saints in the cathedral of Capo d'Istria seems to have been finished in 1537.³ St. Mark enthroned between four Saints at Burano is an altarpiece of 1541.⁴ In 1549 Girolamo produced the Last Supper at San Martino of Venice, a canvas which Zanetti praises for the modern impress of its style, but which really shows how far the painter lagged behind the progress of the age.⁵ There are few galleries of

St. Martin, on horseback, shares his cloak with the beggar in presence of the two Johns, St. Peter, and St. Paul. This canvas is scaled and otherwise in a bad state of preservation. It is signed "Hieronymus de Santa Croce p. MLXXVII."

¹ See Boschini, *Le R. Min.*, Sest. di Castello, pp. 46-6. Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 105.

² Venice, San Francesco della Vigna, above the pulpit. The Redeemer in benediction on a pedestal, the Eternal with angels above him (much injured); beneath the pulpit is the small Martyrdom of St. Lawrence.

³ Capo d'Istria, Duomo. Virgin and Child between two saints, with an angel on the throne-step, inscribed: "Hieronimo de S. Croce .D.XXVII." The surface of the picture and part of the signature are abraded. [* This painting appears to be identical with one which is now in the church of Isola. Istria also possesses another work by Girolamo da Santa Croce, a Virgin and Child with an Angel Musician and SS. Francis, Joseph, John the Baptist, and Anthony of Padua, in the church of the monastery of San Francesco at Pisino (signed "Hieronymus de Sancta Croce pingebat MDXXVI"). See Caprin, *L'Istria nobilissima*, ii. 134, n. 1.] Of an earlier date is the Virgin and Child with two angels, St. Catherine, and St. Jerome noticed by Federici (*Mem. Trev.*, i. 129 and ii. 11) in San Parisio of Treviso, and inscribed: "Girolamo Santa Croce F. 1532." Neither this nor the Santa Bona between St. Roch and Sebastian which Crico describes in the church of Santa Bona was seen by the authors. See Crico, *ub. sup.*, p. 125.

⁴ Burano, San Martino, sacristy. St. Mark enthroned between St. Benedict, and St. Nicholas, and St. Lawrence, and St. Vitus; inscribed: "Hieronimo de Santa Croce p. MDXXXI." Canvas, with heavily repainted figures, under life-size.

⁵ Venice, San Martino. Canvas, in the parapet of the organ, of low brown tone, inscribed: "Hieronimo de Santa Croce MDXXXVIII." In the background is the episode of Christ washing the apostles' feet. The figures are fairly distributed and not without animation, the drawing is careful but mannered, the



Alinari photo.]

GLORY OF ST. MARK.

[Burano, San Martino.

Italy or the Continent that do not boast of some small work by Girolamo da Santa Croce. Most of these are pretty and tame; some are taken bodily from prints of the Raphaelesque school. They may be registered as follows:

Milan, Brera, No. 178. Wood, m. 0.60 high by 0.84. Half-length Madonna between St. Jerome and St. Francis. This picture reminds us much of Francesco's panel at Serina.

Naples Museum, Room XV., No. 24. Wood; small. Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, a replica of the panel with the same subject in Dresden.

Dresden Museum. No. 55. Wood, 2 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high by 2 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. The Nativity. No. 56. Wood, 2 ft. 3 in. high by 1 ft. 10 in. The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence.

Venice, Manfrini Palace. Adoration of the Magi.¹

Bergamo, Accademia Carrara. Several little pieces (notes mislaid).

Berlin Museum. No. 24. Wood, 1 ft. $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. high by 2 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. A pretty composition of the Epiphany. No. 26. Wood, 2 ft. high by 2 ft. 10 in. The martyred St. Sebastian before the judge. No. 33. Wood, 1 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. high by 1 ft. 9 in. Coronation of the Virgin. No. 34. Wood, 1 ft. 5 in. high by 1 ft. 2 in. Christ carrying his Cross.² No. 35. 1 ft. $\frac{1}{4}$ in. high by $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. The Crucifixion.³ All these little pieces are from the Solly collection.

London, National Gallery, Nos. 632 and 633 from the Beauconsin collection. Two saints each. Wood, 3 ft. 11 in. high by 1 ft. 7 in.⁴ We may refer to Waagen (*Treasures*, iii. 201, 234, and Supplement, pp. 239, 412, and 484) for pictures by Girolamo in the Northwick collection, at Liverpool, at Mr. Nichols's, Marbury Hall, and Heddon House.

A portrait inscribed: "Alesander Oliverius V." in Hamilton

drapery is fairly cast; but the work in its totality is cold and tame. See Zanetti, *ib. sup.*, p. 64.

In a chapel to the right of the choir in the church is also a Resurrection assigned by Boschini (*Le R. Min.*, S. di Castello, p. 17) to the school of Cima, but signed: "Hieronimo S. Santa Croce f." A dry and feeble work, dimmed by time.

* 1 Present whereabouts unknown.

* 2 Now on loan to the Town Gallery of Erfurt.

* 3 Now on loan to the Town Gallery of Halle.

* 4 Dr. Ludwig (*loc. cit.*, pp. 18 sq.) conjectures that these pictures were formerly in the Oratory of the Madonna della Pace, near SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice.

palace near Glasgow is attributed to Giorgione (see *antea*, p. 57) and looks very like a work by Girolamo da Santa Croce. It is on panel, under life-size, and not without damage from scaling. At the first glance there is something Giorgionesque in the treatment, but this impression is quite evanescent.¹ For other works assigned to Girolamo consult Boschini, *Le Ricche Minere*, Sest. di S. Marco, p. 42; Sest. di Castello, pp. 4, 12, 38, 41, 45, 46; Sest. di D. D. pp. 51, 62; Sest. di S. Polo, p. 33; Sest. della Croce, p. 62; Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 104, 105; Zanetti, *Pitt. Ven.*, pp. 84-6; and Moschini, *Guida*, i. 536.²

Cariani holds a larger place in the annals of Venetian art than historians have been inclined to concede to him, not because he was a man of original genius, but because, having a knack of imitating the great Venetian masters, his works were inevitably confounded with theirs. That canvases traditionally assigned to Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, Palma Vecchio, and Pordenone are really creations of a Bergamasque, who acquired for himself a very small share of fame, are a sufficient proof of his imitative power.

If we accept as Cariani's the two portraits at the Louvre

*¹ This portrait is now in the National Gallery of Ireland (No. 239). Dr. Ludwig has shown that the name on the parapet is that of the artist, Alessandro Oliverio. At Venice, in 1532, this painter witnessed the will of Angiola, the wife of Alvise (Luigi) di Serafino, a journeyman of Palma Vecchio. In 1542 he contracted a small debt with Lorenzo Lotto, which, however, was remitted to him two years later. (Ludwig, in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, vol. xxiv., Supplement, pp. 81 *sq.*, vol. xxvi., Supplement, pp. 155 *sq.*) Girolamo Gualdo, writing in 1650, notices a bust of Christ by Oliverio in the Museo Gualdo at Vicenza, and reports a tradition that he belonged to the Oliverio family of Vicenza. See Morsolin, in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, ser. i., vol. viii., p. 205.

*² Without attempting to exhaust the catalogue of those of Girolamo's productions which have come down to us, we may notice some of his more important works which have not yet been noticed: (1) Bassano, Museo Civico. The Call of St. Matthew. (2) Lockinge House, Berks, Lady Wantage, St. Agnes. (3) London, Lady Jekyll. A Bishop and St. Sebastian. (4) London, Mr. Brinsley Marlay. The Virgin and Child with two Saints. (5) Mells Park, Frome, Lady Horner. The Massacre of the Innocents. (The two last-mentioned works have kindly been indicated to me by Mr. Herbert Cook.) (6) Milan, Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, No. 612. Male portrait. Signed. (7) Stockholm, University Gallery. St. George destroying the Dragon (fragment of a processional banner, showing at the back a mutilated figure of a bishop. (8) Venice, Academy, Nos. 154, 155, 158, 160, 169. The Four Evangelists and SS. Gregory and Augustine (from the Cappella dei Lucchesi at Venice). (9) Venice, Santa Maria dell' Orto. SS. Ambrose and Jerome (same provenance as the picture at the Academy above mentioned).

which pass for likenesses of the Bellini by one of themselves, we shall discern the earliest form in which a Bergamasque of the Palmesque type began to imitate the Bellinesque.¹ The haze which partially covers the outlines and modelling of this canvas also dwells upon the half-lengths of the Virgin and Child with St. Peter, a pretended Bellini in the Borghese Gallery at Rome; but the Roman Madonna reminds us of Palma in the mould of its faces, and more of Lotto in the golden tinge of its colour.² Palma and Lotto—both of them Bergamasques and sixteenth-century craftsmen—were just the sort of men to whom Cariani would naturally lean; and we see how much there is to suggest this leaning in the Palmesque "Plotius and Luscius," which hangs under Giorgione's name at the Imperial Gallery of Vienna.³ Ridolfi prefaced one of the baldest of his notices by saying that Cariani tried to adopt the manner of Giorgione.⁴ There can be no doubt of the fact; but in his attempt to gain the freedom and glow of that master Cariani produced a mere cento of the Giorgionesque and Palmesque, and not a true reflex of the style of Giorgione. The portraits once in the gallery of Count Schönborn at Pommersfelden, the Temptation at the Hermitage of St. Petersburg, a Nativity at Hampton Court, the Lucretia of the Holford collection, the Adulteress at Glasgow, Mr. Barker's Madonna with Saints, and the Nativity in the Erizzo-Maffei mansion at Brescia, are probably all Carianis under the names of Giorgione, Palma, and Pordenone.⁵ Painters of original talents, whether long or short-lived, differ in shades of thought and modes of handling at successive periods of their career. Men of a lower class indulge in more rapid and radical changes. Cariani's pictures vary to a considerable extent in feeling for tone and character of touch; their surface, at one time, shows heavy impast and copious vehicle, at another excessive parsimony of both. When Cariani labours with a full brush, he often produces work of a ruddy uniformity and enamel gloss, at the opposite extreme of the scale he blends

¹ Paris, Louvre, No. 1156. Canvas, busts. See *antea* in Giovanni Bellini, i. 134.

² Rome, Borghese Gallery, No. 164. (See *antea*, i. 186, n. 1.)

³ Vienna Imperial Gallery, No. 207. See in this volume, pp. 33 *sq.*

⁴ Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 190.

⁵ Compare previous notices in this volume, pp. 43, 182, n. 1, 380 *sq.* and 386.

his colours to a mealy and purply substance. The twilight of Palma, the fiery glow of Bernardino Licinio, the pallor of Lotto, all prove attractive by turns, but reveal nothing as to the period in which each of these forms was dominant.

The oldest record which refers to Cariani is said to bear the date of 1508. It is described as a contract, in which the painter is called Giovanni Busi Cariani.¹ We note this fact with the more interest, as it corrects a not unnatural duplication of which the Anonimo was the author when he wrote that a fresco on one of the fronts of the Podestà's Palace at Bergamo and a figure of Christ in a Bergamasque mansion were by Zuan de' Busi, whilst a Nativity at Crema was by Zuan Cariani.² The Busi were an old and highly respected family, whose possessions lay at Fuipiano on the Brembo, a village in which Cariani, according to his own statement, was born.³

The earliest picture by Cariani of which we find mention is the Madonna of Lonno on the Serio, which bore the date of

¹ See Locatelli, *Illustri Bergam.*, *ub. sup.*, ii. 13. [* This document really refers to the painter's father, who bore the same name as the son, though as a rule he was called by a diminutive of his Christian name, "Zuanin" or "Zanin" (Giovannino). He held the office of Commandador (herald) of the Magistrato del Proprio in Venice; the painter was therefore also known to his contemporaries—among them the Anonimo (pp. 62 *sq.*, 70, 80) simply as "Zuan del Zannin Comandador." See Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, pp. 34 *sqq.*]

² Anonimo, ed. Morelli, pp. 47, 52.

³ Gio. Maironi (in his *Dizionario Odeporico*, ii. 103) says he noticed amongst the MSS. at Fuipiano a register of offerings made in the first half of the sixteenth century to the church of SS. Filippo e Giacomo, and the church of San Bernardino; and one of the offerings registered is that of Cariani, who describes himself there as a native of Fuipiano. That this offering was a picture of St. Roch, sent in 1541, is stated by other authorities (Marenzi in Locatelli, *ub. sup.*, ii. 15). [* The record of the offering is the document of 1508, which we have noticed previously (n. 1) as relating to the father of the painter Cariani. As regards the St. Roch, there is nothing in the words of Marenzi to warrant us in assuming that this painting was an offering; moreover, we now know that Cariani received payment for it (see Morelli, *Die Galerien zu München und Dresden*, p. 37; cf. Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, p. 40). The connection of the family of Busi with Fuipiano is noted in Maironi (ii. 105). [The earliest legal document in which the painter Cariani is mentioned dates from 1517; it is the will made by his first wife when about to start for a journey from Venice to Bergamo. In the same year Cariani was *bancale* (member of the committee) of the Scuola de' pittori at Venice. It appears that he chiefly lived in Venice, though he no doubt from time to time visited Fuipiano. He was still living in 1547. See Ludwig, *loc. cit.*, pp. 33 *sqq.*]

1514, the latest a figure of St. Roch, presented by Cariani in 1541 to the church of Fuipiano; both pieces unhappily registered as missing.¹ There are but two canvases with dates in the large collection of works which, on various grounds, are ascribed to the master²; these are the seven portraits in one group in the Roncalli collection, and a Madonna with a donor in the Casa Baglioni at Bergamo. The first was finished in 1519, the second in 1520. They illustrate two different forms of Cariani's art.

The group in the Roncalli collection comprises four ladies and three gentlemen thrown artificially together, and represented seated or standing on a balconied terrace behind which a landscape is seen partly concealed by a damask hanging. The spirit transfused into the picture is that of the Giorgionesques, and particularly that of Bernardino Licinio, each figure being a portrait. To the left a young wife in profile, with a charming flexibility in her attitude, looks up, leaning her arm on the parapet of the balcony, where a squirrel fearlessly nibbles at a pear. Her right hand rests on a square looking-glass, and she seems to be conscious of the vicinity of her husband, a man of middle age, in a toque, behind her, whose fingers play with the wavy locks of her abundant hair. In the middle of the picture a woman holds a fan of feathers, and gracefully presses a shawl to her bosom. In rear of her large and buxom person are two females and two males in turbaned headdress. An incipient smile enlivens the round, full faces, and the shapes of all the persons, though fat and matronly, are not without delicacy and signs of nurture. Most characteristic, as a technical feature, are the warmth of the tones and the substantial impact of uniform and peachy flesh-tints. The swelling charms remind us of the school of Pordenone, the treatment of Giorgione and Palma. The contours and

¹ Lonno, church of. This picture is noticed as follows (in Tassi, i. 37): The Virgin seated, with a white cloth on her head, holds the infant Christ in her arms; above her, two angels carry a garland of flowers. Right and left are St. Anthony the Abbot and St. Catherine. Two patrons, a man and his wife, form part of the composition, which is signed: "1514. J. Cariani." For the St. Roch at Fuipiano see the foregoing note.

² We now know of yet a third dated work by Cariani, the Resurrection of Christ, in the collection of Conte A. Marazzi in Milan, painted in 1520.

the cast of drapery exhibit care, precision, and thought.¹ It is in this feeling, but with more vigorous colour and better modelling, that Cariani painted the likeness of a lady assigned in the Lochis Gallery to Giorgione, a dame in rich apparel, with her auburn hair brushed plain into a white-flowered turban, her slender throat adorned with a necklace, her gloved hand playing with a rich gold chain, and a fur boa hanging on her arm.²

Scarcely a year after he finished the Roncalli group, Cariani composed the Madonna of Casa Baglioni, where we lose all trace of the matronly Giorgionesque. A tall, slender, and maidenly Madonna kisses the child, who stands on her lap and blesses a kneeling patron. What Cariani seeks is no longer weight or high colour, but lightness, animation, and a clear rosy flesh; he shows much of the sprightly grace, but not all the mettle and fire of Lotto.³ Had the variations of Cariani before and after 1520 been as regular as they were frequent, we might follow them with ease. It is not so difficult to trace them as to tell when they occurred.

There are signs of a conscious imitation of Lotto in many productions which we find at Bergamo. In a half-length of Christ carrying his cross, which may have belonged to Leonino de Brambate before it came into the Lochis Gallery, a side-light throws much of the face and frame into shade and reflection; the drawing is clean, and the surface burnished to a tough enamel, but the projecting layers of raw tone, the brown-red lights and colder darks, are such as Lotto would not have used; and there is lack of expression in the frigid features as well as in the chill

¹ Bergamo, Casa Roncalli. Canvas, with half-lengths of life-size; inscribed on the edge of the balcony: "Io. Carianus bgonens MDXVIII."

² Bergamo, Lochis, No. 197 (?). Canvas, life-size, half-length on brown ground.

³ Bergamo, Casa Baglioni. Canvas, inscribed: "Joanes Cariani 1520 p." The portrait of the patron kneeling to the right in profile is the best part of the picture. [* This picture is now in the Galleria Carrara at Bergamo. From 1520 also dates a Resurrection in the collection of Conte A. Marazzi in Milan. Christ is seen in the foreground of a rich landscape, rising towards heaven; below kneel two donors (Ottaviano Vimercati and a lady of the same family), introduced by SS. Jerome and John the Baptist. On many points the composition recalls that of Bellini's painting of the same subject in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum of Berlin. The picture (reproduced in *L'Arte*, xiii. pl. facing p. 184) is signed: "Joannes Carianus p. MDXX."]

immobility of the half-closed lips.¹ The same system of illumination, with a harder uniformity and hotter ruddiness of complexion, is to be found in a half-length of Benedetto Caravaggio in the same collection. It is carried to excess in the orange carnation and molten lead shadows of the "Baile" in the house of Count Albani at Bergamo—a figure of grand sternness, with a face of commanding power, and an eye of penetrant glance, but coloured with an overdone sunset effect verging on the extreme of redness.²

The impress of Lotto commingled with that of the Palmesques and Giorgionesques is conspicuous in other pictures of Cariani, which, for that reason, recall Bernardino Licinio. A Madonna with seven Saints in the Carrara Gallery, though injured by daubing, fairly illustrates this form. It is confused in setting, dry and small in its figures, but not without gentleness in types.³ The Woman taken in Adultery, another canvas in this collection,

¹ Bergamo, Lochis, No. 172. Wood, life-size. Compare also the Anonimo, p. 52.

² (1) Bergamo, Lochis, No. 184. Canvas, 0·81 high by 0·83. Half-length of life-size, with a scutcheon on the wall to the right, and beneath the scutcheon the following inscription: "Io Bened. Carravags philos et medicus ac studii Patavini rector et lector Joanes Cariani p." Through an opening to the left is a sunset on a landscape of hills. Caravaggio—a man of fifty, of dry and thin make—stands behind a table, on the green cloth of which he rests his left hand. The fingers of his right are on the leaves of a book. He wears a red dress and a black cap and stole. (2) No. 135 in the Carrara collection, a bust large as life on canvas, representing a young man in a black cap, is also properly assigned to Cariani. It is somewhat flayed and overstippled. (3) Bergamo, Conte Luigi Albani. Portrait, half-length, of a man, with long dark hair falling from a black silk cap. He is seated at a table in a room hung with green cloth. The right hand plays with the laces of a red vest. A heavy gold chain hangs from the shoulders. The landscape, seen through an opening to the left, is lighted by a red sunset. The principle of Antonello's handling is carried to its utmost limit in the bold way in which unmixed colours are thrown in touchwise, *e.g.* blood-red in the eye-corners, to produce contrast. Locatelli (*ub. sup.*, ii. 41) notes this picture as having been in Casa Noli, and describes a replica (not seen by the authors) in Casa Suardi at Bergamo. [* The former painting is now in the National Gallery (No. 2494).]

³ Bergamo, Carrara, No. 67. Canvas, in which the Virgin presents the infant to St. Mary Magdalen, in rear of whom is St. Anne with St. Joseph. On the right foreground a female kneels and reads a book. To the left is St. John the Baptist, seated with the lamb, accompanied by St. Alexander in armour, the kneeling St. Francis, and St. Helen. Some figures—that of the Magdalen, for instance—recall Paris Bordone; but, as above stated, the canvas is covered with repaints, from which St. Francis especially suffers.

in spite of damaging retouches, displays the same treatment, and tells us plainly that Cariani was the painter of the similar subject under Giorgione's name in the Museum of Glasgow.¹

With a slight shade more of the plumpness of Palma, united to some of the lively action and turn of Lotto, we have the Virgin and Child with seven Saints, and a half-dozen of lithesome but dry and puny angels in the Brera at Milan, a picture in which Cariani throws a rich suffusion over his work, and succeeds better than usual in imparting a gentle grace to his impersonations. Similar commendation may be given to the Flight into Egypt in the Piccinelli collection at Seriate, a small canvas which formed part of the predella of the Brera altarpiece before it was removed from San Gottardo of Bergamo.² In this style, and perhaps with a shade more delicacy of taste, the small Madonna of the Borghese Gallery was treated; in this manner, too, but more superficially, the Nativity of Crema.³ The dusky twilight

¹ Bergamo, Carrara, No. 126. Canvas, with eight full-length figures almost of life-size. A composition freely repeated in the Museum of Glasgow (No. 370), on canvas, under Giorgione's name. The adulteress is marched in, as it were, to the presence of Christ, who makes a strong gesture with the right hand and arm; characteristic is the man to the right, with his back to the spectator and his right leg raised on a stone. The mixture of free movement and conventional posture, the neglected drawing and ill-set composition, are as much in the fashion of Cariani as the red warmth of the tones. The canvas at Bergamo is damaged by efflorescence and repaints.

² Milan, Brera, No. 116. Canvas, m. 2.70 high by 2.10, originally in San Gottardo of Bergamo (compare Ridolfi, *Marav.*, i. 190, and Bartoli, *Pitture di Bergamo*, *ub. sup.*, p. 20). Two angels support a hanging in rear of the Virgin's seat; three others sing in the sky, four more are on the foreground, at each side of which are St. Philip Benizzi, St. Joseph and St. Grata, St. Adelaide, St. Augustine, St. Apollonia, and St. Catherine. The predella at Seriate is a very neat little piece. [* It is now in the collection of Dr. G. Piccinelli of Bergamo, and is reproduced in *L'Arte*, xiii. 180.] In the Brera Gallery, again, No. 129 (canvas, m. 0.53 high by 0.46), is a pretty half-length of the Virgin, of clear bright tone, in which Cariani imitates Lotto with some success. [* This picture and two others now in the depot of the Brera (a group of angels and a shepherd) are fragments of a Nativity which may be identical with that mentioned by the Anonimo as being in Santo Spirito at Crema. They came to the Brera from S. Catarina at Crema.]

³ Rome, Borghese Gallery, No. 164. See *antea*. In the same collection No. 157 is a canvas with the Virgin and Child under an orange-tree, between St. Barbara and another female saint, recommending a male and female patron—all under life-size. This canvas, much of the surface of which has been cleaned off, is classed in the Venetian school, and looks very like a genuine Cariani. Particularly injured are the heads of the infant Christ and the female saint

GIOVANNI CARIANI



TWO LADIES AND A GENTLEMAN.

[Oldenburg, Augusteum.

of a pure follower of Palma is successfully imitated in the full lengths of St. Catherine and St. Stephen in the Lochis Gallery.¹

Another variety of Cariani's style is that in which he strove to keep as closely as he could to Giorgione. His best effort of this kind is the group of three half-lengths belonging to the Grand-duke of Oldenburg; a man in a red velvet cap and furled pelisse in shade behind two richly dressed ladies on whom the light is thrown with generous fullness. One of these ladies, presenting her right shoulder, shows a large silk sleeve with white and blue reflexes. She turns her face to the spectator and presses her finger on the black-and-yellow check bodice of her companion, who stands in profile to the right. Most carefully finished and full of sweet freshness in tone, this pretty canvas shows much gaiety and variety of tinting, and a semi-transparent haze characteristic of Cariani. There is a gentle expressiveness in the faces and a nice balance of bright light and mellow shade without the fullness or the sober harmony of Giorgione.² Of a ruddier and rawer gloss, of harder impast but with similar technical handling, we may register as a companion piece that of the Hermitage at Petersburg, an old man tempting a girl with a few pieces, a picture in which the shape and extremities are as large and weighty as any that were ever drawn by Pordenone.³

to the right. [* Mr. Berenson (*Lorenzo Lotto*, pp. 114 sq.) holds that this is a copy of a lost picture by Lotto, for which the original drawing is in the collection of Lord Pembroke at Wilton House.] The Nativity at Crema, described by Anonimo (*ub. sup.*, p. 54), is probably that which, shortly before 1871, passed into the possession of Signor Schiavoni at Venice. The Virgin kneels to the right, a shepherd to the left; between the two is the infant in a cradle and St. Joseph. To the left are two shepherds. The picture is on canvas. The figures are half the life-size, and St. Joseph injured.

¹ Bergamo, Lochis, Nos. 192 and 196. Full-lengths and parts of a triptych, one side of which is described (*Locatelli, ub. sup.*, li. 38) as being in possession of the family of Count Petrobelli at Bergamo. This must have been a very bright picture when it was new. It was painted for the church of Locatello in Valle Imagna.

² Oldenburg, Angustium, No. 82, from the Schönborn collection at Pommersfelden (see *Kunstchronik*, ser. i. vol. ii. p. 134). Canvas, half-lengths of life-size. A copy of this picture is numbered 550 in the Venice Academy.

³ St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 116. Canvas, half-lengths, 2 ft. 9½ in. high by 3 ft. 1 in. on dark ground. The girl holds a crystal globe as symbol of inconspicuity. This canvas is miscalled Pordenone and was noted (*antea*, p. 182, n. 1) in these pages. It has a stiff, glazed surface like the Baile at Bergamo, but a less sanguine colour.

Finally we should notice that phase in Cariani's art in which he paints *di macchia* that is, with wide substantial touch of blurred contour. In this phase Cariani rings the changes chiefly on grey, pink, and purple tertiaries, and, with the help of dirty rubbings, get an uncertain haze or mist over his surface which proves effective at a certain distance. In this class we should register the bust of a female in long frizzled hair, red bodice, and green sleeves, in the Hospital at Bergamo, a similar bust of a lady reading in the Esterhazy collection at Pesth, the meeting of Rachel and Jacob at Dresden and a Rest during the Flight into Egypt at the Erizzo-Maffei mansion in Brescia. The general toning of the bust at Bergamo is warm and fair and seems attained by a substantial final scumble; but form in flesh and drapery is defined by touch and not by line, by break and contrast of shades of colour, and not by pure modelling. The result is rich and good when viewed from afar; but close inspection dispels much of the charm by revealing the coarseness of the means.¹ At Dresden we feast our eyes, not with the beauties of high-born women, but with those of peasants in a wooded country. Rachel and Jacob are mere names for a Bergamasque shepherd and shepherdess. The man who meets and kisses the maiden in the foreground wears the blue jacket and white woollen tights and the ankle-boots of country folk. A man at a fountain to the left and a herdsman watering his flock are in the same homely garb. There is more density and substance of impast here than before and a more deliberate use of mere touch to represent form. The rough edges produced by the hog-tool are blurred over with scumbles and dirty opacities which scarcely conceal uncertainties of design or the sharp contrasts of tones in proximity to each other. There is, after all, more of the Palmesque than of the Giorgionesque in the handling, and here, as is often the case in Palma, reds tend to a pinky pallor, and there is an abuse every-

¹ (1) Bergamo, room of the president of the council of the Hospital. Wood, life-size bust; the hair drawn together in Palmesque fashion, with a green ribband tressed together above the ear. The right hand is on a projection, in the vertical face of which is a relief of a skirmish. [* This picture is now in the Galleria Carrara (No. 85).] (2) Pesth, Esterhazy Gallery. Bust panel of a lady reading; the hand as above on a projection, the bodice green: the sleeves red (see *antea*, i. 186, n. 1). [* This picture now belongs to the Budapest Museum (No. 176).]

where of greenish leaden shadows; but Palma cannot be the painter any more than Lotto, and we must needs fall on Cariani, whose initials G. B. F. (Giovanni Busi fecit) are on a slab on the foreground.¹

The Virgin and Child of the Maffei collection bears the name of Palma and is Palmesque in feeling and in landscape character. The Virgin sits with the child on a bank at the foot of a tree-stump, near which Joseph reposes. The colours are dull and have perhaps a redder tinge than at Dresden, but the treatment and the foreground, with broad dabs of weed and flowers, are the same in both pieces.²

How many of all these pictures were executed at Bergamo? how many at Venice? What were the relations of Cariani with Giorgione, Palma, Lotto? Such questions as these deserve an answer, and may perhaps in time be solved in a fitting manner. All that can be said with certainty now is, that at some period of his life Cariani was at Bergamo. As we before observed, he painted frescoes on the front of the palace of the Podestà. Remnants of a Madonna with Saints which he executed above the side-portal of Santa Maria Maggiore at Bergamo still display much feeling for sweetness of tone and chastened simplicity of form.³ There are also fragments of a tourney and other subjects on a wall in

¹ Dresden, Museum, No. 192, from the Casa Malipiero at Venice. Canvas, 5 ft. 1 in. high by 8 ft. 7 in., ascribed to Giorgione, the letters above quoted having been read: "Giorgio Barbarella fecit." [* As Morelli points out, Cariani, if signing himself in Italian, would not have used the Tuscan form Giovanni but the Venetian form, Zuan. There is indeed every reason to think that the letters in question have been added to the picture long after it was painted, with a view to make it pass as a Giorgione. Morelli ascribes this painting to Palma; the editor, like most critics of the present day, shares this view, which is also accepted by Dr. Woermann in the current catalogue of the Dresden Gallery. It is difficult to see why the authors consider an attribution to Palma as being out of the question; the landscape (note especially the dark masses of foliage sharply outlined against the sky), the forms, and types are quite characteristic of him, while markedly differing from the manner of Cariani, who, moreover, as Morelli truly remarks, never shows the nobility of sentiment which we find in this highly poetical composition. Cf. Morelli, *Die Galerien zu München und Dresden*, pp. 270 sqq.]

² Brescia, Erizzo-Maffei collection. Canvas, half life-size (see *antea* in Palma). [* The editor has been unable to trace this picture.]

³ Bergamo, Santa Maria Maggiore. Lunette, much faded. On the right the young Baptist is presented by his mother to Christ, on the left is St. Joseph. There are two male saints at each side of the Virgin.

the Piazza Nuova of Bergamo¹; but we are still searching for the date of these works. At Malpaga, the castle of Bartolommeo Colleoni which descended to the Bergamasque family of Martinengo, we may believe that Cariani was employed in company with Romanino. Above the colonnades in a large court we see how the Doge of Venice gives Colleoni the bâton of command, and how Colleoni fights a battle; there are fictitious statues of Colleoni and others in niches, and ornaments of arms and scutcheons; all this looks like fresco that Cariani might have done. The figures are indeed mutilated and faded, but they are neatly conceived and cast in a pretty and slender shape. They move, too, with natural action, and are coloured in rich warm tones. A dining-hall inside the castle is decorated in the same style with hunts and warlike incidents in which Colleoni is a principal actor; and an upper room contains traces of statues in niches, of similar execution. We see that Cariani was in person at Malpaga, and painted there, but we know nothing as to the date of these decorations, and so we must remain content with merely indicating the outline of the life and industry of a second-rate who worked much and ably and deserves a place in the annals of his country's art.

We may complete the register of works assignable to Cariani as follows:

Milan, Casa Bonomi, Casa de' Quattro Faccie. Canvas, life-size portrait bust of a man turned to the right, bearded, in a black and dark furred pelisse. This is a good specimen of Cariani's skill as a portrait-painter.²

Venice Academy, No. 299. Canvas bust under the name of Morone. This portrait is a little tart, the warm yellow lights being carried into cold shadow, with grey blue transitions. The treatment is clever and rapid, in Cariani's usual manner. The hair and beard are retouched.³ Apparently by the same hand, but damaged, is No. 174, an "unknown" portrait half-length in the same gallery.⁴

¹ Bergamo, Piazza Nuova. What remains is a mere map of stains, with here and there a figure of a man or a horse.

² Present whereabouts unknown.

³ Now labelled "Maniera del Moretto."

⁴ This picture is probably identical with that which in the current catalogue is numbered 300, and assigned to Cariani.

St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 84. Portrait bust assigned to Correggio. Canvas from the Sagredo collection flayed and restored but still bearing the impress of a Bergamasque painting in Cariani's style.¹

Berlin Museum, No. 188. A portrait, but not of Cariani's bust. No. 190 is also a portrait, which seems as if it might have been executed by Cariani.

Milan, Ambrosiana. Christ on the road to Calvary. This small canvas was once catalogued as a Dürer; it is a bright-coloured little picture with figures of vulgar mask but with their full share of life.

Zogno, church of. Adoration of the Shepherds, on canvas, with life-size figures. This picture, at first sight, looks like a copy from Palma rendered blind and opaque by time and restoring. It is however properly called a Cariani, and was doubtless once a good specimen of his manner. The Virgin kneels to the left in front of a ruined arch. St. Joseph and the shepherds kneel about the infant's cradle. In the air two angels sport.

*Lake of Como, Signor Federico Frizzoni.*² Canvas, under life-size. The Virgin, seated in a landscape, turns to St. Jerome on the right, whilst the infant plays with a book held by St. Francis on the left. This is one of the poorest specimens of Cariani. The child is heavy and unwieldy, the Virgin swaddled in the folds of her dress. The colour is oily, harsh, and dull. On a stone we read: "I. Carianus."

Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 201. The Triumph of Love (canvas 4 ft. 9 in. high by 7 ft. 8 in.). Though not unlike a Bergamasque picture, and though possibly by Cariani, this allegory is very feebly executed.³

*¹ Now officially ascribed to an unknown painter of the Lombard school of the early sixteenth century.

*² Now Bergamo, Frizzoni-Salis collection.

*³ This painting and its companion piece in the same Gallery, the Triumph of Chastity (No. 156), may confidently be ascribed to Bonifazio. They are perhaps part of a series of Petrarca's Triumphs mentioned by Ridolfi (i. 376). See Morelli, *ub. sup.*, p. 271, n. 2.

We add the following list of paintings by Cariani: (1) Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 185. Woman in a landscape. (2) Bergamo, Galleria Lochis, No. 146. A Woman playing and a Shepherd asleep. No. 159. Portrait of a Monk. No. 165. Portrait of a young man, signed "I. C." No. 179. Orpheus and Eurydice. (3) Bergamo, Galleria Morelli. No. 99. The Virgin and Child. No. 100. Portrait of a man. (4) Chatsworth, collection of the Duke of Devonshire. Portrait of a young man (see *antea*, p. 426, n. 5). (5) Hampton Court. Venus. (6) London, National Gallery. No. 41. The Death of St. Peter the Martyr. No. 1202. The Virgin and Child with St. Mary Magdalen, another female Saint, St. Joseph, and a youth-

ful Donor. No. 2495. The Virgin and Child (see *antea*, p. 305). (7) London, collection of Mr. Robert Benson. The Resurrection. Male portrait. (8) London, late collection of Mr. Henry Doetsch. The Adoration of the Shepherds (sale at Christie's, June 22, 1895, No. 60). (9) Milan, Ambrosiana. Christ in the House of Martha and Mary. (10) Milan, Museo Civico. Loth and his Daughters. (11) Paris, Louvre, No. 1185. The Virgin and Child with SS. Joseph, Sebastian, Catherine, and a Donor. (12) Rome, Galleria Nazionale, No. 618. "La Vergine Cucitrice" (The Sempstress Virgin). (13) San Remo, collection of Herr A. Thiem. Portrait of a member of the Cariani family, signed, "Io Carianus de Busis Bergomensis." Reproduced in *Rassegna d'arte*, v. 79. (14) Strassburg Picture Gallery, No. 275. Man playing the Lute. (15) Venice Academy, No. 156. The Virgin and Child with SS. Joseph and Magdalen and another female Saint. (16) Vienna Academy, No. 77. The Virgin and Child with SS. Catherine and John the Baptist.

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